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BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA.

VOLUME THE SIXTH;

PART II.

Biographia Britannica:

OR, THE

LIVES

Literary Society of Bombay

OF THE

Moſt eminent PERSONS

Who have flouriſhed in

GREAT BRITAIN

AND

Y-a-4:

IRELAND,

From the earlieſt Ages, down to the preſent Times;

Collected from the beſt Authorities, both Printed and Manuſcript,

And digeſted in the Manner of

Mr *BAYLE*'s Historical and Critical

DICTIONARY.

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vol. 6.
pt II

To which are added,

A SUPPLEMENT and APPENDIX,

WITH

A General and a Chronological INDEX to the Whole.

VOLUME THE SIXTH; *PART II.*

LONDON:

Printed for J. Walthoe, T. Osborne, H. Whitridge, J. and R. Tonson, H. Woodfall,
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M. Richardson.
MDCCLXVI.

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THE LIVES OF THE Moſt eminent PERSONS

Who have flouriſhed in

GREAT-BRITAIN and *IRELAND*,

From the earlieſt Ages down to the preſent Times.

W.

WAKE [William], Archbiſhop of Canterbury, was deſcended of an ancient noble family of Saxon original, which flouriſhed before the Conqueſt [*A*]; and was born in the year 1657, at Blandford in Dorſetſhire; in which town his Father, Mr William Wake, was a Gentleman of a conſiderable fortune (*a*), and having the ſatisfaction to ſee his ſon make a quick progreſs through all parts of ſchool learning, he carried him to Oxford, with a deſign to enter him of Trinity-college; but having a mind firſt to entertain himſelf and his ſon with a view of the univerſity, they accidentally met at Chriſt-church with Dean Fell, who being acquainted with the father, invited them both to his lodgings, and there prevailed with Mr Wake to admit his ſon of that college, upon a promiſe to give him a ſtudent's place (*b*). Accordingly he was admitted a ſtudent of Chriſt-church at the age of fifteen years, and matriculated in that univerſity February 28, 1672 (*c*). Having taken both his degrees in arts at the regular times (*d*), he fixed his choice upon divinity for his profeſſion, much againſt the mind of his father, who had laid out no leſs than ten thouſand pounds in the purchaſe of a place for him in the clothing buſineſs; but he ſacrificed that advantage to his inclination for the Church (*e*), and entered into holy orders: and not long afterwards, the Lord Viſcount Preſton, who was bred at the ſame college, being appointed by King Charles the Second to go Envoy Extraordinary

(*a*) About 800*l.* *per ann.*

(*b*) Communicated by one of the family.

(*c*) Athen. Oxon. vol. II. col. 105.

(*d*) viz. that of A. B. Oct. 26, 1676, and A. M. June 29, 1679. Faſti Ox. vol. II. col. 201. and 211.

(*e*) MS memoirs in the hands of one of the family.

[*A*] *Deſcended from a Saxon family*, &c.] The name of Wake, or Wac, is in the roll of Battle-abbey; and Brompton ſays, ſome of the family being uneaſy under Harold, went to Normandy to invite the Conqueror into England, and came back with him: But Dr Patrick aſſures us it appears from the Regiſter of the church of Peterborough, that Herewold ſirnamed de Wake, or le Wake, was one of the brighteſt heroes of his age and country, whoſe memorable actions are ſet forth by Ingulphus. He was the laſt baron that ſubmitted to the Conqueror, who came to an agreement with him about the year 1076, by virtue of which he was entirely reſtored to his eſtates and honours. Part of his eſtates was the lordſhips of Brunne and Depyng, the latter of which continued in this family till the beginning of the laſt century. From this Herewold deſcended Baldwyn le Wake, who was a baron at the coronation of Richard I. and his grandſon Thomas Baron of Lydel in Northamptonſhire, being Conſtable of the Tower and Governor of Hertford Caſtle, married Blanch Plantagenet *, ſiſter of Henry Duke of Lancaſter; but having no iſſue by her, the inheritance paſſed with Thomas's ſiſter Margaret by marriage to Edmund of Woodſtock, youngeſt ſon of Edward I. and Earl of Kent, whoſe daughter Joan after the death of her two brothers became Counteſs of Kent. Joan was a lady of tranſcendent beauty, and on that account is famous in our annals by the name of THE FAIR MAID OF KENT. She married Sir Tho. Holland, ſecond ſon of Sir Roger Holland of Lancaſhire, one of the firſt Founders of the Garter, who hereupon had the titles of Earl of Kent and Baron Wake of Lydell. He was ſurvived by his beautiful Lady Joan, who afterwards, by a marriage with the renowned Black Prince, became mother to Richard II. For the reſt of the pedigree we ſhall refer ſuch as are curious in theſe matters to the book cited in the margin. It is ſufficient to our purpoſe to take notice, that in the courſe of time after many deſcents, John, ſon and heir of Richard Wake, marrying Elizabeth daughter and coheir of Sir Edward Gorges, Knt. had iſſue five ſons, John, Edward, Arthur, Robert, and William, from which laſt deſcended our Archbiſhop (1).

* The arms of Margaret Wake are impaled with thoſe of Plantagenet in a window in the church of Cheſterfield in Derbyſhire.

(1) Baronettage of England, vol. I. p. 465. & ſeq. edit. 1741.

to the Court of France, took Mr Wake for his Chaplain in that Embaſſy, in 1682 [B]. Here he quickly made a diſtinguiſhed figure in the learned world; and he had been abroad not above two years when he was applied to by a learned Biſhop at home to procure the collation of ſome valuable Greek MSS. of the New Teſtament at Paris, for the ſervice of a new intended edition of that Chriſtian Code in England [C]. Returning home with his Lordſhip in the beginning of K. James the Second's reign (f), he was preſently taken notice of for his excellent performances in the Pulpit, and was ſoon after choſen Preacher to the Honourable Society of Gray's-Inn (g). During his reſidence in France there fell out a ſingular incident, which was of particular ſervice to him with the friends of the Church of England: Mr Boſſuet, the learned Biſhop of Meaux, having wrote a book intituled *An Expoſition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church*, a very curious copy of it came into the hands of Mr Wake [D], which furniſhed him with a remarkable opportunity of diſcovering the diſingenuous craft made uſe of by that Prelate

(f) He preached a Sermon at Paris on the 30th of January 1684-5, and another the ſame year at Grays-Inn, both inſerted in a volume of his ſermons, edit. 1690, 8vo.

(g) On the death of Dr Claget, the King ſent a meſſage to the Society, not to proceed to an election, till they heard from him; but they returned an anſwer, that they had already choſen Dr Wake. From the information of Mr Beauvoir of Canterbury.

[B] *He was Chaplain to Lord Viſcount Preſton.*] This nobleman was eldeſt ſon of Sir George Graham, of Netherſby in Cumberland, Bart. and educated, as well as his Chaplain, at Chriſt-church college in Oxford (2). In 1662, he was made a Baronet by creation, by the ſtile of Richard Graham, of Norton-Conyers in Com. Ebor. (3) and was created A.M. at Oxford by that title, March 24, 1666. He became afterwards a Burgeſs for Cockermouth in Cumberland in ſeveral parliaments, particularly in thoſe which began January 26, 1679, and the following one at Oxford, March 21, 1680. He was created Viſcount Preſton of Scotland by King Charles the Second, and ſent Envoy by King James the Second (4), as abovementioned. Biſhop Burnet tells us (5), that, while he was at Paris, he procured the ſuppreſſion of the Abbot Primes's Hiſtory of the Dutch War, printed there in 1682, and containing an account of the ſecret treaty between France and England, negotiated by Henrietta Dutcheſs of Orleans with her brother [King Charles the Second] at Dover, in May, 1669. Upon his return from France in the beginning of King James's reign, he was received into a high degree of favour by that Monarch, who had made him Secretary of State upon the removal of the Earl of Sunderland, October 21, 1688, and deſigned to advance him to an Engliſh peerage, with the title of Viſcount Preſton in Amounderneſs in Lancaſhire, but his patent had not paſſed the great ſeal before his Majeſty's abdication. Being engaged in a plot afterwards with Henry Earl of Clarendon, Dr Turner Biſhop of Ely, and others, in favour of King James, he was ſeized Decemb. 30, 1690, in a yacht going to France, with Mr John Aſheton, and Mr Elliot, and, on the 17th of January, tried at the Old Bailey for high treaſon, and condemned; but, after acting a very weak and irreſolute part, redeemed his life by ſome diſcoveries of importance (6), while his companion, Mr Aſheton, ſubmitted to death with great firmneſs and decency (†). His Lordſhip was a man of excellent parts and learning, and gave the public, in 1695, as the fruits of his retirement, a Tranſlation of *Boetius de conſolatione philoſophiæ*, illuſtrated with notes, and a life of the Author, who was diſtinguiſhed by being one of the laſt that made any figure in literature or genius in Italy, then ſinking into Barbariſm through the irruption of the Northern nations. This Lord Preſton had a younger brother, William, who was bred likewiſe at Chriſt-church, entered into Holy Orders, and was inſtalled Prebendary of Durham, Auguſt 26, 1684, and Dean of Carliſle on the death of Dr Muſgrave in April or May, 1686, and was diplomated D. D. at Oxford, June 4th following, being then Chaplain to the Princeſs Anne of Denmark (7). In 1704, he was removed to the Deanery of Bath and Wells from Carliſle, where he was ſucceeded by Dr Francis Atterbury, whoſe requeſt to antedate his reſignation of that Deanery he reſolutely refuſed to comply with, as not conſiſtent with his honour (8).

(2) Wood's Faſti Oxon. col. 166. 188.

(3) Salmon's chron. hiſt. under that year.

(4) Faſti Oxon. as before.

(5) In the hiſt. of his own times, vol. I. p. 367. Fol. Edition.

(6) After a long and tedious impriſonment, ſays Mr Wood.

(7) Faſti Oxon. vol. II. col. 229.

(8) A Letter from the South, by way of anſwer to a letter to a northern Divine.

[C] *He was employed in ſearching for MSS of the Greek New Teſtament*, &c.] For this purpoſe, he had a correſpondence with the Editor of that intended edition. We ſhall preſent the Reader with the copy of an original letter under his own hand to that Editor, communicated by the Reverend Mr R. Thoreſby, Rector of Stoke-Newington, Middleſex, E muſ. Thoreſb. as follows.

‘My Lord, July 5th, St. N. 1684.

‘According to your Lordſhip's commands in your letter incloſed to my Lord Preſton, I have made it my endeavour to get a ſight of the MS. I mentioned to your Lordſhip of the New Teſtament. I am aſſured by a perſon of great knowledge and underſtanding in theſe matters, that there is not only that, but 7 or 8 more in the ſame library of the late Monſ. Colbert, which I may have the collation of, and (that he will undertake to procure me leave) which never have been examined. I am aſſured by a very ingenious man, that the collation of the MS. of St Germain made by Monſr Gazon is very imperfect, ſo that if your Lordſhip has no other, I believe he will furniſh me with thoſe that are more exact. It is a MS. of about a 1000 years ſince, belonging to the monaſtery of St Genevieve, which Curcellæus had the uſe of, but having given no account (as was done in the Oxford collations) from what MSS he took his various lections, they are of little uſe. I have the promiſe of all theſe to be compared, and others to the number of 20 or more of good credit, which were never yet diſtinctly remarked. If your Lordſhip thinks it worth the while to ſtop your edition ſome few weeks, and will give me orders to make the expence for the doing it, which cannot be very great, they ſhall be procured by perſons whoſe learning and fidelitie may be relied on. If your Lordſhip deſires no others than of that MS. I firſt mentioned, and the review of that of St Germain, I hope in a fortnight's time, after I ſhall have the honour of receiving your commands, to diſpatch them to you. My Lord, I beg the continuance of your Lordſhip's favour to me, and your pardon for the trouble which is here preſumed to be given you, by,

‘My Lord,
‘Your Lordſhip's moſt humble
‘and moſt obedient ſon and ſervant,
‘WILL. WAKE.’

[D] *A copy of the Biſhop of Meaux's piece*, &c.] Mr Wake has prefixed a particular account of this copy to his anſwer, by way of preface; where he tells us (9), that the firſt deſign of M. De Meax's book was either to ſatisfy or ſeduce the late Mareſchal de Turenne; that he was not able to ſay how far it contributed thereto, but is willing to believe that the change which that honourable perſon made of his religion, was upon ſomewhat better grounds than a bare expoſition of the Roman faith; and that the Author ſupplied, either by his perſonal conferences with him, or by ſome other papers to us unknown, what was wanting to the firſt draught which he had ſeen of this. For he obſerves, that the manuſcript copy which then appeared, and for about four years together paſſed up and down through private hands with great applauſe, wanted all thoſe chapters of the Euchariſt, Tradition, the Authority of the Church and Pope, which now make up the moſt conſiderable part of it; and, in the

(9) Page

other

(†) Mr Aſheton, in a paper delivered at his execution, profeſſed his allegiance to be then ſtill due to King James; but declared his innocence as to the fact for which he was ſentenced to die. And his Anſwerer (ſuppoſed to be Dr Teniſon) allows there was no direct and plain proof of the hand writing in the treaſonable papers found upon him, as there was in the caſe of Lord Preſton, profeſſing his admiration that it was omitted. Upon the whole, there was certainly room for mercy, which probably would have been granted in a leſs critical and dangerous juncture. Anſwer to Mr Aſheton's paper, with the paper itſelf. Edit. 1730. a very thin 4to.

Prelate to diſguiſe and palliate ſome of the Romiſh doctrines. This he executed in a piece intituled, by way of contraſt to that of the French Biſhop, *An Expoſition of the Doctrine of the Church of England* [*E*], publiſhed in 1686, 4to. From this entrance he proceeded with ſpirit, and wrote ſeveral Tracts in the controverſy, which was carried on with diſtinguiſhed vigour during that reign againſt Popery [*F*]; and in the cloſe of it he publiſhed

other points which it handled, ſeemed ſo looſely and favourably to propoſe the opinions of the Church of Rome, that not only many undeſigning perſons of that communion were offended at it, but the Proteſtants, who ſaw it, generally believed, that Monſ. de Meaux durſt not publicly own, what in his Expoſition, *&c.* he privately pretended to be their doctrine; and the event ſhewed that they were not altogether miſtaken: For that, in the beginning of the year 1671, the *Expoſition* being, with great care, and after the conſideration of many years, reduced into the form in which we now ſee it, and, to ſecure all, fortified with the approbation of the Archbiſhop of Rheims, and nine other Biſhops, who profeſs, that having examined it with all the care which the importance of the matter required, they found it conformable with the doctrine of the Church, and as ſuch recommended it to the people which God had committed to their conduct, it was ſent to the preſs: That the impreſſion being finiſhed and juſt ready to come abroad, the Author, who deſired to appear with all the advantage to himſelf and his cauſe that was poſſible, ſent it to ſome of the Doctors of the Sorbonne, for their approbation, to be joined to that of the Biſhops, that ſo no authority, either ordinary or extraordinary, might be wanting to aſſert the doctrine contained in it to be ſo far from the ſuſpicion conceived of it by the Proteſtants, that it was truly, and without diſguiſe, Catholic, Apoſtolic, Roman. But to the great ſurprize of Monſ. de Meaux, and thoſe who had cried up his treatiſe before, the Doctors of Sorbonne, to whom it was communicated, inſtead of the approbation that was expected, confirmed what the Proteſtants had ſaid of it, and, as became their faculty, marked ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable parts of it, wherein the Expoſition, by the too great deſire of palliating, had abſolutely perverted the doctrine of the Church. Mr Wake continues to obſerve, That to prevent the open ſcandal which ſuch a cenſure might have cauſed, the whole Edition, with great induſtry and all the ſecrecy poſſible, was ſuppreſſed, the ſeveral places which the Doctors had mark'd changed, and the copy ſo ſpeedily ſent to the preſs again, that in the end of the ſame year another, much alter'd, was publicly expoſed, as the *Firſt Impreſſion* that had at all been made of it. Yet this could not be ſo privately carried on, but that it ſoon came to a public knowledge, inſomuch that ſome of the firſt anſwers that were made to it charged Monſ. de Meaux with this change. 'I don't hear, proceeds Mr Wake, 'that he has ever yet thought fit to deny the relation, 'either in the advertiſement prefixed to the later edi'tion of his book, wherein he replies to ſome other 'paſſages of the ſame treatiſe, or in any other vindica'tion. Whether it be that ſuch an imputation was not 'conſiderable enough to be taken notice of, or that it 'was too true to be denied, let the Reader judge. But 'certainly it appears to us not only to give a clear ac'count of the deſign and genius of the whole book, 'but to be a plain demonſtration, how improbable ſo'ever Mr de Meaux would repreſent it (10), that it is 'not impoſſible for a Biſhop of the Church of Rome 'either not to be ſufficiently inſtructed in his religion 'to know what is the doctrine of it, or not ſufficiently 'ſincere, to repreſent it without diſguiſe. And ſince a 'Copy of that very book, ſo marked, as has been ſaid, 'by the Doctors of the Sorbonne, is fallen into my 'hands, I ſhall gratify the Reader's curioſity with a 'particular view of the changes that have been made, 'that ſo he may judge whether of the two was the cauſe 'of thoſe great advances which the Author in that firſt 'edition had thought fit to make towards us.'

[*E*] *An Expoſition of the Doctrine of the Church of England, &c.*] This undertaking was prompted in general by ſome obſervations occaſionally made by our Author in a long converſe with the Papiſts of our own and other countries, in which he perceived, that, either through the ignorance or malice of their Inſtructors, they have generally very falſe and imperfect notions of our opinions in the points controverted between us. But the deſign of it was levelled particularly againſt Monſ. de Meaux, as the Author, to avoid the cenſure of a wrangler, chuſes to declare in theſe words. 'I have ſuffer'd myſelf to be perſuaded to 'purſue the method of Monſ. de Meaux's *Expoſition* 'as to the doctrine of the Church of England, and to 'oppoſe ſincerely, to what he pretends is the opinion 'of the Roman Church, that form of faith that is 'openly profeſſed and taught, without any diſguiſe 'or diſſimulation, among us (11).' This Tract, which is generally called *Wake's Catechiſm*, was anſwer'd in *A Vindication of the Biſhop of Condom's Expoſition of the doctrine of the Catholic church, in anſwer to a book intituled* An Expoſition of the doctrine of the church of England, &c. *with a Letter from the ſaid Biſhop*, 1686, 4to. To which our Author replied in a piece intituled *A Defence of the Expoſition of the doctrine of the church of England, againſt the exceptions of Monſ. de Meaux, late Biſhop of Condom, and his Vindicator*. Lond. 1686, 4to. This occaſioned *A Reply to the defence of the Expoſition of the doctrine of the church of England, being a ſober vindication of the Biſhop of Condom's Expoſition of the doctrine of the Catholic Church, with a ſecond Letter from the Biſhop of Meaux*, 1687, 4to. In anſwer to which, Mr Wake publiſhed *A ſecond defence of the Expoſition of the doctrine of the Church of England, againſt the new Exceptions of Monſ. de Meaux and his Vindicator*. Part i. *In which the account that hath been given of the* Biſhop of Meaux's Expoſition *is fully vindicated, the diſtinction of old and new Popery hiſtorically aſſerted, and the doctrine of the church of Rome in point of Image-worſhip more particularly conſidered*. Part ii. *In which the Romiſh doctrines concerning the nature and object of religious worſhip, of the Invocation of Saints and worſhip of Images, are conſidered, and the charge of Idolatry made good againſt thoſe of the church of Rome on account of them*. While the ſecond part of this treatiſe was writing, there came out *A Full Anſwer to the ſecond defence of the Expoſition of the doctrine of the church of England, in a Letter to the Defender* (12).

[*F*] *He publiſhed ſeveral other Tracts in the Romiſh Controverſy*.] The titles of theſe are as follows. (I.) *A diſcourſe of the holy Euchariſt, in the two great points, of the Real preſence, and the Adoration of the Hoſt; in anſwer to the two diſcourſes lately printed at Oxford, on this ſubject. To which is prefixed, a Large hiſtorical preface, relating to the ſame argument*. Lond. 1687, 4to. The piece he anſwers, is intituled, Two diſcourſes concerning the Adoration of our Bleſſed Saviour in the Euchariſt: The Firſt containing Animadverſions on the alterations of the Rubric in the common ſervice in the Common Prayer book of the church of England. The Second, The Catholics defence for the adoration of our Lord, as believed really and ſubſtantially preſent in the holy ſacrament of the Euchariſt. Oxon 1687. 4to. publiſhed in ann. 1686, by Mr Walker, without licenſing by the Vice-chancellor, by vertue of the King's licence granted to him to print certain books at Oxford. But A. C. [Arthur Charlet] of Trinity-college Oxford, obtaining by another hand the ſaid book, ſheet by ſheet, as it paſſed through the preſs, from L. Litchfield the Printer, Mr Wake's anſwer to it came out about a month after: Whereupon Mr Walker, *Maſter of the Univerſity-college*, ſet up a preſs in his own lodgings there (13). The Author of the Two diſcourſes, *&c.* was Mr Abraham Woodhead, who in his time made a diſtinguiſhed figure in the learned world, and being often occaſionally mentioned in the courſe of theſe memoirs (14), we ſhall take this opportunity of laying before the Reader ſome account of him, as follows. He was born at Maltham in the pariſh of Albonſbury, or Ambury, in Yorkſhire; enter'd, about ſixteen years of age, in 1624 at Univerſity-college Oxford, of which having taken his degrees in arts (15), he became a Fellow in 1633; enter'd into Holy Orders, and commenced Tutor (16). In 1641 he was elected one of the Proctors of the univerſity; which office he quitted, on account of ſome trouble in the execution of it given him by the Long Parliament (17); and thereupon travelled into France, firſt with Tho. Radcliffe, a Gentleman-Commoner of his houſe, ſon to Sir George Radcliffe (18), and afterwards with two others publiſhed *A State of the Controverſy*, in an account of the books that were written on both ſides during its continuance [*G*]. Under the guidance of ſuch principles, he took leave

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(10) In an advertiſement prefix'd to his treatiſe, p. 1.

(11) Page 17, of the Preface.

(12) Mr Dodwell to the ſecond edition of two diſcourſes againſt the Romaniſts, prefixed a Preface relating to the Biſhop of Meaux, and other modern complaints of miſrepreſentation.

(13) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 615.

(14) See the Articles of Aldrich, Atterbury, [illegible], and Smalridge.

(15) *Viz.* that of A. B. Febr. 5, 1628, and A. M. Nov. 10, 1631. Wood's Faſti Ox. Vol. I. col. 240, and 252.

(16) Among others, Obadiah Walker was his pupil. Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 932.

(17) On account of the degree of B. D. being denied in the Congregation to Francis Cheynel, for two reaſons; one of which was, that he had preached againſt his Majeſty's declaration. Faſti Ox. Vol. II. col. 2. But this degree was conferred on him April 12, 1648, with the privilege of ſitting with thoſe in 1641. He was alſo one of the Parliamentary Viſitors, made Margaret Profeſſor of Divinity, and Preſident of St John's college. Ibid. col. 65. See more particular of him in Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 358, 359.

(18) Who wrote the life of the Earl of Strafforde. See that Earl's Article.

others of the ſame college. At length, ſettling for a time at Rome, he embraced the Romiſh religion, but ſo ſecretly, that the reaſon alledged for depriving him of his Fellowſhip by the parliamentary Viſitors, in 1648, was barely abſence and non-reſidence; ſo that in 1660, being returned home ſome time before (19), he was reſtored by the King's Commiſſioners, and continued in his college, till obtaining leave of abſence, with the allowance of twenty pounds a year, under a pretence of travelling again, he ſettled at Hogſden, or Hoxton, near London; living there ſo obſcurely, that no body, except his quondam pupil, Obadiah Walker, knew that he was not beyond ſea. In this retirement, he applied himſelf to the training up youths in the Romiſh faith, and wrote alſo divers books in defence thereof, by which he gained the character, among that party, of being the prime champion of England for their cauſe. Moſt of his pieces are contained in the following liſt. I. *A brief account of ancient church government, with a reflection on ſeveral writings of the Presbyterians touching that ſubject* (20). London, 1662, and 1685, in 4 parts, a thin 4to. This piece was aſcribed by ſome to one R. Holen, a Sorbonne Doctor, but the Oxford Antiquary claims it as certain for Mr Woodhead's; yet it is given to his pupil, Walker, by Biſhop Kennet (21). II. *The Guide in controverſies; or a rational account of the doctrines of the Roman Catholics concerning the eccleſiaſtical Guides in controverſies of religion.* London. The two firſt in 1666, and the other two in 1667, and there again, all together, with additions and ſome alterations, in 1673, all in 4to. Some reflections being thrown out in this book, part 3d, on the later writings of Proteſtants—particularly, of Archbiſhop Laud, and Dr Stillingfleet, on the ſame ſubject, gave riſe to a controverſy between the latter and Mr Woodhead, in which he wrote, III. *Dr Stillingfleet's principles conſidered.* Paris, 1671. 4to (22). IV. *Conſiderations on the Council of Trent, being the 5th diſcourſe concerning* The Guide in controverſies. 1671, 4to. V. *The Roman church's devotions.* And, VI. *The Roman doctrine of repentance and indulgence vindicated from Dr Stillingfleet's miſrepreſentations,* both in 1672, 8vo (23). VII. *Exercitations concerning the reſolution of faith,* &c. 1674, 4to. This is a defence of part of the third diſcourſe of the Guide, againſt Dr Stillingfleet's objections in his ſecond diſcourſe before mentioned, in vindication of the Proteſtant grounds. VIII. *An Appendix to the four diſcourſes concerning* The Guide in controverſies, *ſhewing the neceſſity and infallibility thereof, againſt ſome contrary Proteſtant principles.* 1675, 4to. *in two parts.* The ſecond of which contains *Annotations on Dr Stillingfleet's anſwer to N. O's* (24) *conſiderations of his principles.* Some Copies of this book have the following title: *A diſcourſe of the neceſſity of Church Guides for directing Chriſtians in neceſſary faith,* &c. IX. *Of the benefit of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt to mankind.* Oxon. 1680, 4to. X. *An hiſtorical narration of the life and death of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; in two parts.* Oxon. 1685, 4to. publiſhed by Obadiah Walker. Before it went to the preſs, it was view'd by Dr Will. Jane, Regius Profeſſor of Divinity, who ſtruck out ſome things; but they were replaced by Walker, while it was in the preſs. This book raiſed a great clamour in the Univerſity, but was commended for a very good book by King James II. who ſaid, he wondered why any ſhould find fault with it. XI. *Two diſcourſes concerning the Adoration of our Bleſſed Saviour in the Euchariſt* (25), publiſhed, in 1686, by Mr Walker, by vertue of the King's licenſe granted to him, as before mentioned. XII. *Church-government. Part V. A relation of the Engliſh Reformation, and the lawfulneſs thereof examined by the Theſes delivered in the four former parts* (26). Oxon. 1687. XIII. *Two diſcourſes. The firſt concerning the ſpirit of Martin Luther, and the original of the Reformation. The ſecond concerning the celibacy of the clergy* (27). Oxon. 1687. XIV. *Pietas Romana & Pariſienſis; or a faithful relation of the ſeveral ſorts of charitable and pious works eminent in the cities of Rome and Paris.* Oxon. 1688. 4to. XV. *Of Faith neceſſary to ſalvation, and of the neceſſary ground of Faith ſalvifical.* Ibid. 1688. 4to. To which are annexed the four following Treatiſes. 1. *Of Infallibility.* 2. *Concerning the obligation of not profeſſing or acting againſt our judgment and conſcience. And whether the obedience of non contradiction only, or alſo of aſſent, be due to the decrees of Councils.* 3. *Concerning obedience to Eccleſiaſtical Governours, and Tryal of doctrine.* 4. *Concerning ſalvation poſſible to be had in a ſchiſmatical communion. And concerning the danger of living in, and the neceſſity of parting from, a known ſchiſmatical communion.* XVI. *A compendious diſcourſe of the Euchariſt,* &c. Oxon. 1688. 4to. To this diſcourſe are added two Appendixes. The firſt by Francis Nicolſon, M. A. of Univerſity-college, in two parts: The firſt intituled *The doctrine of the church of England concerning the ſubſtantial preſence and adoration of our bleſſed Saviour in the Euchariſt.* 2. *A Vindication of two diſcourſes on that ſubject,* &c. The ſecond by Obadiah Walker, Maſter of the ſaid college, intituled *Animadverſions upon the reply to the two diſcourſes concerning the adoration of our bleſſed Saviour in the holy Euchariſt.* XVII. *Motives to holy living; or heads for meditation, divided into conſiderations, counſels, and duties. Together with ſome forms of devotion in Litanies, Collects, Doxologies,* &c. Oxford, 1688. XVIII. *The Second and Third Treatiſes of the firſt part of Ancient church government.* Oxford, 1688, 4to. The ſecond treatiſe contains a diſcourſe of the ſucceſſion of the Clergy. Theſe laſt Eight were all publiſhed by Mr Walker, of which the laſt ſix were printed at a preſs ſet up in his lodgings in Univerſity college. Beſides theſe eighteen, Mr Woodhead left the following pieces unfiniſhed. 1. *Catholic Theſes.* 2. *Concerning images and idolatry.* 3. *Apocalyps paraphraſed.* 4. *A larger diſcourſe concerning Antichriſt.* All printed at Oxford, in 1689. 4to. This pious and learned Author died in his little cell at Hogſden, or Hoxton, and was buried in the church-yard of St Pancras, near London, about 22 paces diſtant from the chancel of the church, on the ſouth ſide (28). Over his grave was afterwards raiſed an altar monument of brick, cover'd with a thick plank of black marble, upon which was engraven, *A. W. obiit Maii 4. A. D. 1678. ætatis ſuæ LXX. Elegi abjectus eſſe in domo Dei, & manſi in ſolitudine, non quærens quod mihi utile eſt, ſed quod multis.* Dr Stillingfleet gives him the character of a moderate man; and comparing him with Serenus Creſſy, ſays, he is a mere pattern of meekneſs, writing pertinently, without the other's bitterneſs and paſſion (29).

To Dr Wake is alſo ſometimes aſcribed, (II.) The publication of *An hiſtorical treatiſe of Tranſubſtantiation, wherein is made appear, that, according to the principles of that Church, this doctrine cannot be an article of Faith.* 1687. 4to. This was written by a member of the Church of Rome. (III.) *A diſcourſe concerning the nature of Idolatry, in which a late Author's* (S. Parker, Biſhop of Oxford's) *true and only notion of Idolatry (in his reaſons for abrogating the Teſt) is conſidered and confuted.* London, 1688. 4to. (IV.) He is alſo ſaid to be the Author of a Preface prefixed to a tranſlation, by himſelf, from the French, of a piece intituled *Sure and honeſt means for the Converſion of all Hereticks,* &c. 1688. 4to. (V.) *Two diſcourſes of Purgatory and Prayer for the Dead.* 1688. 4to.

[G] *He publiſhed A State of the Controverſy,* &c.] This is an exact collection, ſo far as he was able to make it, of the controverſy on both ſides between the Divines of the Church of England and thoſe of Rome, and in that, ſays our Author, the victory of truth over error. 'Never certainly, continues he, was any cauſe more intirely baffled than the Popiſh at this time. Never was a controverſy more fully handled, and that in ſuch a manner as to inſtruct the meaneſt capacities, than this has been in theſe laſt years: Inſomuch that there is ſcarce a perſon among us ſo ignorant that is not able to make a ſtand againſt the rudeſt attacks of our adverſaries. Now our very *Footmen* eſteem themſelves (and I think have ſatisfied the world that they are not (30) miſtaken) an equal match for Jeſuits, *i. e.* for thoſe who would at leaſt be thought the moſt able men of their party, and dropt down from heaven on purpoſe to oppoſe the growth of the Proteſtant hereſy (31).' But this collection being found incompleat, another liſt of this famous controverſy was publiſhed by Dr Goe, Dean of Lincoln, and Prebendary of Weſtminſter; and Both theſe being found greatly ſhort of the full number; there has been a third made by Mr Francis Peck: Yet even this, vaſt

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(19) When he was entertained at York-houſe by Villiers Duke of Buckingham, whom he had taught mathematics at Rome, as he did, after his return, to Arthur Lord Capel.

(20) Namely, the Aſſembly of Divines their *Jus divinum* miniſterii Anglicani, publiſhed in 1654, and Dr Blondel's Apologia pro ſententia Hieronymi, and others.

(21) In his Regiſter and chronicle, p. 674.

(22) To this Dr Stillingfleet replied, in his Anſwer to ſeveral later treatiſes, Part i.

(23) Theſe two were briefly anſwered by Stillingfleet, in the general preface to his diſcourſe concerning the idolatry practiſed in the church of Rome.

(24) Mr Woodhead's pieces were publiſhed under the initial letters of N. O. or O. N.

(25) Anſwered by Dr Wake.

(26) Anſwered by Dr Smalridge. See his Article.

(27) Anſwered by Dr Francis Atterbury. See his Article. His Anſwer was replied to by Tho. Deane, of Univerſity-college.

(28) Mr Wood tells us, that if King James II. had continued in his throne two years longer, Mr Woodhead's body would have been removed to Univerſity-college chapel, and there had a monument, equal to his great merits and worth. Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 618.

(29) Stillingfleet's general preface above-mention'd.

(30) See Dr Will. Sherlock's Article, in Rem. [*I*], Vol. VI. p. 3680.

(31) Preface to the ſtate of the controverſy, p. 17.

leave of his Patron, the Lord Preſton; and on the 1ſt of October 1688, he enter'd into a marriage with Mrs Etheldred Hovel, daughter and coheireſs of (*b*) Sir William Hovel, of Illington in the county of Norfolk, Knt. (*i*); and ſiding with the Revolution, he was after that event appointed Deputy Clerk of the Cloſet to King William and Qu. Mary, being created D. D. July 5th, 1689, at Oxford, where he had been, on the 20th of the preceding month, collated to a Canonry in his college of Chriſt-church, in the room of Dr Henry Aldrich, promoted to the Deanery of that church (*k*). In the ſame ſpirit of vindicating the doctrine and government of the Church of England againſt the adverſaries to its hierarchy, he publiſhed in 1693, *An Engliſh Verſion of the genuine Epiſtles of the Apoſtolical Fathers, with a Preliminary Diſcourſe concerning the right uſe of thoſe Fathers* [*H*]; and on July the 4th the following year, he was preſented to the Rectory of St James's Weſtminſter (*l*). Continuing under the influence of the ſame zeal for the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, he publiſhed, in 1697, *A Defence of the Power of Chriſtian Princes over their eccleſiaſtical Synods, with particular reſpect to the Convocations of the Clergy and Church of England* [*I*], being the firſt that appeared in print on the ſide of the Regal Authority in that remarkable diſpute (*m*), to which afterwards, having publiſhed a further

as it is, has been obſerved to be defective, eſpecially as to the titles of them, ſo teeming was the preſs upon this occaſion. However, there was printed many years ago, under the Eye of Dr Gibſon, late Biſhop of London, a ſelect collection of the beſt pieces, in 3 vols. folio, ſo that we may well enough ſpare the reſt.

[*H*] *He publiſhed an Engliſh verſion of the Apoſtolical Fathers*, &c.] The deſign of this piece being to ſtate and aſſert the juſt authority of theſe Fathers in reſpect to ſome not uncontested parts of the conſtitutional Church, as well as ſome opinions generally embraced therein, the Doctor claims that authority as giving a kind of ſanction thereto; and ſums it up in theſe particulars. 1. They were contemporary with the Apoſtles, and inſtructed by them. 2. They were men of an eminent character in the church, and therefore could not be ignorant of what was taught in it. 3. They were careful to preſerve the doctrine of Chriſt in its purity, and to oppoſe ſuch as went about to corrupt it. 4. They were men not only of a perfect piety, but of great courage and conſtancy, and therefore ſuch as cannot be ſuſpected to have had any deſign to prevaricate in this matter. 5. They were endued with a large portion of the Holy Spirit, and as ſuch could hardly err in what they delivered as the Goſpel of Chriſt. 6. Their writings were approved by the church in thoſe days, which could not be miſtaken in its approbation of them.—Both the undertaking and execution of the work met with entire approbation, and fixt his reputation among all parties well affected to the church, as a moſt able and worthy champion for it. A new edition was publiſhed, in 1710, 8vo. with ſuch corrections and improvements, as to render it, he ſays, almoſt a new work. But, ſince his death, Dr Conyers Middleton having, in his *Free Enquiry*, &c. urged the ſilence of theſe Fathers in confirmation of the general poſition of that treatiſe, he was charged by his Antagoniſts, Dodwell and Church, with a paſſage taken from Dr Wake's verſion of St Clement's Epiſtle to the Corinthians, as an inſtance of a plain reference to the miraculous gifts of that age. Hereupon Middleton, in a reply, grants, that the paſſage, as it is paraphraſed by our Author, does expreſsly aſſert the ſubſiſtence of the miraculous powers to that particular age; and owns that he wilfully omitted this teſtimony, even knowing it to be contrary to his aſſertion. ‘ But, ſays he, I can plead at the ſame time, with great truth, that the reaſons which moved me to omit it, were, firſt, the utter inſignificancy which it appeared to have, as to any proof or evidence relating to the quæſtion; and, ſecondly, a regard alſo for the character of that venerable Prelate, which made me unwilling to recall into public light a paraphraſe which I took to be unworthy of him, and, of all others that I had ever obſerved, to be the moſt palpably forced and dreſſed up, without any ground or colour from the Text, to ſerve the point which he was inculcating, concerning the continuance of the miraculous powers to the times of theſe Apoſtolic Fathers. In proceeding, he obſerves, that the words of the Text, as they ſtand in the Epiſtle clear of the paraphraſe, and tranſlated by the Archbiſhop himſelf, are, *Let a man be faithful, Let him be powerful in the utterance of knowledge, Let him be wiſe in making an exact judgment of words, Let him be pure in all his actions; but ſtill by how much the more he ſeems to be above others by reaſon of theſe things, by ſo much the more will it behove him to be humble-minded, and to ſeek what is profitable to all men, not his own advantage* (32). Thus ſtands the paſſage in the Archbiſhop's Engliſh edition of theſe Apoſtolical Fathers, where no man whoſe mind was not prepoſſeſſed with the ſame hypotheſis, or ſenſes dazzled with the authority of the Archbiſhop, could find a ſyllable which bears any ſort of reference to miraculous powers, or ſuggeſts the leaſt hint of the continuance of them to that Age. How is it then that the Archbiſhop has contrived to give ſuch a turn to it? why, not by any critical art, or grammatical rule, but by forcibly thruſting his own ſenſe into it, in a manner ſo groſs and arbitrary, as would fix the ſame ſenſe or any other upon any paſſage whatſoever. We ſee that the words of the Text, unparaphraſed, are clear of any miraculous ſenſe; for, in his preliminary diſcourſe to theſe very Epiſtles, he has ſhewn us how eaſily this may be performed on any proper occaſion by any commodious paraphraſe. The paſſage then, when opened and illuſtrated by the Archbiſhop's explanatory tranſlation, ſtands thus: *Let a man have faith*, that is, ſays the Archbiſhop, ſuch a faith by which he is able to work miracles: *Let him be powerful to utter knowledge*, that is, myſtical knowledge, ſays the Archbiſhop, for to that the expreſſion manifeſtly relates: *Let him be wiſe in diſcerning of ſpeeches*, for that was another gift, ſays the Archbiſhop, common to thoſe times: *Let him be pure in his actions: but ſtill by how much the more he ſeems to excell others*, that is, ſays the Archbiſhop, upon account of theſe extraordinary endowments, *ſo much the more will it behove him to be humble minded* (33). The recital of this paraphraſe, continues Middleton, will readily convince every man of ſenſe, that I could have no other reaſon for omitting it, than what I have already alledged; nor could I ever imagine, that in a controverſy of this kind, which can be determined only by the authentic facts and teſtimonies of antiquity, any one, who profeſſed to be ſearching into the real ground of it, would attempt to prove by a paraphraſe, what he could not prove from the Text, and inſtead of the poſitive teſtimony of an Apoſtolic Father, which his cauſe neceſſarily required, take up with the arbitrary comment of a modern Prelate (34).’

[*I*] *He was the firſt that engaged on the ſide of the royal authority*, &c.] In this book he undertakes to prove, that under the government of a Chriſtian Prince, the church has no other right to aſſemble in ſynods, but what it receives from the grant or expreſs conſent of ſuch a Prince, and conſequently no Perſon can be deputed to call a ſynod without his particular leave; and when the ſynod is aſſembled, they have no right to ſit, debate, diſpute, or determine upon any point of doctrine or diſcipline, any farther than is allowed by the Prince, who may ratify, annull or alter their proceedings as he thinks proper, and ſuſpend the execution of all or any of their conſtitutions and decrees. In ſhort, that the authority of their acts depends intirely and ſolely upon him; and that no ſynod can diſſolve themſelves without his permiſſion. The piece being ſomewhat imperfect, and ſome miſtakes ſlipt into it through haſte, did not eſcape the animadverſions of his Antagoniſts: Whereupon Dr Kennet, who engaged afterwards on the ſame ſide with our Author, publiſhed an apology for him on theſe terms, (35) obſerving, that his attempt upon this ſubject was

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(*b*) She had two ſiſters, one of which was married to William Folkes, Eſq; a very eminent lawyer, and father to Martyn Folkes, Eſq; ſometime Preſident of the Royal Society, and the other to the grandfather of Sir Simeon Stewart, preſent Knight of the ſhire for Hampſhire.

(*i*) The ceremony was performed by Dr John Sharp, Dean of Norwich (afterwards Archbp of York) at his pariſh church of St Giles in the Fields. MS memoirs, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1058, 1059. & Faſti Oxon. col. 233. where it is ſaid, that he accumulated the two degrees in divinity, and went out Grand Compounder.

(*l*) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 661.

(*m*) See an hiſtorical account of that controverſy in Biſhop Atterbury's Article, in Vol. I. p. 270. Rem. [*T*].

(32) Wake's Epiſt. §. 48.

(33) Id. in Preliminary diſcourſe, p. 113.

(34) Vindication of the Free Enquiry, p. 299. & ſeqq. in the firſt Vol. of Dr Middleton's works, in 4 Vol. 4to, 1752.

(35) Kennet's eccleſiaſtical Synods, &c. p. 21, 22. edit. 1701.

further *Vindication of the King's Supremacy againſt both Popiſh and Fanatical Oppoſers of it*, he alſo put an end by his unanſwerable treatiſe, *The State of the Church and Clergy of England*, &c. publiſhed in 1703, folio; being then Dean of Exeter, into which dignity he was inſtalled on the 16th of February 1701 *(n)*; whence he was promoted to the Biſhopric of Lincoln, July 28th, 1705, and conſecrated thereto the 21ſt of October following *(o)*. This promotion entitling him to a ſeat in the Houſe of Peers, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a long and learned ſpeech in favour of a comprehenſion with the Diſſenters [*K*], at the opening of the ſecond article of impeachment againſt the famous Dr Henry Sacheverell; in the cenſure and puniſhment of which Divine he zealouſly concurred with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr Tho. Teniſon, upon whoſe demiſe he was tranſlated to that Metropolitan See, in January 1715-16, being confirmed the 16th of that month *(p)*. As he had hitherto ſhewed himſelf on all occaſions a faithful Son of the Church, by ſtanding in defence of the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment againſt the attempts made to ſet it off its genuine foundation with regard to the power of the Prince, by the unwarrantable exceſſive zeal of one party; ſo being now raiſed to the head of the Church, he watched over it with a paternal care for its welfare, againſt the no leſs exceſſive zeal of another party, labouring to weaken its legally eſtabliſhed authority with regard to the People. It was in this view that he both voted and ſpoke in the Houſe of Lords againſt the repeal of the Schiſm and Conformity Bill in *(q)* 1718 [*L*], and that

(n) Le Neve's Faſti eccleſ. Anglic. p. 86.

(o) Idem, p. 142. N. B. It is ſaid to have been deſigned for Sir *Will. Dawes*, but the miniſtry being offended by a ſermon preached by him on the 30th January preceding, prevailed upon the Queen [Anne] to give it to Dr Wake. Baron. of England, Vol. I. under the article of Sir Will. Dawes. In the Hiſt. of Bennet-college Camb. by Maſters, p. 397. it is ſaid, Dr Teniſon recommended him for his ſucceſſor.

(p) Le Neve, as before.

(q) Debates of the houſe of Lords under that year.

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the more difficult, becauſe no writer before him had profeſſedly treated of theſe matters. And truly, continues Kennet, ſince our church was reformed, no occaſion had been given, no diſputing among churchmen with the King's Supremacy as by law eſtabliſhed, from 25 Henry VIII. to the 9 William III. For this reaſon the Doctor had a better title to civil uſage, becauſe he was a firſt adventurer, and made diſcoveries of a world unknown, as it were, before. That he had a further right to ſome allowance, in that he owned himſelf in haſte (36), and ſpoke modeſtly of what he had done. He offers it as *a rude haſty performance, at moſt but an imperfect eſſay, and the firſt lines of a draught, ſhews rather what he deſigned, than what he was able in any tolerable manner to finiſh* (37); with many other acknowledgments ingenuous and free; not inſulting his Adverſary, nor catching at a word for triumph, but with a good eaſy air approving himſelf a writer of ſome breeding and ſome conſcience, for an example to his Anſwerers and Accuſers.

[*K*] *His ſpeech in favour of a comprehenſion*, &c.] The moſt intereſting paſſage of this ſpeech has been already cited under the article of Archbiſhop Sancroft (38), the proſecuting and compleating of whoſe particular plan of a comprehenſion, it was our Author's intention in this ſpeech to recommend, and which he juſtly calls the firſt concerted deſign of that Project, the ſeveral attempts that were made in it before by Judge Hales and Dr Tillotſon, in the reign of King Charles II. being found impracticable, before any regular plan, ſuch as that of Sancroft's, was drawn for carrying it into execution. Upon the whole, it muſt be obſerved carefully, that our Author here concurs with that plan, as aiming to gain the more moderate Diſſenters, who had joined with the church in the Popiſh controverſy, and who had then expreſſed an unuſual readineſs to come into it; and that, nevertheleſs, no conceſſions were to be made, that might do any prejudice thereto.

[*L*] *He ſpoke, in* 1718, *againſt the repeal of the ſchiſm and conformity Bill.*] The Bill for this purpoſe was brought into the Houſe of Lords by the then Earl *Stanhope*, under the title of *a Bill for ſtrengthening the Proteſtant Intereſt*. Our Archbiſhop, in his ſpeech againſt it, obſerved, among other things, "that the "Acts, which by this Bill were to be repealed, were "the main bulwark and ſupporters of the eſtabliſhed "church: That he had all imaginable tenderneſs for "all the well meaning conſcientious diſſenters, but "he could not forbear ſaying that ſome amongſt "them made a wrong uſe of the favour and indulgence that was ſhewn them upon the Revolution, "though they had the leaſt ſhare in that event." His Grace added in the cloſe of his ſpeech, "that as to "the *Act againſt Schiſm*, though it may carry a face "of ſeverity, yet it ſeem'd needleſs to make a law to "repeal it, ſince no advantage had been taken of it "againſt the Diſſenters ever ſince it was made." This oppoſition of his Grace to the repeal of this bill made a great noiſe, and was objected to him, as proceeding from a notoriouſly unbecoming inconſiſtent conduct in the change of principles, which had led him, while Biſhop of Lincoln, to vote and proteſt againſt paſſing the Schiſm bill, in 1714 (39). To which, in juſtice to our Prelate's memory, it ought to be obſerved, that whoever looks into the ſtate of the nation in thoſe times, will too plainly ſee, that both the enacting and repeal of the Schiſm bill were purely owing to the heat of ſuch a zeal, as was ſet on fire by the violent colliſion of party rage, without any real concern for the true intereſt or welfare of Religion or the church, which are too often made a dupe to private reſentments in ſuch unhappy conjunctures. In theſe caſes, the man that acts ſteadily and uniformly upon principle, will find himſelf frequently under the neceſſity of ſiding with different parties, as our Metropolitan is obſerved to do in the preſent caſe. Neither is it any impeachment of that ſteadineſs, if we ſhould grant that his Grace changed his opinion concerning the beſt way to win over the Diſſenters, and agreed with his Brother Metropolitan of York *, in reſpect to the danger of truſting the Diſſenters, urging, *That the Acts againſt occaſional conformity and ſchiſm were proper means of ſelf defence and preſervation, and that the Diſſenters were never to be gained by indulgence*. The Earl of Nottingham, who appeared on the ſame ſide with Dr Wake, being charged, in the ſame debate, by Dr Gibſon, then Biſhop of London, with promoting a *comprehenſion* when Secretary of State, thought it a ſufficient juſtification of himſelf therein to alledge, that *in thoſe days he was but a young man, and had ſince found the Diſſenters were obſtinate, never to be ſatisfied*. Dr Ben. Hoadly, then Biſhop of Bangor, likewiſe, who ſpoke on the other ſide in this memorable debate, being charged from a paſſage in his *Perſuaſive to Lay Conformity*, with having, ſince that book was written, embraced and maintained other principles, anſwered, that 'he was ſo far from having 'altered his principles, that, both before and after he 'had been promoted to that ſtation he held in the 'church, he had endeavoured to bring over the Diſſenters to it; but that he ever was of opinion that gentle meaſures were the moſt effectual for that purpoſe.' So far was not *abſolutely* irreconcileable to his Metropolitan's way of thinking, ſince there are manifeſtly different degrees of gentle meaſures: but, in proceeding to unfold his ſentiments, he ſpoke out plainly and fully as follows. He endeavoured to ſhew at large, 'the unreaſonableneſs and ill policy of impoſing religious teſts as a qualification for civil and military 'employments, as abridging men of their natural 'rights, depriving the ſtate of the ſervice of many of 'its beſt ſubjects, and expoſing its moſt ſacred inſtitutions and ordinances to be abuſed by profane and irreligious perſons.' He alſo laboured to prove, that the '*occaſional* and *ſchiſm* Acts were in effect perſecuting 'laws; and that by admitting the examples of *ſelf-defence* and *ſelf-preſervation* in matters of religion, 'all the perſecutions of the Heathens againſt the 'Chriſtians, and even the Popiſh inquiſition, might 'be juſtified. As to the power, of which ſome Clergymen appeared ſo fond and ſo jealous, he owned 'that the deſire of power and riches is natural to all 'men; but that he had learned both from reaſon and 'the goſpel, that this deſire muſt keep within due 'bounds, and not intrench upon the rights and liberties

(36) In the Dedication Epiſtle.

(37) In the Preface, p. 111.

(38) In Rem. [*N*], p. 3585. Vol. V.

(39) Journals, &c. of the houſe of Lords for that year.

* Sir William Dawes, Bart.

that he oppoſed the deſign entered into by ſome powerful perſons the year following to repeal the Corporation and Teſt Acts [*M*]. In the ſame ſpirit, he joined the Earl of Nottingham in preparing and bringing a Bill into Parliament in 1721, for requiring a new Teſt againſt the Arian hereſy [*N*]. At the ſame time we ſee him not unmindful to diſcharge other duties of his high Poſt. It was in this year, 1721, that an Appeal being lodged with him as Viſitor in right of his See of All Souls college in Oxford, he made a decree eſtabliſhing the abſolute claim by the ſtatutes of the Founder's kinſmen, tho' related in any the moſt diſtant degree whatſoever, to be elected Fellows of that Society *(r)* [*O*]. However, this incident did not in any wiſe interrupt his care for the more important concerns of the Church: Whilſt he was labouring to preſerve the purity and dignity of it from the various attempts, as has been ſaid, of its barefaced as well as its maſked adverſaries to undermine it at home, we find him exerting his ſkill and wiſdom to remove the errors and prejudices concerning its doctrine and government among the nations abroad; and foreigners had a ſhare in his univerſal catholic affection. Some mutual civilities having paſſed in 1717 between his Grace and Lewis Ellis Dupin, Doctor of Sorbonne at Paris, as men of letters, by the means of the reverend Mr Beauvoir, then Chaplain to Lord Stair, the Engliſh Ambaſſador at that court; Dupin wrote to the Archbiſhop a Latin letter in January 1717-18 [*P*], wherein having congratulated the Church of England in the enjoyment of ſo eminent a Prelate for its Metropolitan,

‘ ties of our Fellow-creatures and Countrymen (40).’ This was flying full in the face of our Archbiſhop, who, 'twas well known, had before expreſſed his diſpleaſure at the doctrine advanced by my Lord of Bangor, in his famous Sermon concerning the *nature of Chriſt's kingdom*, preached before the Houſe of Lords the preceding year, as aiming to ſtrip the Church of ſome of its juſt rights and powers, of which his Grace was by his poſt the conſtituted Guardian. He was not, therefore, wanting to exert himſelf warmly in the defence of thoſe rights, as may be ſeen in the enſuing Remark.

[*M*] *He oppoſed the deſign of repealing the Corporation and Teſt Acts.*] Dr Hoadly was at the bottom of this deſign; and his famous ſermon laſt cited was obſerved to be preached and printed in order to prepare and pave the way for its execution. His Grace, therefore, finding the deſign to be countenanced, encouraged, and promoted by Powerful Perſons in the miniſtry, judged it beſt, after their example, to declare his utter abhorrence and indignation againſt it in an indirect way, without profeſſedly engaging in a controverſy occaſioned by Party malevolence. In this judgment, he wrote a Latin letter, addreſſed to the Superintendant of Zurich in Switzerland, and which has been publiſhed in a piece printed there, under the title of *Oratio hiſtorica de beneficiis in eccleſiam Tigurinam collatis*, containing in ſubſtance as follows *: ‘ Some of our Biſhops, ſays he, are labouring to pull down the church in which they miniſter, and to introduce ſuch licentiouſneſs, as would overthrow the grace of the Holy Spirit, the divinity of Chriſt, and all other fundamental Articles of our religion. That it is to be lamented by all that theſe *grievous wolves* are not only not driven away from the ſheepfold, but are received within the walls of the Church; and what is more, preferred to its honours, its offices, and its government! That the miniſtry, who have nothing at heart but their own power, and the preſervation of their places, becauſe they think by tolerating and promoting theſe men, they ſhall ingratiate themſelves with the Populace, are intirely careleſs what becomes of the church, of the faith, or of religion; in ſhort, of Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, and of his truth—That he ſhould think himſelf guilty of betraying the Faith, if he did not, whenever opportunity ſerved, anathematize theſe Heretics and Enemies of our religion.’ This letter gave birth to two ſevere pamphlets. 1. *A ſhort Vindication of the Lord Archbiſhop from the imputation of being the Author of a Letter lately printed at* Zurich, *concerning the ſtate of religion in England.* Lond. 1719. 8vo. 2. *A Letter to the Lord Archbiſhop, proving that his Grace cannot be the Author of the Letter to an eminent Presbyterian Clergyman in Swiſſerland, in which the preſent ſtate of religion in England is blackened and expoſed, and the preſent miniſtry miſrepreſented and traduced.* Lond. 1719. 8vo. This laſt piece was aſcribed to Mr Gordon, Author of *The Independent Whig*, who, from ſome paſſages in his Grace's *Defence of the Expoſition of the Doctrine of the Church of England*, p. 80, 81. and others in a Sermon preached by him 5th Nov. 1699, p. 12, 13. 15. compared with the forementioned Letter, would infer a change of his principles; but with the like ill ſucceſs as Mr Whiſton had, for want of diſtinguiſhing between a licentious and malevolent, and a liberal, ingenuous inquiry, as is abundantly ſhewn in a piece publiſhed in anſwer to the two former, under the title of *A Vindication of the Orthodox Clergy, in anſwer to two ſcurrilous libels, pretending to be a vindication of his Lordſhip of Canterbury, but ſcandalouſly reflecting upon his Grace, and our moſt orthodox Clergy.* Lond. 1720. 8vo.

[*N*] *He joined with the Earl of Nottingham againſt the Arians.*] The Bill was rejected by the Lords (41), and the miſcarriage of it furniſhed matter of triumph to the much famed Mr Will. Whiſton, who called it an attempt to introduce an *holy inquiſition* into the Church of England. By this part of our Archbiſhop's conduct, he unavoidably brought himſelf under the ſcratches of that Author's pen, which was particularly ſet on edge, and pointed to defame him as a changing Time-ſerver, in a letter addreſſed directly to his Grace, whoſe moderate conduct in the convocations which cenſured this Author and Dr Clarke, in 1711, and 1712, where he appeared for examining their doctrines before ſentence, is contraſted as diametrically oppoſite to his ſpeech on the introduction of this Bill into Parliament, declaring he would have the ſame doctrines puniſhed, even before and without examination, with the utmoſt ſeverity, as no better than *profane blaſphemy* (42). No anſwer to this appears in Whiſton's book, and it is more than probable he received none. However, the anſwer is very obvious, *viz.* the increaſe of theſe heretical doctrines ſince 1712, made, in his Grace's opinion, ſharper ways of proceeding againſt them proper in 1721.

[*O*] *A decree in favour of Founders Kinſmen.*] This decree has been much complained of by ſeveral of the Fellows of that college; and, in 1748, 8vo. there came out a Pamphlet, wherein the Author undertakes to ſhew the notorious repugnancy of it to the welfare of that, or of the like to the welfare of any ſociety; and thence infers, that the words of the founder in the ſtatute which gives a preference to his kindred, cannot be interpreted in that abſolute and unlimited ſenſe as is put upon them by this decree.

[*P*] *A Latin letter in January* 1717-18.] Mr Beauvoir in a letter to the Archbiſhop, dated Paris, 11 December 1717, O. S. writes thus:

‘ My Lord,

‘ I had the honour of your Grace's letter of the 27th ult. but laſt Sunday, and therefore could not anſwer it ſooner.—Dr Du Pin, with whom I dined laſt Monday, and with the Syndic of the Sorbonne and two other Doctors, tells me, that what ſwells Moreri's dictionary, are ſeveral additions, and eſpecially the families of Great Britain. He hath the chief hand in this new edition. They talked as if the whole kingdom was to appeal to a future General Council, &c. They wiſhed for *an Union with the Church of England, as the moſt effectual means to unite all the Weſtern churches.* Dr Du Pin deſired me to give his duty to your Grace, upon my telling him that I would ſend you an arreſt of the Parliament of Paris relating to him.’—It was the handſom mention which his Grace made of Dr Du Pin in his anſwer to this letter which occaſioned Dr Du Pin to write his firſt letter to his Grace.

(r) The ſame decree was afterwards made on the like occaſion by the Archbiſhops Potter and Herring, and has been lately [1762] affirmed by the preſent Archbiſhop, Dr Secker.

(40) Journals and Debates of the Houſe of Lords in 1718.

* A copy of the original Latin is printed in the General Dictionary, vol. X. p. 81, Rem. [*B*].

(41) See in Biſhop Gibſon's article ſome account of it.

(42) Whiſton's memoirs, &c. p. 221. edit. 1743. The title of the Bill was, *A Bill for the more effectual ſuppreſſion of blaſphemy and profaneneſs.*

he took occaſion to expeſs his deſire of an UNION between the two churches of England and France, and of entring into a correſpondence with his Grace for that purpoſe. The Archbiſhop, in return, thanking him for his civilities, obſerved, that it was full time both for himſelf and the reſt of his brethren of the Sorbonne to declare openly their true ſentiments of the ſuperſtition and ambition of the Court of Rome: That it was the intereſt of all Chriſtians to unmaſk that Court, and thereby reduce it to thoſe primitive limits and honours which it enjoyed in the firſt ages of the Church. In the courſe of this correſpondence, the Archbiſhop explained the Belief, Tenets, and Doctrine of the Church of England, the manner of its beginning to reform and ſhake off all foreign power and ſuperſtition both in Church and State, and its acknowledgment that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is the only Founder, Source, and Head of the Church. His Grace inſiſted conſtantly on this Article in the letters he wrote not only to Dr Dupin, but Quinault and Piers de Girardin, both Doctors alſo of Sorbonne; and he always maintained the juſtice and orthodoxy of every individual Article of the Church of England, without making the leaſt conceſſion towards approving the ambitious pretenſions of the Church of Rome. It is not to be wonder'd at, if the Doctors of the Sorbonne readily concurred in a ſcheme which ſome of the principal of them ſingly wiſhed for. Dr Patritius Piers de Girardin, in an oration ſpoken in an extraordinary Aſſembly of the Sorbonne, March 17, 1718, N. S. openly propoſed it [*Q*]; and before the July following, Dr Dupin drew up an Eſſay towards an UNION, which was to receive the approbation of Cardinal de Noailles, and then to be tranſmitted to his Grace [*R*]. This piece, which was called *A Commonitorium*, was read by, and had the approbation of, the Sorbonne, and in it was ceded the adminiſtration of the Euchariſt in both kinds, the performing of divine ſervice in the vulgar tongue, and the marriage of the Proteſtant Clergy; and the invocation of Saints was given up as unneceſſary. The project engroſſed the whole converſation of the city of Paris. The Lord Stanhope, who about that time went thither upon ſome extraordinary emergency, and Lord Stair, the Ambaſſador, were congratulated thereupon by ſome great perſonages in the royal palace. The Regent himſelf [Duke of Orleans] and Abbot du Bois, Miniſter of foreign affairs, as alſo Mr Jely de Fleury, Attorney General, gave the line at firſt, and let things run on to certain lengths. But the Jeſuits and Conſtitutioners rung the alarum-bell, and overturned the whole ſcheme, by ſpreading a report that Cardinal de Noailles and his friends the Janſeniſts were upon the point of making a coalition with the Heretics. Hereupon Dr Piers de Girardin was ſent for to court, and ſeverely reprimanded by Abbot Du Bois, and ſtrictly charged, upon pain of being ſent to the Baſtille, to give up all the letters he had received from the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as alſo a copy of all his own. The Doctor was forced to obey; and all the letters were immediately ſent to Rome, as ſo many Trophies gained from the Enemies of the Church. Abbot Du Bois was then in purſuit of a Cardinal's cap, which met with ſome ſtop at Rome; his diſcovery of what was in agitation in France, and in concert with whom, is ſuppoſed to have contributed not a little to removing all difficulties, and to procuring that dignity, which he ſoon after obtained [*S*]. Thus ended this noble project! His Grace was perfectly ſenſible that nothing could be done in it without the concurrence of the ſtate, however well diſpoſed the principal men of that Church might be towards it. Nevertheleſs the change of affairs contributed to the reputation of the Archbiſhop, his letters being admired even by the then Pope Clement XI. who declared it was pity the author of ſuch profound letters was not a member of their Church [*T*]. And notwithſtanding this affair met with ſo unhappy a fate,

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[*Q*] *Piers de Girardin openly propoſed it.*] A copy of this oration, with a letter to the Archbiſhop in the hand-writing of Dr Piers de Girardin (43), are in the Collection of letters, &c. now in the poſſeſſion of Mr Beauvoir's family.

(43) His name was originally Piers only, but he added De Girardine to denote his extraction from a family of that name in Ireland. From the information of Father Courayer.

[*R*] *An Eſſay towards an Union*, &c.] In the laſt mentioned collection there is alſo a copy of this piece, which is intituled *Commonitorium de modis ineundæ pacis inter Eccleſias Anglicanam & Gallicanam.* It is addreſſed to all the Biſhops: and in it he firſt gives a ſhort hiſtory of the Reformation, after which he reduces the controverſy to theſe three Heads; 1. *Fidei dogmata*: 2. *Diſciplinæ Eccleſiaſticæ Ritus*: 3. *Moralis Doctrina*. Theſe he treats of by conſidering the Articles of the Church of England. With regard to Art. VI. [*Of the ſufficiency of the holy Scriptures to ſalvation*] he deſires Tradition to be admitted as explanatory of ſcripture, and the Apocryphal Books of the Old Teſtament to be allowed as *Deutero-Canonici.* In Art. XXI. [*Of the authority of General Councils*] he aſſerts, that a General Council of the whole Church cannot err. As to Art. XXII. [*Of Purgatory*] he ſays, that *Images* may be retained or not, as each Church pleaſes: Purgatory and Indulgencies are ſo explained as, he thinks, may be admitted by the Church of England. In conſidering Art. XXV. [*Of the Sacraments*] without examining whether the five rejected ſacraments of the Roman church were inſtituted by Chriſt or not, he thinks they may retain that name. Under Art. XXVIII. [*Of the Lord's Supper*] he would alter the words ſo as the Believers in Tranſubſtantiation might ſubſcribe to it. The other Articles are allowed; as is the Ordination of Biſhops, &c. and the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline of the Church of England.

[*S*] *He obtained a Cardinal's cap ſoon after.*] This account is principally taken from the dedication to Archbiſhop Wake of a book intituled *An Eſſay on Generoſity and Greatneſs of Spirit*, by Henry Mills, Maſter of Whitgift's Hoſpital, at Croydon in Surrey. Lond. 1732. 8vo. and perfectly agrees with a ſeries of Letters from the Archbiſhop to Mr Beauvoir on this ſubject, and with an account of this tranſaction drawn up by Dr Du Pin, and ſome other papers relative to this affair now in the hands of Mr Beauvoir's family; from which authorities it is in ſome places a little enlarged by the Rev. Mr Beauvoir, the preſent Maſter of the King's ſchool at Canterbury. The cauſes of its being broken off do not appear from theſe letters, but reſt on the authority of Mr Mills's relation, which, 'tis ſaid, came from the Archbiſhop himſelf.

[*T*] *The Pope wiſhed the Archbiſhop was a member of their church.*] Thus ended this noble project; his Grace was perfectly ſenſible, that nothing could be done in it, without the concurrence of the ſtate, however well diſpoſed the principal men of that church might fate, yet ſeveral learned Divines of the Gallican Church became thereby very ſenſible of his Grace's Catholic benevolence and abilities. It was from a conviction of theſe that Peter Francis Courayer, Canon Regular and Principal Librarian of the Cathedral Church [illegible]t Genevieve at Paris, applied not long after to his Grace for his aſſiſtance to clear up [illegible]ome difficulties in the accounts he had met with of the Engliſh Ordinations [*U*]. The Archbiſhop gladly complied with this requeſt, and ſpared no pains to give his Correſpondent full ſatisfaction in that point [*W*]. And as Father Courayer had alſo deſired ſome information

might be towards it. Although we muſt lament that what was ſo far happily advanced was thus broken off, yet it muſt be ſome pleaſure to know, that the way is paved for this arduous, pious, and deſireable work, whenever it ſhall pleaſe the Almighty to incline the Princes of this world to come into it: and the letters from his Grace to Mr Beauvoir, who conducted this affair under his direction, will be undeniable teſtimonies of that truly great Prelate's zeal for maintaining the doctrines of the church of England, and for eſtabliſhing a general union among the Chriſtian churches, as well as of his great knowledge of mankind; and they contain the beſt inſtructions for any perſon, who ſhall hereafter undertake ſo laudable a work. In a word, ſays Mr Mills, the project of uniting the Engliſh and Gallican churches, which his Grace did ſo much to promote, beſides other more particular and perſonal both ſpiritual bleſſings and temporal which might have enſued thereupon, would have been a not improbable means of ſecuring the public peace of Chriſtendom, by fixing an uniformity and good underſtanding upon true Chriſtian principles between thoſe two great nations, upon whoſe friendſhip or enmity it is now well ſeen that the tranquillity of Europe in great meaſure depends. To this we ſhall add, that as the Archbiſhop conſtantly in his letters both to Dr Du Pin, *&c.* on this occaſion, and alſo in thoſe hereafter mentioned to Father Courayer, lays the obſtruction of the union chiefly to the pride and ambition of the court of Rome; ſo it ſeems to be nearer a completion from the late total ſuppreſſion in France of the Jeſuits, an order erected purely to ſupport that pride and ambition.

[*U*] *Courayer applied to him upon the ſubject of our Engliſh Ordinations.*] A copy of this addreſs, which was written in Latin, has been communicated to me *by Father* Courayer himſelf, and is as follows.

‘ *Miraberis forte*, Illuſtriſſime ac Reverendiſſime Preſul, Te ab homine extero & ignoto compellari. Nec ſane mihi tantum ſumſiſſem, niſi Tuæ eruditionis fama, Eccleſiæ Britannicæ utilitas, & Eccleſiaſticæ concordiæ, quo flagras, zelus, eum mihi animum addidiſſent. Deterrebant equidem, ne ad Te accederem nominis mei obſcuritas, Tuæq; dignitatis celſitudo. Sed fiduciam adjecit commercii litterarii, quod cum amico meo felicis memoriæ D. DUPIN dudum inſtitueras, recordatio, eoque confidentius id in me ſuſcepi, quod Tibi non ingratum fore judicarem, ſi aliquis e Catholicis Theologis tentat, quod non niſi ab Anglicanis huc uſque tentatum eſt. De Ordinationibus Anglicanis loquor, quarum defenſionem mox edendam contra clariſſimi Viri. D. EUSEBII RENAUDOT ſcriptum poſthumum ſuſcepi. A veſtris jam feliciter res acta eſt; ſed ut plurimum ignoti ſunt apud nos libri Anglicani, & ob religionis diſſidia maxime ſuſpecti; nemo enim neſcit, multum in rebus eccleſiaſticis partium ſtudium poſſe, ac ſæpiſſime plus roboris habere, apud homines præjudicii tenaces, unum ſocietatis ſuæ Theologum quâm oppoſitæ ſectæ Gregem integrum.

‘ Veritatis amore ductus quidquid ex utraque parte adductum eſt, ſedulo perſolvi, ſelegi quidquid in iis ad convincendum fortius, & ad perſuadendum viſum eſt aptius, nova argumenta veteribus adjunxi, ſi quid e ſacris Theologiæ fontibus ad rem faciebat, non neglexi; uno verbo eo modo rem digeſſi, ut ſi non ignota proferrem, *ſaltem* huic hiſtoriæ parti majorem lucem diſquiſitio noſtra aliquatenus fæneraretur. Unum deeſt maxime neceſſarium ad pertinaciam adverſariorum retundendam, & id ipſum eſt cujus recuperandi gratia ad Te ſcribere audeo, ſi forte inde aliquid ſubſidii cauſæ communi obveniat. Non Te latet, *R*everendiſſime Præſul, conſecrationem Barloi primum Aſſavenſis, tum poſtea Menevenſis & Ciceſtrienſis Epiſcopi, a pleriſque negari. Multa ſuppetunt argumenta, quibus hujus conſecrationis veritas evincatur, ſed niſi proferatur Actus, acquieſcere detrectant. Certum eſt, in Eccleſiæ Tuæ Metropolitanæ Regiſtro eum non reperiri, ſed forte apud Eccleſiam aliquam e Suffraganeis conſecratus eſt Barlous, & in Tabulis hujus Eccleſiæ Actus occurret. Tanti res eſt, ut nil omitti debeat ad hujus monumenti inveſtigationem, tantaque apud ſeren. M. *B*ritannicæ Regem vales gratia, ut facile ab Eo Regium Placitum obtineas, quo ſingularum M. Britanniæ Tabulæ perluſtrentur, ut ſemel conſtet exiſtat nec ne talis Actus, aut ſaltem conſecrationis locus & tempus e monumentis certis aſſignetur. *Illud* a Te beneficium impenſe rogo, nec ullus dubito, quin pro Tua humanitate impertiaris. Quod ſi diligentiam tuam votaque noſtra ita fortunet Deus ut Actus occurrat, non tam de me bene meritus eris, quam de Tua Eccleſia, & quid dico Tua, imo potius de tota Eccleſia Catholica, cujus unitatem & concordiam colere & procurare pro viribus omnes debent. O me felicem, ſi quid operi bonorum omnium votis digno conferre queam, & meis obſecundare deſideriis, quæ proculdubio eruditio Tua, prudentia, zelus, magnæ ſedis auctoritas efficacia redderent, ſi tanto operi humana ſufficerent ſubſidia. Sed forſan aliquando precibus noſtris præſtabit Deus, quod laboribus denegat, & qualiſcunque votorum noſtrorum ſit exitus, pacem tamen & concordiam optare imo & procurare, Chriſtiani & probi hominis eſſe ſemper judicabimus.

‘ Quid mihi jam ſupereſt, Reverendiſſime Præſul, niſi ut excuſatum me habeas, quod audacius forte, quam par erat, ad Te acceſſerim. Condonabis tamen, ut ſpero, temeritati meæ, ſi quid hac in parte peccavi, & eruditionis ac humanitatis Tuæ famæ imputa, quidquid a me erratum eſt. Cæterum ſi res non ita mihi ſucceſſerit, ut quod cupio aſſequar, maximo honoris & felicitatis cumulo ſemper ducam, quod me Reverendiſſime Paternitatis Tuæ obſervantiſſimum & devotiſſimum cultorem agnoveris.

X° Calend. Aug. 1721.
le 23 de Juilliet.
Petr. Francis Courayer.

In this letter Father Courayer begins with a profeſſion, that it was the kind condeſcenſion ſhewn by the Archbiſhop to D. Dupin upon his propoſal of an union between the Engliſh and French Churches, which encouraged him to addreſs his Grace upon the ſubject of the Engliſh Ordinations; that he had drawn up a defence of their validity againſt a poſthumous piece of D. Euſeb. Renaudot, intending to publiſh it; to compleat which there was only wanting the Act of Conſecration of Biſhop Barlow, ſucceſſively Biſhop of St Aſaph, St David's, and Chicheſter: he begs his Grace's aſſiſtance in ſupplying that act, if poſſible, or at leaſt in aſcertaining the time and place of that Biſhop's conſecration; and concludes with lamenting the unhappy iſſue of the forement 'd union, and his ardent wiſhes that it may at length be effected. In compliance to this requeſt, the Archbiſhop ſent him a letter, conſiſting of no leſs than twelve ſheets cloſely written, in Latin, wherein a ſatisfactory account is given of the certainty of Biſhop Barlow's conſecration, which, notwithſtanding the Act itſelf could not be found, is alſo further aſcertained from indiſputable evidences in ſeveral ſubſequent letters of his Grace, written in Engliſh, in compliance to an intimation given to him by Courayer.

[*W*] *He ſpared no pains to ſatisfy his correſpondent.*] A ſeries of no leſs than five and forty letters in MS. now lies before me, from September 1721 to January 1726-27, written by the Archbiſhop. They were communicated by Father Courayer; and, after peruſing them, I can aſſure the public, that they contain ſo many illuſtrious proofs of his Grace's amazing diligence and indefatigable pains in ſearching original records by himſelf and proper perſons employed by him throughout all England, in order to furniſh his correſpondent with undeniable evidences in anſwer to all poſſible objections that could be raiſed againſt the validity of our ordinations. They are all well worth the public view, but are a great deal too many and too long to come within the compaſs of this work. The ſubſtance indeed of moſt of them is inſerted by him in his information concerning other branches of the conſtitution of the Engliſh Church, the Archbiſhop ſent him alſo a particular account of ſuch [*X*]. The correſpondence began in

his Diſſertation and Defence of it, as far as was neceſſary to his deſign (44); but it will be proper to lay before our readers copies and extracts of a few others, which will enable us to form a better judgment of his Grace's true character; as follows.

'Worthy Sir, Lambeth Houſe, 9 Nov. N. S. 1721.

'I had ſooner acknowledged the favour of yours of the 12th of October laſt, but that, beſides the accidents that befell our friend in the way, I have been ever ſince I received it taken up in making new enquiries and farther ſearches, to ſatisfie your new demands of me. The time I have for any thing of this kind is ſo very little, that I am forced to go on ſlowly in theſe matters, and ſpend a week in doing that, which, were it not for my other engagements, might be diſpatched in a day. I can now tell you, that I have finiſhed my anſwer to what you deſire; but do ſtill keep it, partly till it be fairly tranſcribed, but more eſpecially in expectation of ſome anſwers to the new ſearches I have ordered to be made on this occaſion.

'I confeſſe, I cannot but look on this whole controverſy, as a quarrell ſought againſt us by thoſe of our own country who differ from us in other matters, and are glad of any exceptions they can make againſt us. Strangers, who are leſſe acquainted with our conſtitution, are to be excuſed, and informed aright; but I am ſorry to ſay, our Engliſh Prieſts have ſhewn themſelves extremely faulty in the management of this cauſe. If this has given any undue ſharpneſſe to my letter now prepared for you, I hope you will excuſe it; but did you ſee with your own eyes what I ſee, and compare it with their reports, you would be apt to ſpeak of them as I have done; I hope, no where beyond the bounds of truth and charity. Let them allege what they will againſt us; I may venture to affirm, that the Epiſcopal Succeſſion has no where been better preſerved than in the Church of England; nor do I believe any Church in the world can ſupport it with more ample or authentic Records, than we have done, and can do.

'It is true, we have had ſeveral misfortunes in this particular, for which due allowances ought to be made. What was done by thoſe in power in Queen Marie's reign, I cannot tell; I doubt much miſchief to the Acts of K. Henry the VIIIth and K. Edward the VIth. In our long civil wars in the time of K. Charles the Iſt, when our own Enthuſiaſts, not unlike the Anabaptiſts in Germany, and other parts abroad, prevailed againſt the eſtabliſhed Church; when the Biſhops Houſes were demoliſhed, their Revenues diſperſed, and their Courts and Offices deſtroyed; a new deſolation came upon our public records: This was followed with the fire of London, in which the Archbiſhop's regiſters and public papers ſuffered very much: And not many years ago (45), another fire in my metropolitical city of Canterbury, burnt the whole place where the records of the capitular body were kept, and many books and regiſters were deſtroyed by it. Yet after all, by God's providence, we have, I believe, the beſt ſtock of public papers, books, and MSS, that is in the world; and can produce more authentic proofs of the Acts of our Church for near a thouſand years paſt, than any other nation in Europe. I forgot to mention the deſtruction of Monaſterys and Religious Houſes in the time of K. Henry the VIIIth, in which abundance of the moſt ancient monuments of antiquity either periſhed or were diſperſed.

'I am very glad my letter relating to Biſhop Barlow was of any uſe or ſatisfaction to you. What I ſhall next ſend will be only like the gleanings after the harveſt, yet may contain ſome things not unworthy of your remark. I have written it in Latin, only becauſe the other was ſo (46); I ſhall hereafter uſe the liberty you give me, and which now I take, of correſponding with you in our own language.

'Your ſecond letter, of the 31ſt of October, gave me a ſenſible concern; to think that after the pains you have taken to vindicate the truth, and to render a reall ſervice to the Church Catholique, the prejudice of party ſhould move the Chancellor to refuſe you a licenſe for the printing of it. I hope ſome means may be found to remove the obſtacle, and to leave you at liberty to be your ſelfe the publiſh[illegible] your own worke. As for my letter, I ſhall leave it to you to do as you pleaſe with it, provided care be but taken to omit every thing that may ſhew it to be mine. I have diſcourſed over my reaſons with our friend here, who at his return will fully report them to you. In the mean time, I am very ſorry to acquaint you that he has been very ill, and tho' in a fair way of recovery, is yet ſtill confined to his lodging, and not like for ſome days to come to be in a condition to go abroad (47).

'Mr S———, Sub-dean of Exeter, is returned to my houſe: he called at Wells in his return hither, and made the beſt enquiries he could about Biſhop Barlow.—His Regiſter was wholly deſtroyed in the ravage made of that Church, as I ſuppoſe, in the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion; ſo that there is no hope of any thing from thence. I have the like accounts from St Aſaph and St David's. At Chicheſter his Regiſter remains; but has nothing in it but inſtitutions to benefices, and other the like Epiſcopal acts. He was buryed in his Cathedral at Chicheſter; but no epitaph of him remains, from whence to gather any account of him.

'I have written to the Dean of Durham to ſearch Biſhop Tonſtal's Regiſter for the time of his deprivation. Mr Strype writes me word, that in his life of Parker, he followed Stow's authority, which is of no great value; and freely owns, that he relys ſtill on the account which he has given of that Biſhop's deprivation in his hands from the Cotton MS.

'Of Bourne's deprivation you will have an authentic proof in my letter; ſo you will of Biſhop Poole's; yet, to ſecure the latter, I have ſpoken to the Biſhop of Peterborough to inform me what their regiſters furniſh concerning it (48). I have alſo ſent again to Canterbury by one of my Chaplains, who is a Canon Reſidentiary of that Church, and now there; to ſearch more thoroughly, whether there is any further informations to be had from thence. I was in hopes I ſhould have had ſome certainty from the Records of the Councill Office for every one of theſe deprivations; but the Regiſter of the firſt four years of Elizabeth is loſt, and, as *the Clerk of the* Councill thinks, was burnt in the *laſt fire at White-hall* (49).

'You ſee, *Reverend Father*, that I have not been wanting in making the beſt ſearches and inquiries I could for your ſatisfaction. What time and chance may produce I cannot tell; but I have looked every where in the proper places to no purpoſe, and do now deſpair of diſcovering any more of theſe matters.'

[*X*] *He gave him an account of other parts of our eccleſiaſtical conſtitution.*] To this purpoſe he concludes the letter cited in the preceding remark thus. 'Mr Strype has very lately publiſhed 3 volumes in folio of Eccleſiaſticall Memorialls, during the times of K. Henry VIII. Edw. VI. and Qu. Mary. Next to theſe follow his Annals of Eliz. heretofore publiſh'd; his life of Cranmer is contemporary with theſe laſt 3 volumes; the lives of Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift, perfect and continue his Annals. I am, with all poſſible eſteem,

'Worthy Sir,

'Your obliged humble ſervant,

'W. CANT.'

This laſt paragraph relates to the deſign mentioned by Courayer of writing a new Hiſtory of the Reformation, of which the Archbiſhop gives his opinion in a ſubſequent letter, dated Lambeth-Houſe, April 20. O. S. 1722, in theſe terms. 'I am ſtill of opinion, that if God ſhould continue you in life and health, it would be an uſefull work, out of the ſeverall hiſtories that have been publiſhed of our Reformation, to draw up one compleat hiſtory, that might fully ſuffice for all. I hope you will not meet with any ſuch interruptions, as you ſeem to apprehend, in it. I ſhall be glad to hear that the CODEX of our eccleſiaſtical laws, which I took the liberty to ſend you, is come to your hands. You will there ſee the *Concordia Sacerdotii & Imperii* in our Engliſh Church; that we are ſtill under the ſame Canonical diſcipline and Epiſcopal government, we ever were; and have done nothing more than to lay aſide ſuch Canons and

(44) Beſides which they contain an account of the particular conſtitution of our church in other branches of it.

(45) About 30 years ago, as his Grace mentions in another letter.

(46) Both theſe are in this collection, and fill no leſs than 12 ſheets of paper, cloſe written on all ſides. The date is, *Ex ædibus noſtris Archiepiſcopalibus*, xv. Kal. Octob. A. D. M.DCC.XXI.

(47) This friend was the Abbé Girardin, who, as appears from a letter of the Archbiſhop, dated Lambeth-houſe, April 20. 1722, did not leave England till towards the middle of that month.

(48) That Biſhop, it ſeems, miſinformed him at firſt, but corrected his miſtake afterwards, which the Archbiſhop takes notice of and *rectifies in a ſubſequent letter*.

(49) That fire happened in K. William's time. See Sir Chriſt. Wren's article.

in 1721, and continued till 1727; during the courſe of which that learned Pariſian Divine received from his Grace ſuch indiſputable proofs of the validity of our Ordinations;

[illegible]ſtitutions, as we found to have been contrary to the *word of God*, the *laws of the Realm*, or the *prerogative of the Crown*. The reſt, even thoſe that were uſed before the Reformation, ſtill continuing in force with us. So that our ſucceſſion is as uninterrupted in the diſcipline of our Church as in that of our Epiſcopacy, in which there never has been, that we know, the leaſt breach.

‘ I wiſh that any thing I can ſend to you may help you in the good work you are upon: for indeed I am exceedingly deſirous you ſhould know the true conſtitution of our Church *; of which I am ſorry to ſay I perceive you have been abroad very ignorant: and then, on God's name, judge of us as you ſee cauſe to do. I am with all true eſteem,

‘ Reverend Father,
‘ Your very affectionate friend,
‘ And ſervant in Chriſt,
‘ W. Cant.’

‘ Reverend Father, Lambeth-Houſe, 9 Dec. 1721.

‘ I am ſorry to find by your letter of the 21ſt of November that you had no proſpect of obtaining a permiſſion to print your book. Mr Ayerſt confirmed the ſame to me: And tho' you would afterwards have been content with a *tacit allowance* inſtead of a public permiſſion, yet I never doubted but that thoſe who refuſed the one, would alſo deny you the other. I cannot but own myſelf ſomewhat ſcandalized at this procedure. What are theſe men afraid of? Do they apprehend that our Epiſcopal ſucceſſions and Conſecrations ſhould be made appear to be better founded than they thought it had been? But why ſhould they not deſire, if poſſible, to be convinced of this? Why ſhould they not wiſh us to be leſſe irregular, than they ſuppoſed us to be? Is this, my Father, the ſpirit of Chriſtianitie? Would not an honeſt philoſopher be aſhamed of it? On God's name, let truth prevail; let it be made known and repreſented in its juſt light; and then let every man lay his hand upon his heart, and judge righteous judgment. But why do I complain that thoſe who either diſſemble, or diſguiſe, their own ſentiments, endeavour to hinder men from knowing ours? Let them do as they pleaſe: God knows that we are as carefull to continue the true ſucceſſion of our Epiſcopacy, and value ourſelves as much upon it, as any in the Romane † Church: He knows that we have done it; and to him we leave it to judge between us, whether this ſtone of offence ſhould not be removed, and good men ſatisfied what the true ſtate of the matter is, and that there is no obſtacle on this account to our union, if other points could be adjuſted.

‘ Our good friend the Abbé Girardine being ſtill here, I have deſired him to take care to get Mr *Strype's Memoirs* and *Anthony Wood's Athenæ Oxon'* for you. I cannot commend either of theſe as juſt hiſtories to you, but you will meet many things in both, that are not eaſy to be found elſewhere; and muſt make your own uſe, as you have occaſion, of them. For the new *Monaſticon Anglicanum* of which you ſpeak, I have enquired after it; but by the account I have received, do not expect any great matter from it. I ſhall think of what books may be of uſe to you for the Hiſtory of our Reformation, and in time ſend you a catalogue of them.

‘ While the Abbé has been here, he has had the opportunity of ſeeing the Confirmation of one Biſhop, and the Conſecration of two. When he returns, he will give you a full account of what he obſerved in both.

‘ I wiſh, my good Father, I were more worthy of your good opinion than I fear I am Report magnifies men's characters at a diſtance: but few anſwer the expectations, which from thence is raiſed of them. I bleſſe God I know my own mediocrity; and am not exalted in any opinion of my ſelfe. God has given me an honeſt mind; deſirous to act with integrity in every thing: And having long converſed with men of all perſuaſions, and found ſome to value in almoſt every way; I have learnt not only to bear with thoſe who differ from me, but, notwithſtanding any ſuch differences, to love them; to think charitably of them; and to hope that a God of infinite love and goodneſſe will pitty and accept of us all. If in this I am miſtaken, I am ſure I err on the beſt ſide; and as theſe thoughts ſhall never make me either negligent in the ſearch of what is agreeable to God's will, or prejudiced againſt it, tho' never ſo contrary to my preſent notion; ſo I am perſuaded that by keeping up ſuch a univerſal charity in my mind for thoſe who in the integrity of their hearts differ from me, I ſhall be always the beſt prepared to ſubmit to a reaſonable conviction, and to obtain God's pardon for any involuntary errors, I may after all happen to continue in. Caſſander, Eraſmus, Grotius, and the like writers, are, I freely own, my great favourites: But as I deſerve not to be compared with them in any thing, but the like Chriſtian and charitable diſpoſitions; ſo neither would I be thought ſo vain as once to think myſelfe (in learning or capacity) like to them. My picture was ſome time ago finiſhed, at the deſire of ſome perſons: the plate is intirely worn out, and the copies of it no longer to be had. I ſent my laſt by our Friend to you; and have not one more for my ſelfe, or any other remaining.

‘ With this you will receive my *Latin letter* in anſwer to your laſt enquiries; and for a ſpecimen of the wretched dealing of our Seminary Prieſts, I have alſo ſent you the little book cited as *Brook's Caſes*, which raiſed your wonder at what you heard was publiſhed by him, with permiſſion of Qu. Elizabeth's Judges. I have alſo added a very few *Strictures* on the *Two Sheets* ſent me of your book, which I do, without compliment, not ſo much approve as admire, when I conſider it as the work of a ſtranger to our conſtitution.

‘ The error concerning the *reſtitution of temporalities* only after conſecration, is what ſome of our beſt writers have run into. The practice is no other at this time, nor I believe has been in the memory of man. It is founded upon the ſtatute law of this realm; and I am confident you might venture it without danger of being reproved for it. But I would not have Truth itſelfe vindicated with that which is not true, tho' I were ſure it ſhould never be diſcovered: And by comparing the *dates* of our *Biſhops Conſecrations*, as they ſtand in our *Faſti*, publiſhed by *Le Neve*, which I ſee you have, with the writs in *Rymer* for the reſtitution of temporalities, you will find many inſtances of Biſhops who have had them, by Grace, from our Princes, before they were ever conſecrated Biſhops.

‘ But I forget myſelfe, and run on too far in this pleaſing entercourſe with you. I hope you will excuſe my length, and the haſt with which my buſineſſe obliges me to write; and be aſſured, that I am in all things ready to receive your commands, and to anſwer your deſires, as becomes,

‘ Reverend Father,
‘ Your faithful friend
‘ And ſervant in Chriſt,
‘ W. Cant.’

In another letter, dated October 29. 1722, the Archbiſhop gives ſome further directions concerning this deſign of writing the Hiſtory of our Reformation, which it ſeems was undertaken by another perſon, who had been mentioned to him by Courayer; thus: ‘ Should the perſon you mention go on with the hiſtory of our Reformation, he muſt take good care of the authors he follows: too many of which are to be truſted no farther than they carry their authentic proofs with them. Strype is honeſt, tho' not entertaining, and always writes upon good authority. Biſhop Burnet's Records are faithfully collected, and his Hiſtory muſt be tryed by them: Heylin is raſh, and often miſtaken: Fuller not to be rely'd upon: Collier writes all for a party, but I have not read enough of him to judge of his Care.’

In another letter, we have his Grace's opinion concerning Preſbyterian Ordinations, as follows. ‘ I deſired my Library-keeper, Mr Ott, before I went my viſitation, to return an anſwer to your former letter of the 11th of March N. S. (50) My eyes were at that time ſo indiſpoſed with a rheum that fell upon them, that I was not in a condition for a long while either

* Several of his Grace's letters contain a particular account, in anſwer to Courayer's requeſt, of our eccleſiaſtical conſtitution.

† Sic in originali.

(50) This letter of Mr Ott is in this collection, and is dated Lambeth, May 21ſt, 1724.

tions, as fully convinced him: whereupon he was not afraid to declare his ſentiments to the public. But at length he found it neceſſary to provide for his ſafety by flying under the ſhelter of the Archbiſhop's wing [*Y*]. He came to England in 1728, and has continued

'either to read or write. However, I will now detain you a while, in anſwer to ſome things in that, which ſeem to require a particular regard.

'To begin with your poſtſcript. The licenſe granted by Archbiſhop Grindal's Vicar-General to a Scot-Preſbyterian to officiate here in England, I freely own it, is not what I ſhould have approved of, yet dare not condemn. I bleſſe God, that I was born and have been bred in an Epiſcopal Church; which I am convinced has been the government eſtabliſhed in the Chriſtian Church from the very time of the Apoſtles. But I ſhould be unwilling to affirm that where the Miniſtry is not Epiſcopal, there is no Church, nor any true adminiſtration of the ſacraments. And very many there are among us, who are zealous for Epiſcopacy, yet dare not go ſo far, as to annul the ordinances of God performed by any other miniſtry. See for this in Biſhop *Andrews's Opuſcula*, his letters to Du Moulin; you will there find one of the moſt tenacious aſſerters of the Epiſcopal government, nevertheleſſe, far from unchurching all the other Reformed Churches for want of it. And in the caſe you mention, who can ſay how far a Biſhop may have power to licenſe a perſon, not rightly ordained, to officiate in the Church committed to his juriſdiction. In the mean time, you know your ſchoolmen have been far from cenſuring Preſbyterian Ordinations; and yet their opinions had no influence to prejudice the Epiſcopacy of your Church, in which they lived. And ſhould I (erroneouſly) think ſuch an ordination in ſome circumſtances valid; yet I do not ſee how that would affect my own orders, which I muſt always prefer exceedingly before the other. At preſent our conſtitution is otherwiſe ſettled; nor can any Archbiſhop or Biſhop licenſe any man to officiate or miniſter the holy ſacraments, eſpecially that of the bleſſed Euchariſt, who is not by an Epiſcopal ordination qualified for it.'

In proceeding, his Grace gives likewiſe his ſentiments concerning the ſacrifice in the Euchariſt, thus. 'To your other point in your letter about the *ſacrifice of the maſſe*, I will in one word tell you what I take to have been all along the ſenſe of our Church concerning it We have from the beginning of the Reformation utterly deny'd any ſuch propitiatory ſacrifice, as the Council of Trent eſtabliſhes in it; for what you call a *commemorative* or *repreſentative ſacrifice*, tho' we think thoſe terms very improper, we have never that I know of made any other exception againſt it; and ſome of our writers have been over zealous in their aſſertion of it. As to the change made in our *Communion Office* in the ſecond book of King Edw. VIth from that of the firſt, I have two obſervations to offer to your conſideration with relation to this point. 1. That Bucer, who was chiefly conſulted with by Cranmer with regard to thoſe changes, in all his obſervations upon that firſt form of Edw. the VI, no where, that I remember, makes any exception againſt ſuch a ſacrifice as you mention, or offers any change to be made on that account. (See his *Scripta Anglicana fol.*) The other obſervation I would make as to that matter is, That in the year 1551 Cranmer publiſh'd his book againſt GARDINER Biſhop of Wincheſter, upon the ſubject of this holy ſacrament. His laſt part is intirely upon the ſubject of the ſacrifice. In this he fully rejects and confutes the doctrine of a propitiatory ſacrifice in the Euchariſt; but for the other, he excepts not either againſt the words or the thing. He allows of Peter Lombard's explication of the *ſacrifice* there offered, which, if I remember aright, is much the ſame your letter expreſſes. Now, the Common Prayer-book of K. Edward was at that very time under a review. It was publiſhed the next year, 1552. Cranmer had the main hand in it; and it is not likely that he had any regard in the changes that were made to a commemorative ſacrifice; againſt which, in his own book written about the ſame time upon that very ſubject, he made no exception.

'Theſe books I have in my library at Lambeth, and I hope you have them in yours. But as I am now in the country, and depend much upon my memory; ſo I flatter myſelfe, you will excuſe me, if I make any miſtake by truſting to it. As for my ſelfe, I freely own, I have no notion of any *real ſacrifice*, that is only *commemorative* And for that reaſon do not concern my ſelfe, but for your ſatisfaction, in that way of ſpeaking at all. But I detain you too long with theſe matters: I do it in anſwer to your deſires. It is a great misfortune to us and you, that our books (moſtly written in our Engliſh language) are not better known and better underſtood * by you. I am perſuaded it would much change your notions of our Church, in all reſpects both of doctrine and government.

'Whereinſoever I can be uſefull to you, I hope you will freely write to me: I cannot always promiſe you a ſatisfactory anſwer; but an honeſt and faithfull account you ſhall be ſure always to receive from,

'Worthy Sir,

Croyden-Houſe,
July 9th, 1724.

'Your faithful friend,

'W. CANT.'

As to the firſt point here mentioned, *viz.* Preſbyterian ordination, his Grace was apparently of opinion that ſuch as had received it might be reordained Epiſcopally. This is evident from a paſſage in a letter, dated January 14. 1722, S.V. where he writes thus. 'I have ordained Mr Horner both Deacon and Prieſt, and thereby received him into the miniſtry of the Church of England. This is a work that gives the moſt offence of any to the other Reformed Churches; but I muſt agree with you, that I know no government older than Calvin's time, but what was Epiſcopal in the Church of Chriſt.' This Mr Horner was a native of Switzerland, and received Preſbyterian orders there ‡: His Epiſcopal orders were conferred on him in order to qualify him for ſome preferment here; which tho' ſeveral who had received only Preſbyterian orders did enjoy before the Act of Uniformity paſſed in the beginning of K. Charles IId's reign, yet any ſuch permiſſion or practice is well known to be ſtrictly forbidden by that Act.

[*Y*] *He took refuge under the Archbiſhop's wings.*] He came to England in 1728. The Archbiſhop had all along given him aſſurances of this kindneſs whenever he ſhould find it neceſſary to leave France. In a letter, dated Lambeth-houſe, May 19. O.S. 1722, his Grace expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms. 'As for your public affairs, I truſt in God, that he will not only defend the truth, but protect thoſe whom he is pleaſed to make uſe of in the defence of it. Should the caſe be otherwiſe, Monſr de G. [Girardin] will tell you, that we are not here ſo narrow either in our charity or our inclinations, as not to know how to value ſuch men as you are, tho' they ſtill continue in opinion to differ from us. We hope, notwithſtanding our differences, to be together united in the glorious fellowſhip of the church triumphant. Why may we not be as well united in the church militant? A catholic love and ſpirit may well conſiſt with a variety of judgment in reſpect to the doctrines of Chriſt. In all eſſentials we are agreed. I am ſure, had we lived at any time within the firſt five centuries, the ſubſcription of the Nicene and Conſtantinopolitan Creed, would have intituled us to the common name and right of Catholic Chriſtians; were it not for the love of dominion in the court of Rome, the caſe might be the ſame now. However, I will never reckon him eſtranged from the church of Chriſt here, whom I hope and am perſuaded he will receive hereafter. My principles are catholic; my heart is the ſame; and my love and prayers ſhall be ſo too. If I live, and any unhappy accident drives any of you hither, I will endeavour to ſhew you, that I do not in vain pretend to this character. I may err, but I will not be a heretic. I may and do ſeparate from the Pope and his tyranny; yet for all that I neither am nor will be a ſchiſmatic. In this diſpoſition I live, and if in this diſpoſition I die, I ſhall not fear any Anathemas from the Vatican, fulminated againſt me. To yourſelfe and all charitable and good Chriſtians, I am and will ever profeſs myſelfe

'A faithful and loving friend
'And brother in Chriſt Jeſus,
'W. CANT.'

In

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* Courayer had declared this ignorance and miſunderſtanding in his firſt Latin letter, cited in the precedent remark.

‡ In the beginning of this correſpondence he was at Paris, and Chaplain to Sir Luke Schaub, whom he attended to England. The Archbiſhop procured him ſome preferment in Ireland, as Courayer informs me.

tinued here ever ſince (r). His Grace ſat in the Metropolitical Chair ſeveral years after this; but towards the cloſe of his life he grew ſo much diſabled by age and infirmities, that

In the ſame benevolent ſpirit, when the danger grew near, we find his Grace ſending ſtronger comfortable invitations; as follows.

'My good father, 12 Sept. 1726.

'The confident reports we had here that your papers had been ſeized, and that your perſon was under a ſort of free cuſtody, put me in a great fear and concern for you. For as I will not deny the very high value I have for you, ſo I could not but apprehend both the power and malice of thoſe, which your honeſty and integrity have made your enemies. And tho' I am in a great meaſure freed of my fears by your late letters, than which none ever came more acceptably to me; yet the new incident you mention, and of which I have alſo ſome account from another hand, makes me ſtill in pain for you. Tho' I can hardly think the Aſſembly of your Biſhops will venture, for the ſake of gratifying ſome men's private reſentments againſt you, to determine a point of ſo great moment, as the doctrine of the ſacrifice, and particularly to carry it to that extreme, which you ſhew your Church never yet to have defined, and ſome of your greateſt Divines not to admit of. Prejudice and partiality do indeed ſometimes carry private perſons into very ſtrange actions; but ſurely an aſſembly of learned and pious men will not be influenced by ſuch motives to eſtabliſh a new doctrine in your Church, different from that of your moſt wiſe and ſober writers, and, if I am not too much carried away with my opinion and the ſenſe of the Church of England in that particular, not capable of a defence. But God, I truſt, will turn the counſels of thoſe Achitophels, your enemies, into fooliſhneſſe; and protect your innocence from all their mad deſires againſt you.' He then proceeds highly in commendation of Courayer's Defence of his diſſeration, and avers his own care and integrity in ſupplying the proofs therein from our records; after which he concludes thus. 'My good Father, take all the care you can of yourſelfe and your papers. Go on ſteddily in the courſe you are in. God, I truſt, will preſerve you from the hands of your enemies; and make you a happy inſtrument of bringing our two Churches ſomewhat nearer to a Union than they have hitherto been. Should your good endeavours herein expoſe you to any ſuch dangers, as ſhould oblige you even to leave your own country, you may depend upon a ſafe and honourable retreat here; and that without changing your communion, or renouncing any principles which you think to be true, tho' different from ours. For tho' we are by no means ſo indifferent in our religion, as ſome have repreſented us, yet we are not ſuch unchriſtian zealots for it, as not to know how to eſteem an honeſt man, tho' in ſome things of a different perſuaſion from us. But I hope there will be no occaſion for you to make any tryal of this; and ſhall therefore ſay no more of it.

'If you need any good offices in France, I have again beſpoke Mr Robinſon's kindneſſe to you while he is attending the Court at Fountainebleau. You may ſafely apply to Mr Tyrwhit, our Ambaſſador's Chaplain, whom Mr Robinſon intirely truſts, and aſſures me, you and I may ſecurely truſt with any thing we deſire to have done by him.—Farewell, my good friend, and continue to love him who is, with the trueſt eſteem,

'Reverend Father,
'Your truly affectionate friend,
'W. Cant.'

Croydon, Sept. 21.
O. S. 1726.

Again in a letter, dated Lambeth-Houſe, Nov. 9. O. S. 1726, he writes thus. 'Pray God give his bleſſing to your honeſt endeavours, and preſerve you from any ſufferings upon the account of them. If you are in danger, you know where you may be not only in ſafety, but reſpected as you deſerve. I ſhall ever be,

'Good Father,
'Your faithfull friend,
'W. Cant.'

The ſame affectionate tenderneſs appears in a following letter. 'As to what you propoſe,' ſays he, 'in your letter, I cannot direct you better, than to take Mr Robinſon's advice, and by him Mr Walpole's *, whether you ſhould preſent your books (I mean both this Defence, &c. and your former diſſertation) to the King, Prince, and Princeſſe. If they think it fit to be done, you will pray Mr Walpole's favour to do it. He is coming ſpeedily into England, and will be your beſt friend at our Court, ſhould you have any occaſion for their favour. I would not have you by any means ſuffer upon the account of what you have written in this controverſie, and I hope you will not. If you ſhould, it is no harm to think beforehand whither to retire for ſafety. I pray God to direct all for the glory of his name and the benefit of his Church. I am,

'Reverend Father, with all true eſteem,
'Your faithfull friend,
'W. Cant.'

To the ſame purpoſe he writes yet more warmly in the following letter of December 7th 1726. 'I do not pretend,' ſays he, 'to merit any thing of you by my offers of contributing towards any new corrections that may be made in, or additions to your books. But it being printed at the charge of your friends, I could not tell whether they would be eaſy in ſuch a new charge, and was therefore willing to make both you and them eaſie in it. I am well ſatisfied, that you had no views, but what were perfectly free and generous, in writing upon this ſubject. But who can tell what farther deſigns the providence of God may have had in it. I hope you will meet with no occaſion for our either aſſiſtance or protection; that you will continue free and undiſturbed in your preſent retirement from the world. But if it ſhould be otherwiſe, and you ſhould be forced under your doubtful circumſtances to ſeek a refuge elſewhere; it may not be altogether uſeleſſe to you, that you know whither to go; and enjoy both the liberty of your conſcience, and a proviſion againſt the danger of want in a ſtrange country.'

In proceeding he conſiders a remark which Courayer had it ſeems made upon England, as being a country not very deſirable for a religious man to reſide in. 'Your obſervation,' continues his Grace, 'of our country with reſpect to religion is but too true. Our diviſions are many; and the liberty taken by men in treating of matters of faith and doctrine, is much beyond what either our laws permit, or, it were to be wiſhed, our government ſhould ſuffer. The ſeveral acts of parliament that have been made to reſtrain blaſphemie, profaneſſe, and hereſie (to ſay nothing of our eccleſiaſtical canons) are as ſtrict as one would deſire. But for that very reaſon are the leſſe executed, becauſe their penalties are eſteemed too ſevere. How to remedie this I cannot tell: all that I can ſay is, that no care is wanting among our clergy, to defend the Chriſtian faith againſt all aſſaults; and that I believe no age or nation has produced more or better writings againſt Atheiſts, Deiſts, Socinians, Arians, and all other the like libertines, than our country has done; and continues daily to do. And for ſuch as ſeparate from the eſtabliſhed Church, I may boldly ſay, nothing of argument has been offered by them to juſtify their ſeparation, that has not been often and fully anſwered by us. This is all we can do: Iniquity in practice, God knows, abounds too much among us, chiefly in the two extremes, the higheſt and loweſt ranks of men. The middle ſort are ſerious and religious. And I hope there is among us ſo large a remnant, as will ſtill ſecure the mercy and favour of God to us, till by his grace ſomething can be done more effectually to reclaim the reſt. This is the true ſtate of our caſe; I doubt yours is not much better. You have your diviſions not much leſſer or fewer than ours. If the morals of your people are better, I congratulate heartily your happineſs in it. For myſelfe, I live almoſt a monaſtic life. I have a large and numerous family, and I keep it under the beſt regulation I can. We have the ſervice of God within ourſelves, and that in public in my chappel and houſe, four times a day. We live orderly and peaceably together. And tho' the neceſſity 'of

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(r) He is now [1763] fourſcore and three years of age, and in a good ſtate of health.

* This was Sir Tho. Robinſon; and in 1760 created Lord Grantham. He was then Secretary to Mr Horace Walpole, brother to Sir Robert Walpole.

that ſome part of the care of the Church was transferred to Dr Edmund Gibſon, Biſhop of London, who, in conſequence thereof, had the recommendation to all eccleſiaſtical preferments at Court (*s*). Our Archbiſhop having arrived in this feeble ſtate of b[illegible] and mind to the verge of fourſcore years, ſunk into the arms of death at his palace [illegible] Lambeth, January 24, 1736-7 (*t*), and was interred in a private manner at Croydon. Beſides his printed works already mentioned, he publiſhed *A Preparation for death, being a letter to a young gentlewoman in France under a diſtemper of which ſhe died.* The fourth edition was printed at London, 1688, 12mo. As alſo *A Letter from ſeveral French Miniſters fled into Germany on account of the perſecution in France, to ſuch of their brethren in England as approved the King's Declaration touching liberty of conſcience.* We have likewiſe Three Volumes of his Grace's Sermons, Charges, *&c.* Mr Mills of Croydon (*u*) has ſacrificed to his own rhetorical talents by throwing ſome fulſome incenſe on the Archbiſhop, wherein he ſets him on a level with his predeceſſor Dr Whitgift, which we ſhall paſs over; but as that Gentleman concludes the eloge with ſeveral inſtances of his Grace's liberality and charity, it will be proper to mention them, as being ſo many facts worthy of imitation, and which this writer muſt needs be acquainted with; and we ſhall do it in his words, ſince they exhibit a ſpecimen of that injudicious manner, which indeed rather diſgraces than decorates the truth. " Laſtly, he may be compared to Arch-
" biſhop Whitgift," ſays Mills, " in his large and beneficent charities, laying out great
" ſums in public buildings and reparations. Every town," continues this writer, " in
" which his Grace had been preferred, gives teſtimony of this his generous temper.
" Thus Exeter can ſay what repairs and improvements were made, while his Grace
" preſided there as Dean. Bugden, the ſeat of the Biſhop of Lincoln, can boaſt that
" the epiſcopal houſe was never ſo well repaired and decently fitted up, as while his
" Grace was the watchful Overſeer of that dioceſe. His Grace was no ſooner raiſed to
" the archiepiſcopal ſee at Canterbury, than an exact ſearch was immediately made,
" what decays were to be found in the two palaces at Lambeth and Croydon, the re-
" quiſite repairs of which did not coſt leſs than about eleven thouſand pounds; a pro-
" digious ſum! greater far," ſays our author, " if I am rightly informed, than has
" been expended in the ſame way by any Archbiſhop ſince the Reformation. Nor was
" this generoſity confined to the houſes that the Archbiſhop is obliged to keep habitable
" and in order. The old vicarage-houſe at Croydon was intirely taken down, and a
" new, ſtrong, and beautiful ſtructure raiſed in 1730, ſolely at the Archbiſhop's own
" charge of above ſeven hundred pounds; and what ſtill more recommends this gene-

(*s*) See Biſhop Gibſon's article, in the Supplement.

(*t*) Annals of K. George II. under that year.

(*u*) In the Dedication to his Grace of a piece intituled, An Eſſay on Generoſity and Public Spirit, ed. 1732. 8vo.

' of buſineſs draws a great number of perſons to me; ' yet I reduce even that as much as poſſible to certain ' times; and then eat openly with my friends two days ' in the week. To the court I ſeldome go, ſave when ' obliged to attend my duty, either in the public or ' cabinet councills. And when in parliament-time, I ' am rather faulty in not going ſo often as I ſhould to ' it, than in attending conſtantly upon it. So that I ' uſe my beſt endeavours to live clear of the world, ' and dye by degrees to it. My age and infirmities ' (being now ready to enter on my 70th year) admo- ' niſh me to look upon myſelfe as a citizen of another ' and better country, and ready to go from hence to ' it. Your prayers for a happy paſſage to it, will be ' a ſeaſonable and friendly help added to my own. ' In return, I ſhall not be wanting to wiſh you all ' happineſſe in your longer pilgrimage upon earth. ' And tho' we go by ſomewhat different paths, yet as ' we do in effect purſue the ſame road, ſo I truſt we ' ſhall meet together at our journey's end. In the ' mean time, I heartily commit you to the protection ' and bleſſing of our heavenly Father; and, with the ' moſt ſincere love and eſteem, remain,

' My good Father,
' Your faithfull friend and
' Servant in Chriſt,
' W. CANT.'

Lambeth-houſe,
Dec. 7th 1726.

The laſt letter in this collection, is dated January 31 S. V. 1726-7. We ſhall tranſcribe the concluſion of it, becauſe it contains a confirmation of his Grace's truly catholic ſpirit.—' I have been much out of or- ' der,' ſays he, ' this winter in my health, and am ' now entered on the 70th year of my life, and am by ' both admoniſhed to think of my removall to another ' and better ſtate. Your prayers, I truſt, will not be ' wanting for my attaining to it. I may err, and ' God knows I am ſure I have too much ſinned; yet ' as I hope I am not without a hearty ſenſe of, and ' repentance for my ſins, ſo I do aſſure you, I am far ' from being knowingly or obſtinately erroneous in any ' thing. God, who pardons our involuntary ſins, will ' no leſſe make allowance for our unknown and invo- ' luntary errors. In the mean time, I heartily wiſh for ' the Church's peace, and live in charity with all Ca- ' tholic Chriſtians; and I purpoſe, by God's aſſiſtance, ' in this diſpoſition to die. Would all men be as clear ' and candid in ſtating the other matters in difference ' between us, as you have been in the Sacrifice and ' Ordinations, I believe we ſhould ſoon come to an ' agreement, or at leaſt to a forbearance of one ano- ' ther in love. But alas! you have an obſtacle, that ' till it be removed, will fruſtrate all our good inten- ' tions and deſires. The Court of Rome can never ' bear to depart from her dominion, and Chriſtendome ' can never be truly reformed, while that exorbitant ' power ſtands.—I ſay no more; let every one who ' reads the Goſpell of Chriſt, and the Hiſtory of Chri- ' ſtianitie at its firſt plantation and in its pureſt ſtate, ' compare it with the pomp and pride of that Court; ' and ſay, if they can, that ever Chriſt appointed ſuch ' a Vicar, or St Peter ever dreamt of ſuch a Succeſſor. ' Excuſe, my Father, theſe reflections. I will not ' ſo much as deſire to know your thoughts of them. ' This only I will add, that they broke forth unawares ' from an honeſt heart, heartily deſirous of the peace ' of all Chriſtians here, and of their ſalvation here- ' after. Farewell, my good Father, and believe me ' ever to remain, with the warmeſt affection,

' Your truly loving friend,
' W. CANT.'

Among theſe letters there is one in which his Grace with great reſpect mentions Mr Baker, the famous Antiquary of St John's college, Cambridge, who communicated to him ſome informations concerning the *Hiſtoriola, &c.* relating to Archbiſhop Parker, which was diſcovered during this correſpondence with Courayer, in Bennet college library *. The Archbiſhop had before received ſome aſſiſtance from this learned Nonjuror in writing his State of the Church, and after the work was completed wrote to him a letter of thanks; and, as a teſtimony of his ſenſe of the ſervice he had done him, offered to accept his recommendation of a friend (as he could not receive it himſelf) to a benefice worth 200 *l.* a year then vacant. Mr Baker waved this offer; and very politely requeſted his Grace's favour might be to himſelf, by the preſent of a copy of the aforeſaid work, with his Grace's corrections and additions in his own handwriting. With this the Archbiſhop complied, and ſent beſides many manuſcript evidences bound up with the Volume ‡.

* See Dr Drake's edition of Archbiſhop Parker's book *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Eccleſiæ*, &c. publiſhed in 1729, folio.

‡ This book is now in the public library of the Univerſity of Cambridge. Communicated by the Rev. Mr Beauvoir, ſon to the Lord Stair's Chaplain at Paris.

“ rous action, it was ſet about, carried on, and finiſhed without any ſollicitation, except “ that of his Grace's Lady (*w*). And which ought not to be forgotten, is the kind ‘ and hoſpitable treatment of gentlemen at the palace there; conſtant charities were [illegible]ached out to the unfortunate and diſtreſſed; a great number of the poor inhabitants “ were cloathed and fed, and liberal alms conveyed to the neceſſitous and modeſt poor.” His Grace left behind him no ſon, but ſix daughters; of whom the eldeſt, Amey, was married to Henry Seymour, Eſq; of Handford in Dorſetſhire; the ſecond, Etheldred, was married to Thomas Bennet, Eſq; of Norton Bavant in Wiltſhire; the third, Heſter, firſt to Richard Broderip, Eſq; of Mapperton in Dorſetſhire, and next to Thomas Strode, of Parnham in the ſame county, Eſq; the fourth, Dorothy, to James eldeſt ſon of Sir James Pennyman, of Ormſby in Yorkſhire, Bart. the fifth, Magdalen, to William Churchill, of Henbury in Dorſetſhire, Eſq; and the ſixth, Mary, to Dr John Lynch, D. D. Dean of Canterbury. By his laſt will he bequeathed his library of printed books and MSS. together with a curious collection of coins, the whole valued at ten thouſand pounds, to Chriſt-church college Oxford, the place of his education. He was ſucceeded in the Archbiſhopric by the very learned and pious Dr John Potter. P

(*w*) She died about the year 1730.

WALKER [OBADIAH], a man of conſiderable learning in the laſt century, but ſo weak as to embrace the errors of Popery, was born at Worſperdate, or Worſput, near Barneſley, in the Weſt-Riding of Yorkſhire (*a*), in the year 1615. Towards the end of the year 1631, about the age of fixteen, he became a ſtudent of Univerſity-college, under the tuition of *Abraham Woodhead*, who proved afterwards one of the great champions for the Popiſh cauſe (*b*). On the 4th of July, 1635, Mr Walker took the degree of Batchelor of Arts (*c*); and Auguſt 10, the ſame year, was choſen Fellow of his college (*d*). Proceeding Maſter of Arts, April 23, 1638, he entered into Holy Orders, and became a noted Tutor (*e*): During the civil war, he was one of the ſtanding extraordinary Delegates of the univerſity for public buſineſs, and one of the Preachers before the Court at Oxford; for which laſt ſervice the Convocation granted him his Grace for Batchelor of Divinity, whenever he ſhould think fit to take that degree. The 22d of May, 1648, he was ejected from his Fellowſhip by the Parliamentary-Viſitors (*f*): Whereupon he went and travelled beyond ſea, and ſpent a conſiderable time at Rome, where he improved himſelf in all kinds of polite literature. After the Reſtoration he was re-inſtated in his Fellowſhip, but travelling abroad again with ſome young gentlemen, he ſpent more time in Rome; being undoubtedly become a ſecret convert to Popery. After his return he might have been elected Maſter of his college, on the death of Dr Thomas Walker, in 1665. However, he then declined that office, but accepted of it in 1676 (*g*), after the death of Dr Richard Clayton, who had ſucceeded Dr Walker in the Maſterſhip (*h*). At that time he was aſſiſtant to his tutor Ab. Woodhead, at his Seminary at Hogſdon, near London, in training up, or perverting, youths to Popery: wherein they did the nation a great deal of miſchief (*i*). For this, Mr Walker was openly complain'd of in Parliament [*A*]. After King James II. had been ſome time ſettled upon the throne, and was taking meaſures for eſtabliſhing Popery in every part of the kingdom, our author repair'd ſuddenly to London, January the 5th, 1685, in order to be conſulted and employed in that affair. At his return to college, about the end of the ſame month, he abſented himſelf from the chapel; and, in the beginning of March following, made no ſcruple of declaring himſelf a Papiſt, which expoſed him to many cenſures and inſults [*B*]. He had maſs privately in his lodgings, till he could fit up a chapel within the limits of his college; which having done by putting two lower rooms together, he opened the place for public uſe on Sunday, Auguſt the 15th, 1686. Wanting to publiſh ſome manuſcripts of his late tutor, Woodhead, and not caring to truſt them into the hands of the Licenſer of the Preſs, he obtained a ſpecial licence of the King for printing of them (*k*): But the printer permitting the ſheets to ſteal abroad into the world, as ſoon as they were compoſed (*l*); to prevent the like again, Mr Walker ſet up a preſs in the back part of his lodgings in Univerſity-college, from whence came out the moſt dangerous pieces againſt the Re-

(*a*) Wood, Ath. ed. 1721. Vol. II. col. 934.

(*b*) Ibid. & ſee col. 613.

(*c*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 261.

(*d*) Idem, Ath. col. 934. J. Walker's ſufferings of the Clergy, &c. Part ii. p. 135.

(*e*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 275. & Athenæ, ut ſupra.

(*f*) J. Walker, as above; and Wood, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 56.

(*g*) June 22.

(*h*) Wood, Ath. col. 933. & Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 60.

(*i*) Idem, Ath. ut ſupra.

(*k*) Wood, Ath. as above, col. 933, 934.

(*l*) See the preceding article of Archbiſhop Wake.

[*A*] *For this he was openly complain'd of in Parliament.*] The firſt complaint againſt him there, was about the latter end of October, 1678, when the Popiſh Plot was newly diſcovered, and the generality of the nation were much exaſperated at the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. And the ſubject of the complaint was, his educating young men at Hogſdon in Roman Catholic principles; and expreſſing himſelf as very popiſhly affected, in his *Notes* on the *Life of King Ælfred*, then lately publiſhed; and therefore not fit to govern a college. But this affair was forced to give room to others of greater conſequence. The ſecond complaint was in April, 1679, when Sir Harbottle Grimſton, in a ſpeech to the Parliament, took occaſion to mention the printing of certain Books at the Theatre in Oxford, as the *Notes* on King *Ælfred's Life*, wherein were ſeveral matters, as he ſaid, that favoured of Popery; and Wood's *Hiſtoria & Antiquit. Univ. Oxon.* wherein alſo were certain things written againſt the Reformation of the Church of England, (which matter was put into his head by Dr Gilbert Burnet) beſides a Bible, wherein were many foul faults (1).

[*B*] *Which expoſed him to many cenſures and inſults.*] He became, upon that account, a by-word among the Proteſtants in Oxford and elſewhere; was abuſed to his face, when met with in the public ſtreets and lanes; and had ſongs made of him through the connivance of the Magiſtrate; one, in particular, which had theſe words, *Obadiah Ave Maria*, &c. The cenſure was not confined to him only. For, upon its being reported about ‘ that a Head of a College in Oxford had ‘ declared himſelf a Papiſt,’ ill-diſpoſed people did ſo much aggravate the matter, as to give out, ‘ that all ‘ the Univerſity were Papiſts;’ which gave great offence and uneaſineſs to many perſons (2).

(1) Wood, as above, col. 933.

(2) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra, col. 934.

formed Religion [*C*].—Upon King William's arrival, Mr Walker left Oxford, Nove ber 9. and both the chapel, and the other rooms, were cleared, and reduced to the former uſes (*m*). On the 11th of December, 1688, our Author, with Andrew Pult[illegible] the Jeſuit, late School-maſter at the Savoy, and others, took coach, in order to [illegible]draw into France: But, hearing that the populace were gathered together in Kent, on purpoſe to ſeize all the Papiſts that were flying beyond ſea, they turned back towards London. In their way thither being overtaken, they were carried to Feverſham, and impriſoned there; till being conveyed to London in ſafe cuſtody, Mr Walker was committed to the Tower. The 4th of February, 1688-9, the Vice-chancellor and Doctors of the univerſity of Oxford declared him Non-maſter, for being a Papiſt; and, the 15th of the ſame month, Edward Ferrer, ſenior Fellow of Univerſity-college, was elected Maſter in his room (*n*). About the 25th of October, 1689, he was brought by *habeas corpus* from the Tower to Weſtminſter-hall, and ſued for bail: but, inſtead of obtaining it, he was ſent for to the Houſe of Commons, where, ſtanding at the Bar, he was charged with ſeveral heinous offences [*D*]. Then he was remanded to the Tower for Treaſon, as having changed his Religion, and ſeduced others ſo to do. On the 31ſt of January, 1689-90, he was brought again from the Tower to the King's-Bench bar; and, being bailed upon good ſecurity given, was forthwith ſet at liberty. However, on the 23d of May following, he was excepted out of the Act of Pardon of King William and Queen Mary (*o*). From that time, he lived in a retired and ſtudious condition. For he was undeniably a man of learning, as appears by moſt of his Books, of which a particular account is given below [*E*]. He went and continued abroad for a while, as we

(*m*) Ath. Ox. as before, and col. 615—617.

(*n*) Wood, col. 935.

(*o*) Wood, col. 935.

[*C*] *Whence came out the moſt dangerous pieces againſt the Reformed Religion.*] Moſt of theſe pieces being wrote by Mr Woodhead, have been already mentioned; to which we ſhall only add a remark upon the XV. entitled, *A compendious diſcourſe of the Euchariſt, to which is added two Appendixes*, &c. made by the author of the *Continuation of the preſent ſtate of the controverſy between the church of England and the church of Rome*, (3) as follows: 'It appears, ſays the author, by the ' heat and bitterneſs of theſe little ſatires, how much ' thoſe books [the replies to the two diſcourſes] had ' troubled him, and how unable he is to command ' himſelf even there, where he pretends the moſt to ' do it. One would have thought, after what the ' Repreſenter (4) had done, we had ſeen the height of ' what a licentious pen could ariſe to in matters of ſuch ' ſeriouſneſs. But, indeed, this poor impotent old man ' has convinced us of our error, and ſhewn ſuch an ' indecent paſſion in the management of his anſwer, ' as is much more to be pitied than valued.'

(3) Lond. 1688. 4to. p. 20.

(4) The Papiſt miſrepreſented and repreſented.

Mr Nicholſon and Mr Deane being alſo Coadjutors with Mr Walker in this cauſe, it may not be amiſs to give ſome account of them. Francis Nicholſon was the ſon of Thomas Nicholſon, of Mancheſter in Lancaſhire; was admitted of Univerſity-college, under the care of Mr Walker, at the age of 16; in 1666, took the degrees in Arts; and entring into Holy Orders, preached a while about Oxford, and afterwards at Canterbury, where he reconciled twelve fanatic pariſhioners to the Church. But being charged with maintaining ſome Popiſh doctrines in a ſermon preached before the Univerſity on Sunday, June 20, 1688, he was order'd to make a recantation; which being refuſed by him, his name was ſent to the Biſhops, to ſtop his further preferment. After King James's acceſſion, he declared himſelf a Papiſt, and acted as ſuch at London and elſewhere, and, on that King's abdication, he enter'd into the Engliſh college of Carthuſians at Newport in Flanders; but not well bearing the ſevere rules of that order, he left it in 1692 (5).

(5) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 939, 940.

Thomas Deane was ſon of Edward Deane, of Malden in Kent; admitted of the ſame college, aged 15, in 1669 took his degrees in Arts; was choſen a Fellow of his College, in Decemb. 1684, and became Tutor. Declared himſelf a Papiſt in March, 1685, much about the ſame time with his Maſter, Obadiah Walker, whoſe creature and convert he was; and with him too ſuffer'd many ſcorns and contempts in the Univerſity, till his receſs and leaving Oxford, on the arrival of the Prince of Orange in England, when he went to London, and was declared *Non ſocius*, 4 Febr. 1688. He was once or twice in priſon at London, as a Jeſuit, or Prieſt; and, December 18, 1691, ſtood in the pillory at Charing Croſs, under the name of Tho. Franks, a reputed Jeſuit, for concealing a Libel, or Pamphlet, againſt the government, written by a Fellow Lodger in the ſame houſe with him (6).

(6) Idem, Ibid.

[*D*] *He was charged with ſeveral heinous offences.*] As namely, 1. For changing his religion. 2. For ſeducing others to it. And 3. For keeping a Maſs-houſe in the univerſity of Oxford. To which he made theſe anſwers.——1. 'I cannot ſay that I ever alter'd my ' Religion, or that my Principles do now wholly agree ' with thoſe of the Church of Rome. Mr Anderſon ' was my governor and director, and from him in my ' youth I learned thoſe principles which I have ſince ' avowed. If they were Popiſh, I have not changed ' my Religion: And they will not be found to be ' wholly agreeable with the doctrine of the Roman ' Catholic church. 2. I never ſeduced others to the ' Romiſh Religion. All my Books and Precepts tend ' only to make men good Moraliſts and good Chriſtians: nor did I ever intereſt myſelf in perſuading any ' body to this or that party. This will be plain to ' every body that reads my books of *The Life of Chriſt*, ' my book *Of Education*, my book *Of Benefits* &c.'— *Parliam.* 'Thoſe very Books are not without exceptions; many Popiſh Doctrines are in them.'—— *Walker.* 'I ſuppoſe not, Gentlemen; my *Life of* ' *Chriſt* was licenſed by the Vicechancellor of Oxford, ' was reviſed by Dr J. Fell, who owned me for his ' friend, and who is ſufficiently known to have been ' no Papiſt; and it was peruſed by the preſent Profeſſor, Dr Jane.'——*Parl.* 'But there are Alterations in it from the copy reviſed, allowed, and licenſed.'——*Walk.* 'None, Sirs; I appeal to all ' that reviewed it: there is no alteration in that book, ' no paſſages therein inſerted that were expunged: ' and the like ſatisfaction ſhall be given in the reſt of ' my Treatiſes. 3. As to the Chapel, it was not ' more my gift than the Fellows of Univerſity-college. ' King James requeſted it of us, and we gave a part ' of it to the College to his uſe. The employment of ' it was according to his command, and I am only ' concern'd, as being one that obeyed him in it, *&c.*' Afterwards, Sir Henry Goodrick, Member of Parliament for Boroughbrigg in Yorkſhire, ſpoke thus:— ' I had the happineſs to be bred up under Mr Anderſon, and the misfortune to be educated with Mr ' Walker; and I affirm that he was not a man of ' thoſe Principles that Mr Walker charges him with.' (7)

(7) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 935.

[*E*] *As appears by moſt of his Books, &c.*] I. 'A ' brief Account of ancient Church-Government, with ' a Reflection on ſeveral modern Writings of the ' Preſbyterians [the Aſſembly of Divines their *Jus* ' *divinum Miniſterii Anglicani*, publiſhed in 1654, and ' Dav. Blondel's *Apologia pro ſententia Hieronymi*, and ' others] touching this ſubject.' Lond. 1662. 4to. in four parts (8). II. 'Of Education, eſpecially of ' Young Gentlemen. In two parts.' Oxford 1673. 8vo. The fourth impreſſion came out in 1683. There are in it many excellent precepts and obſervations. III. *Artis Rationis, maxima ex parte ad mentem Nominalium, Libri tres.* Oxon. 1673. 8vo. *i. e.* A Logic, chiefly according to the opinion of the Nominals, or followers of William Occam. IV. A Paraphraſe and Annotations upon the Epiſtles of St Paul to the Romans, Corinthians, and Hebrews. Oxford 1674. 8vo.

(8) See ſome account of Mr Woodhead in the preceding Article, Rem. [*D*].

we are informed (*p*); but returning to England, died at London, January 21, 1699, aged 86. And was buried in St Pancras church-yard [*F*].

V. He tranſlated the Life of King Ælfred, into Latin, from the Engliſh original of Sir John Spelman, Knight. It was elegantly printed at the Theatre at Oxford in 1678. *folio.* illuſtrated with Notes; adorned with ſeveral figures of King Ælfred, and with Five Plates of Saxon Coins, and a few Scottiſh ones. But the Notes were complained of in the Houſe of Commons, as favouring of Popery (9). How well or ill grounded that accuſation was, the Reader may beſt perceive, by peruſing thoſe Notes. The original of Sir John Spelman was publiſhed by Mr Hearne, at Oxford, in 1709. 8vo. VI. The next thing he publiſhed, was, ‘God's Benefits to Mankind.’ Oxford, 1680. 4to. VII. ‘Deſcription of Greenland. Deſcription of the Northern iſlands. Deſcription of Muſcovy and Ruſſia.’ Inſerted in the firſt volume of the Engliſh Atlas, commonly known by the name of Pitt's Atlas. Printed at Oxford, 1680. fol. VIII. ‘Some Inſtructions concerning the Art of Oratory, Collected for the uſe of a Friend, a young Student.’ Oxford, 1682. 8vo. 2d edit. corrected and augmented. IX. ‘An Hiſtorical Narration of the Life and Death of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, in two Parts.’ Oxford, 1685, 4to. There being ſeveral paſſages in this book favouring of Popery, the ſale of it was prohibited by the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford. X. ‘Some Inſtructions in the Art of Grammar; written to aſſiſt a young Gentleman in the ſpeedy underſtanding of the Latin Tongue.’ Lond. 1691. 8vo. XI. ‘The Greek and Roman Hiſtory illuſtrated by Coins and Medals. Repreſenting their Religions, Rites, Manners, Cuſtoms, Feaſts, Arts and Sciences. Together with a ſuccinct Account of their Emperors, Conſuls, Cities, Colonies and Families. In two Parts. Neceſſary for the Introduction of Youth into all the uſeful Knowledge of Antiquity, by O. W.’’ Lond. 1692. 8vo. This is the beſt Book of our Author, or indeed of any other upon the ſubject; and being grown ſcarce, is well worth reprinting (10). 'Tis divided into two Parts. The 1ſt of which treats, of the firſt Coin among the Romans. Of Medals, falſe, counterfeit, modern, and rare. Of Greek Coins. Of family or conſular Coins. Of the Reverſes of the *Medals.* Of the Romans Religion, Prieſts, Days, Aſſemblies, Countries, Colonies, Places, Magiſtrates, Wars, Victories, Rewards, *&c.* and their Games. In Part II. he gives a conciſe, curious, and critical account of the Roman Emperors, and of their moſt valuable Medals. At pages 24, 25, he gives theſe uſeful Directions for cleaning Braſs Medals; and for judging of the Rarity of Medals. ‘It is, ſays he, very hard to cleanſe a Braſs Medal from earth and ruſt. Some boil them half an hour in water with tartar, and a little alom, after they are cold rub them well with tanners ouze, or with bran; others paſs them over lightly with *Aqua fortis*. but this is dangerous, and by no means to be uſed in ſuch as are of mixed metals; others put them in the fire; but that commonly ſpoils them; others rub them with Tripoly, or a Wire-bruſh; but the beſt way is with the burin, or graving-tool, for them that know to uſe it, and have the patience.

‘Medals are eſteemed, 1. for their Antiquity, 2. for the goodneſs of their Maſter; the beſt Maſters were from Nero to Pertinax, a time of long peace; 3. for their well conſervation, cleanneſs, and beauty; 4. for their greatneſs; 5. for their erudition; 6. for their rarity; 7. to make up a ſeries. Now theſe Rules are obſerved by moſt of the Trade concerning their rareneſs and value. The Medals are rare, when of a perſon who reigned but a ſhort time; or but few made of him, or one that is ſingular of an Emperor of whom there are many common. Medals Contorniate, tho' of a bad maſter, are rare, and very much eſteemed, ſo are they which have the Face hollow, ſuch alſo as have two Heads upon them, whether on the ſame or divers ſides; ſuch as ſuch as have the buſt, or good part of the Body, with the Head; ſuch are many of thoſe who were only Cæſars, and not Auguſtus's; which have no reverſes, ſave only an inſcription. The Medals of the lower Emperors in great, and of the higher in little, are rarer. Great *Greek* Medals of the Emperors are not much more eſteemed than the leſſer, becauſe of their ill Maſters. Great Conſular Medals rare, if any at all. Medaglions of Gold and Silver very rare, if any at all, of Braſs alſo rare.’

[*F*] *And was buried in St Pancras Church-yard.*] The following ſhort Epitaph is cut in a ſtone, laid over his grave. ‘ⓦ per bonam Famam atque Infamiam obiit Jan. 21. 1692. Æt. 86.’ C

(*p*) From a friend's information.

(9) See Wood Ath. Vol. II. col. 933.

(10) Mr R. Thoreſby, who commends this book, has given us learned remarks upon ſeveral of the coins in it. See Muſæum Thoreſbeian, annex'd to Ducat. Leodiens. Lond. 1714. fol.

WALLER [EDMUND], the moſt celebrated Lyric Poet that ever England produced, was the ſon of Robert Waller, Eſq; of Agmondeſham in Buckinghamſhire, by his wife, the daughter of John Hampden, of Hampden in that county, Eſq; and ſiſter to the much famed patriot of that name. She brought her conſort this ſon on the third of March (*a*) 1605, at a place called Coleſhill, which gives Hertfordſhire the honour of his birth (*b*). His father was bred to the Law, and practiſed in his profeſſion for ſome ſhort time; but ſoon growing diſguſted with the fatigue of that buſineſs, he quitted the bar, and retired to a country life (*c*): in which, following his inclination for agriculture, he managed his affairs with ſuch admirable ſkill and œconomy, as to leave his ſon an eſtate of 3500 *l. per annum*; a fortune which, together with his ancient and honorable deſcent [*A*], ſet him in the rank with ſome of the beſt gentlemen's families at that time in the kingdom. Being left an infant at his father's death, the care of his education devolved upon his mother, who at a proper age ſent him to Eton ſchool, from whence

[*A*] *His ancient deſcent.*] He was deſcended from a branch of the Wallers in Kent. Richard Waller, of Spendhurſt in that county, Eſq; was Sheriff of Kent 16th of Henry VI. of whom we have this remarkable account in the *Villare Cantium*, That he ſerved in the wars of France under Henry V. and ſignalized himſelf ſo far, that he took Charles Duke of Orleans, General of the French army, priſoner at the battle of Agencourt, whom he brought into England; and, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, had the cuſtody of that Prince, and kept him in honourable reſtraint at Gromebridge, his ſeat, near Spendhurſt, as appears by a manuſcript in the Herald's office. The Duke was his priſoner there twenty-four years; and in the time of this receſs he rebuilt his manſion-houſe at Gromebridge on the old foundation. He was a great benefactor to the church of Spendhurſt, where his arms remain in ſtone-work over the porch; and in them we find an addition to the former bearing of the family, aſſigned by King Henry to him and his deſcendents, *viz.* a creſt, with the arms of France hanging by a label on an oak *, with this motto, *Hæc Fructus Virtutis*, in remembrance of the glorious ſervices of Richard Waller at Agencourt. From him Sir William Waller, who was Sheriff of Kent 22d of Henry VII. lineally deſcended; and tradition ſays, the family had then an eſtate of 7000 *l.* a year. But it was very much reduced in the time of Sir William Waller, who was one of the parliament generals in the wars of K. Charles I. which Sir William lineally deſcended from the former, of whom probably is that noble monument of Sir Walter Waller, and his Lady, who in the Roll of Sheriffs may by miſtake be written Sir William. We do not find at what time the Wallers of Buckinghamſhire removed thither out of Kent, and ſettled at Agmondeſham, but it ſeems not to have been long before the time of our poet's father; becauſe a family of ſuch fortune could not have eſcaped furniſhing the county with a ſheriff; and we find none of this name in the Rolls (1).

(*a*) The account of his life prefixed to his works, ed. 1711, p. 20. and inſcription on his monument. It appears from the pariſh-regiſter, that he was baptized on the 9th. Mr Wood therefore muſt be miſtaken in fixing his birth-day on the 22d of that month. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 25.

(*b*) Tho' Coleſhill is in the pariſh of Agmondeſham, it lies in the county of Hertford. Chauncey, hiſt. of Hertfordſhire.

(*c*) He often repented this choice, looking upon it as too idle. He was a man of parts and virtue, and wrote advice to his ſon; which manuſcript was in the hands of Mrs Waller, widow of Dr Stephen Waller, our poet's ſon. His life, p. 34.

* Mr Wood ſays it is a walnut-tree, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 25: which is not unlikely, as the arms are three walnut-tree leaves. See our poet's monument in Rem. [*MM*].

(1) Life of Waller, as in the text, p. 4, 5, 6.

he was removed to King's college in Cambridge (*d*); and the extraordinary proficiency he made in both thoſe nurſeries of learning is ſufficiently evinced by the ripeneſs of his parts ſo early, that he was deemed fit for a place in the great council of the nation long before his arrival at the years of manhood. He obtained a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons at the age of ſixteen or ſeventeen years [*B*]. That Houſe has been often obſerved to be the beſt ſchool in the kingdom for inſtruction in the knowledge of men, and to Mr Waller, who enter'd there ſo young, it was certainly ſuch a ſchool; and what improvements he made in it will be ſeen hereafter. At preſent his thoughts were turned to what was more agreeable at his years, the ſtudy of polite literature, and particularly to the cultivation of his genius for poetry; of which he produced ſuch a ſurprizing ſpecimen at the age of eighteen, as ſhews him to be born for excelling in that art. The Prince of Wales (afterwards K. Charles I.) having ſpent about ſix months in ſolliciting a marriage with the Infanta of Spain, was at length diſguſted at the affected delays which he met with in that Court, and reſolved on returning to England. The royal navy in which he embarked, under the command of the Earl of Rutland, arrived ſafely in the Bay of Biſcay, at the port of St Andere, whither he was attended from Madrid by the Cardinal Zapata, the Marquis Aytone, the Earls of Gondemar, Monterie, Baraias, and other Grandees, whom the Prince entertained magnificently on ſhipboard. But, in carrying them back to ſhore, there aroſe ſuch a furious tempeſt, that they could neither reach the land, nor regain the fleet; and night coming on when the rowers were fainting with toil, their horror was almoſt increaſed to deſpair. In this diſtreſs they found themſelves under a neceſſity of yielding to the mercy of the waves, till at laſt they ſpied a light in a ſhip near to which the ſtorm had driven them, wherein, not without great danger of being daſhed to pieces, they were ſafely received; and when the tempeſt abated, his Highneſs returned to the Admiral, and arrived at Portſmouth on the 4th of October 1623, when (as our Engliſh Cicero (*e*) expreſſes it) *the whole nation ſeem'd for joy to go out beyond its own ſhores to meet him.* The poem, as Mr Fenton obſerves (*f*), may ſerve as a model for thoſe who would ſucceed in panegyric, in which our Author illuſtrates a plain hiſtorical fact with all the graces of poetical fiction. Thus Mr Waller, like a true-born poet, burſt at once into perfection; and it is obſervable, that in none of his juvenile poems there are to be found any of thoſe ricketty exuberances, which generally diſgrace the productions of young poets. This was followed by another in the ſame taſte, addreſſed to the Queen, upon ſight of her Majeſty's picture. Mr Waller obtained a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons a ſecond time before he was of age of manhood, being choſen for the borough of Chipping Wycombe in Bucks in the firſt parliament of K. Charles I. which met on the 18th of June 1625 *; but in the third, which met on the 17th of March 1627, he was again choſen for Agmondeſham. This parliament being prorogued on the 26th of June 1628, to the 20th of October following, it was during that receſs that the horrid murder was perpetrated by Felton upon the Duke of Buckingham. The Court being then at Southwick, the ſeat of Sir Daniel Norton, about five miles from Portſmouth, where this tragedy was acted, his Majeſty, ſays Lord Clarendon, was at the public prayers of the church when Sir John

(*d*) Ibid. p. 7.

(*e*) Lord Clarendon.

(*f*) Obſervations, &c. p. 4. annex'd to his edition of Waller's works, 1730. 8vo.

* From a copy of the return, communicated by Rob. Waller, Eſq; a deſcendent of our author, and member in the preſent parliament [1763] for that borough. Court Kalendar.

[*B*] *He obtained a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons at the age of ſixteen.*] So ſays the writer of his life †; and it is confirmed by ſome ſpeeches of his own, lately printed in Grey's collection of debates in parliament (2). This muſt be, therefore, in the third parliament of K. James I. which was called January 30, 1621, when he was in his ſixteenth year; and though the right of Agmondeſham, to ſend members, for which place he is ſaid to be returned, appears to have been then in ſuſpence (3), yet it was not unuſual in thoſe days for perſons in ſuch caſes to ſit there *ſub ſilentio* (4). And the right of that borough was, upon their petition to the King, re-eſtabliſhed in the enſuing parliament, which met at Weſtminſter in February 1624; but thereupon they choſe one Mr Crew, together with William Hakeville, Eſq; a lawyer, of Lincoln's Inn, who had been employed by them to draw and preſent their petition to his Majeſty (5). But as our author was then nineteen years of age, the writer of his life is apparently miſtaken in ſaying he repreſented Agmondeſham at ſixteen or ſeventeen (6) in the laſt parliament of K. James I. nor is this conſiſtent with that remarkable ſtory which is told by the ſame writer of his life, who ſays, that on the day of the diſſolution of this parliament he went to court, where he found the King engaged in a diſcourſe with the two Biſhops Neale and Andrews, of Durham and Wincheſter, to ſee the King at dinner, where he found Dr Andrews, Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Dr Neale, Biſhop of Durham, ſtanding behind his Majeſty's chair; and there happened ſomething very extraordinary, continues this writer, in the converſation thoſe prelates had with the King, on which Mr Waller did often reflect. His Majeſty aſked the Biſhops, *My Lords, cannot I take my ſubjects money when I want it, without all this formality in parliament?* The Biſhop of Durham readily anſwered, *God forbid, Sir, but you ſhould; you are the breath of our noſtrils.* Whereupon the King turned and ſaid to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, *Well, my Lord, what ſay you? Sir*, replied the Biſhop, *I have no ſkill to judge of parliamentary caſes.* The King anſwered, *No put-offs, my Lord; anſwer me preſently. Then, Sir*, ſaid he, *I think it is lawful for you to take my brother Neale's money; for he offers it.* Mr Waller ſaid, the company was pleaſed with this anſwer; and the wit of it ſeemed to affect the King: for a certain Lord coming in ſoon after, his Majeſty cried out, *Oh, my Lord, they ſay you lig with my Lady: No, Sir*, ſays his Lordſhip, in confuſion; *but I like her company, becauſe ſhe has ſo much wit. Why then*, ſays the King, *do you not lig with my Lord of Wincheſter there?* This ſtory is repeated here, though it has been already inſerted in the courſe of our work, not only becauſe for the delicacy of its entertainment it will bear to be ſerved up a ſecond time, but becauſe it muſt needs make a ſtriking impreſſion upon the mind of Mr Waller, one of the firſt rate wits of his time. Accordingly the laſt mentioned writer cloſes his account with an aſſurance that the truth of the converſation is not to be doubted, it having been often told Dr Birch by Mr Waller himſelf. It is certain, however, that the circumſtance of its being heard on the day of the diſſolution of the laſt parliament of that monarch muſt be a miſtake; ſince the laſt parliament of K. James I. had no other diſſolution except the diſſolution or death of the King. But both this circumſtance and the ſubject of the diſcourſe is perfectly agreeable to the account we have of the preceding or third parliament of this reign, which it is well known was diſſolved for the reaſon intimated in this diſcourſe (7). Conſequently this particular may be eſteemed a confirmation of Mr Waller's ſitting, as has been obſerved, in that parliament.

† P. 7.

(2) Publiſhed in 1763, in ten volumes, 8vo.

(3) This borough has only a preſcriptive right, which was become doubtful by a long diſuſe from the reigns of Edw. I. and II. when they ſent members, as appears in Prynne's Parliamentary Writs, vol. IV. p. 899.

(4) Grey's Debates, as before, vol. I. p. 355.

(5) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, under Agmondeſham.

(6) P. 8, 9. The words on his monument are, *Nondum octo decennaris inter ardua regni tractantes ſedem habuit a Burgo de Ameſham miſſus*, which correſpond very well with his being choſen for Ameſham in the 3d parliament of this reign.

(7) See the General hiſtories of England.

Hippeſley came into the room with a troubled countenance; and without any pauſe in reſpect of the exerciſe they were performing, went directly to the King, and whiſpered in his ear what had fallen out. His Majeſty continued unmoved, and without the leaſt change in his countenance, till prayers were ended; when he ſuddenly departed to his chamber, and threw himſelf upon his bed, lamenting, with much paſſion and with abundance of tears, the loſs he had of an excellent ſervant, and the horrid manner in which he had been deprived of him. The King's extraordinary behaviour on this occaſion inſpired our Author's Muſe; which produced that excellent poem, *On his Majeſty's receiving the news of the Duke of Buckingham's death.* Theſe and the above-mentioned incomparable verſes muſt needs raiſe the admiration and eſteem for their author among the poetical band [*C*]. But it was not his wit, his fine parts, nor his poetry that made him firſt publicly known; it was his dexterity and addreſs in carrying the daughter and ſole heireſs of a very rich citizen in London, Ann the daughter and heir of Edward Banks, Eſq; againſt a rival whoſe intereſt was eſpouſed by the Court (*g*), which uſually prevailed at that time. In the long intermiſſion of parliaments after the year 1628, Mr Waller retired to Beconsfield, and reaſſumed his ſtudies [*D*], in which he was particularly aſſiſted by his kinſman Mr Morley, then a ſtudent of Chriſtchurch college in Oxford, afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter, with whom he carefully read over the beſt antient authors, and thereby greatly improved his taſte. Mr Morley, it is ſaid, attended him ſeveral years (*h*), during which interval he was introduced into that learned and polite ſociety, conſiſting of the Lord Falkland, Sir Francis Wenman, Mr Chillingworth, Mr Godolphin, and others [*E*]; and Lord Falkland introducing Mr Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, at the ſame time, there commenced a friendſhip between them, which continued till both were greater men. In the mean time Mr Waller's wife dying in childbed, left him a widower at the age of twenty-four or twenty-five years; and being of an amorous complexion, he preſently conceived a moſt ardent paſſion for the eldeſt daughter of the Earl of Leiceſter, the Lady Dorothy Sidney (*i*), whom he has rendered immortal, under the feigned name of *Sachariſſa* (*k*). From the ſucceſs he had experienced in his former flame, there was room to hope of meeting with the like favourable reception at Penſehurſt; but in this he found himſelf wretchedly miſtaken. For though he paid his adoration in ſuch ſtrains *as moved all hearts but her's he wiſhed to move* [*F*], yet all his addreſſes were ut-

(*g*) Clarendon, as before. The rival was Mr Crofts.

(*h*) See the Rem. [*E*].

(*i*) His life, p. 12.

(*k*) See his poems addreſſed to this lady, among which there is one upon her picture. Mr Waller had it at Hallburn, which he built about a quarter of a mile from Beaconsfield, his mother living in that town. That ſeat was afterwards rebuilt by Dr Stephen Waller, his ſon. Waller's life, p. 17.

[*C*] *Mr Waller's verſes muſt needs raiſe the admiration of the poetical band.*] Lord Clarendon, whoſe negligence in dates is to be lamented, ſeems to be miſtaken in the time of Mr Waller's birth, in ſaying that he did not apply himſelf to poetry till he was thirty years of age, or near it, when he ſurprized the town with two or three pieces of that kind (7); unleſs it be ſuppoſed that his firſt verſes were only handed about in MS. or printed without his name, which is ſcarcely probable. But this it muſt be confeſſed is not the only inſtance in which that noble hiſtorian turns the biaſs againſt Mr Waller; the reaſon of which will perhaps be gueſſed at before the end of this article.

[*D*] *He retired to his ſtudies.*] Lord Clarendon's account of this part of the poet's life leads to an opinion, this his preſent retirement was prompted by the nearneſs of his nature. 'Edmund Waller,' ſays the noble Earl, 'was born to a fair eſtate, by the parſimony or 'frugality of a wiſe father and mother; and he thought 'it ſo commendable an advantage, that he reſolved to 'improve it with his utmoſt care, upon which in his 'nature he was too much intent; and in order to that 'he was ſo much reſerved and retired, that he was 'ſcarce ever heard of till he had gotten a very rich 'wife in the city (8).' But there is a fine picture of Mr Waller, done by Cornelius Johnſon, now in the poſſeſſion of the family, upon which is this inſcription in letters of gold: *A. D.* 1629. *Ætat. ſuæ* 23. *Vita vix prima*——The Latin ſentence is indeed imperfect; but it has been conſtantly received in the family as a certain truth, that it was intended to inſinuate his retiring for the ſake of improving himſelf in his ſtudies at that time (9); and this is alſo conſonant to the account of this retirement by the writer of his life (10).

[*E*] *He was introduced to Lord Falkland's club.*] We have two different and even contradictory accounts of his introduction to this ſociety. The Earl of Clarendon prefaces his account of it thus. 'He [Mr Waller] 'had the good fortune to have an alliance and friendſhip with Dr Morley, who had aſſiſted and inſtructed 'him in the reading many good books, to which his 'natural parts and promptitude inclined him, eſpecially the poets; and at the age when other men 'uſed to give over writing verſes (for he was near 'thirty years of age when he firſt engaged himſelf in 'that exerciſe, at leaſt that he was known to do ſo) 'he ſurprized the town with two or three pieces of 'that kind; as if a tenth muſe had been newly born 'to cheriſh drooping poetry.' After this preface his Lordſhip proceeds as follows. '*The Doctor at that time 'brought him into that company, which was moſt celebrated for good converſation*; where he was received 'and eſteemed with great applauſe and reſpect (11).' On the other hand, the writer of Mr Waller's life, after mentioning his verſes on the Duke of Buckingham's death in 1728, tells us, that our author was then known at court, and careſſed by all the people of quality who had a reliſh of learning and wit: 'He was alſo,' continues this writer, 'one of that 'famous club with the Lord Falkland, Sir Francis 'Wainman, Mr Chillingworth, Mr Godolphin, and 'others. At one of their meetings, they heard a 'noiſe in the ſtreet, and were told, *a ſon of Ben Johnſon's* was arreſted: They ſent for him, and he proved 'Mr Morley, afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter. Mr 'Waller liked him ſo well, that he paid the debt, 'which was no leſs than 100*l.* on condition that he 'would live with him at Beaconsfield, which he did 'eight or ten years together; and from him Mr Waller uſed to own he learned a taſte of the ancient poets, 'and got what he had of their genius. But it is evident by his poems written before this incident of 'Mr Morley's arreſt, that he had early acquired that 'excellent *Goût*, however he improved and enlarged 'it afterwards by Mr Morley's converſation and aſſiſtance, to whom this adventure proved very advantageous; for Mr Waller introduced him into that 'learned and polite ſociety, as Lord Falkland did 'Mr Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, at the ſame time, 'and the friendſhip continued between them till 'both were greater men (12).' We ſhall not abuſe the reader's time and patience by offering any conjectures in order to adjuſt theſe different accounts of our poet's admittance to Lord Falkland's club. It is a matter of little moment in itſelf, and ſhould have found no place here, had not the reputation of Lord Clarendon's memory been concerned in it. The reader will eaſily judge from the circumſtances, whether or no the balance turns on his Lordſhip's ſide by the advantage he muſt needs have of knowing the truth.

[*F*] *And move all hearts but her's he wiſh'd to move.*] In *The Story of Phœbus and Daphne applied* are theſe lines:

Yet what he ſung in his immortal ſtrain,
Tho' unſucceſsful, was not ſung in vain.
All, but the Nymph that ſhould redreſs his wrong,
Attend his paſſion, and approve his ſong.

terly

(7) See Rem. [*E*].

(8) Life of the Earl of Clarendon, p. 24. edit. 1759. fol.

(9) Communicated by the family.

(10) See the next Remark [*E*].

(11) Life of the Earl of Clarendon, as before.

(12) Waller's life, p. 11, 12.

terly rejected, and even treated with diſdain. Diſappointment in love generally produces one of the two extremes, revenge or deſpair. Our lover ſunk into the latter of theſe extremes; in which unhappy circumſtance he concludes his laſt poem to the inflexible dame with declaring his reſolution to quit his home and country, and make a voyage to divert his deſpair [*G*]. It is generally reported that he was a proprietor of the Summer Iſlands; and, if ſo, it is not improbable he might go thither in company of his friend the Earl of Warwick, who had a large ſhare in that plantation. What ſtrengthens the conjecture is, that our author, in his poem on *The Battle of the Summer Iſlands*, lays the ſcene of the action that he records in that diviſion of Bermuda which bears the name of that Earl (*l*). There are ſome lines in this poem which ſhew it was written before Lady Dorothy's marriage to the Earl of Sunderland [*H*] in 1639, when the names of Sydney and Sachariſſa were laid down together, and were buried ſoon after in the arms of his ſecond wife Mary, of the family of Breſſe, or Breaux (*m*). Neither indeed was our poet of ſuch a humour, as to quarrel with the ſex for Sachariſſa's cruelty to him; we find him diverting the ſmart load of his ſufferings under that ſcorching flame, and placing himſelf in the milder beams of another beauty, the Lady Sophia Murray; for that, it ſeems, was the real name of *Amoret* [*I*]. It is evident alſo that his love for Sachariſſa did not make him forget what was due to the beauty of other ladies (*n*); and that they were not all of them ſo unjuſt to him as ſhe whom of all he moſt admired. His good fortune elſewhere might, perhaps, make him more eaſy under her treatment; and we find he was not of a diſpoſition to make any other uſe of the willow when ſhe married, than to hang his harp upon it [*K*]. There is no grounds to believe that any of Mr Waller's ladies were like the Laura of Petrarch, imaginary only; or that he wrote always like a gallant man, and not a lover: for he was in his younger years of a poetical complexion every way, and did not write of love only by theory (*o*). Among theſe, and ſuch perſons of his own ſex as were diſtinguiſhed by their genius and taſte for polite learning, he led a pleaſurable life during the long diſuſe of parliaments in this reign; enjoying his large fortune in a ſtate of independency on the court, where he was not the leſs acceptable, as he never

(*l*) Fenton's obſervations, p. 84. 8vo edition.

(*m*) It does not appear when he entered into this ſecond match, but it muſt have been ſome time before his baniſhment in 1643. ſince his daughter Margaret was born at Roan. See his life, p. 40.

(*n*) See his inimitable Anacreontic to Phyllis.

(*o*) Life of Waller, p. 18.

[*G*] *In his laſt poem he concludes with a reſolution to make a voyage at ſea.*] The verſes are ſaid to be written in the Park at Penſehurſt, which conclude in theſe ſtrains.

> This laſt complaint th' indulgent ears did pierce
> Of juſt Apollo, preſident of verſe;
> Highly concerned that the muſe ſhould bring
> Damage to one whom he had taught to ſing:
> Thus he adviſ'd me; *On yon aged tree*
> *Hang up thy lute, and hie thee to the ſea;*
> *That there with wonders thy diverted mind*
> *Some truce at leaſt may with this paſſion find.*
> Ah, cruel Nymph! from whom her humble Swain
> Flies for relief unto the raging main;
> And from the winds and tempeſts does expect
> A milder fate than from her cold neglect!
> Yet there he'll pray that the unkind may prove
> Bleſt in her choice; and vows this endleſs love
> Springs from no hope of what ſhe can confer,
> But from thoſe gifts which heav'n has heap'd on her.

[*H*] *There are ſome lines in this poem which ſhew it was written before Sachariſſa's marriage.*] They are at the end of Canto I. and run thus.

> Oh! how I long my careleſs limbs to lay
> Under the plaintain's ſhade, and all the day
> With am'rous airs my fancy entertain;
> Invoke the muſes, and improve my vein!
> No paſſion there in my free breaſt ſhould move,
> None but the ſweet and beſt of paſſions, love.
> There while I ſing, if gentle love be by,
> That tunes my lute, and winds the ſtrings ſo high;
> With the ſweet ſound of Sachariſſa's name
> I'll make the liſt'ning ſavages grow tame.

[*I*] *We find him ſolacing himſelf with another beauty under the feigned name of Amoret.*] This Lady's real name remained a ſecret till it was diſcovered by Mr Fenton, who tells us he remember'd to have heard his Grace the late Duke of Buckinghamſhire [Sheffield] ſay, that the perſon whom Mr Waller celebrates under the title of Amoret, was the Lady Sophia Murray (13).

[*K*] *He hung his harp upon it.*] The letter which he wrote on this occaſion is turned in ſuch an uncommon caſt, that it will always be read with exquiſite pleaſure. It is addreſſed *To my Lady Lucy Sydney, upon the marriage of my Lady Dorothy, her ſiſter, to my Lord Spencer* (14).

Madam,

In the common joy at Penſehurſt, I know none to whom complaints may come leſs unſeaſonable than to your Ladyſhip; the loſs of a bedfellow being almoſt equal to that of a miſtreſs; and therefore you ought at leaſt to pardon, if you conſent not to the imprecations of the deſerted, which juſt heaven no doubt will hear.

May my Lady Dorothy, if we may yet call her ſo, ſuffer as much, and have the like paſſion for this young Lord whom ſhe has prefer'd to the reſt of mankind, as others have had for her; and may his love, before the year go about, make her taſte of the firſt curſe impoſed on womankind, the pains of becoming a mother!

May her firſt-born be none of her own ſex, nor ſo like her, but that he may reſemble her Lord as much as herſelf.

May ſhe, that always affected ſilence and retiredneſs, have the houſe filled with the noiſe and number of her children, and hereafter of her grand children; and then may ſhe arrive at that great curſe ſo much declined by fair Ladies, old age! May ſhe live to be very old, and yet ſeem young; be told ſo by her glaſs, and have no aches to inform her of the truth; and when ſhe ſhall appear to be mortal, may her Lord not mourn for her, but go hand in hand with her to that place, where we are told there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage; that being there divorced, we may all have an equal intereſt in her again! My revenge being immortal, I wiſh all this may alſo befall their poſterity to the world's end, and afterwards!

To you, Madam, I wiſh all good things; and that this loſs may in good time be happily ſupplied by a more conſtant bedfellow of the other ſex.

Madam, I humbly kiſs your hands, and beg pardon for this trouble from

Your Ladyſhip's moſt humble ſervant,

E. WALLER.

He lived to converſe with Lady Sunderland, when ſhe was very old. But his imprecation relating to her glaſs did not ſucceed; for my Lady knew ſhe had the diſeaſe which nothing but death can cure; and in a converſation with Mr Waller, and ſome other ladies and gentlemen, at the Lady Wharton's, at Woburn near Beaconsfield, ſhe aſked him in raillery, *When, Mr Waller, will you write ſuch fine verſes upon me again? Oh! Madam*, replied he, *when your Ladyſhip is as young again* (15). We have obſerved above that Mr Waller had a picture of her; and I have read ſome letters of her's to the Earl of Strafforde (16), which ſhew her to have been a lady of good ſenſe and politeneſs.

(13) Fenton's obſervations, p. 72.

(14) He ſucceeded at his father's death to the title of Earl of Sunderland, and was anceſtor to the preſent Duke of Marlborough.

(15) Waller's life, p. 15, 16

(16) They are printed in Stra forde's letters and ſtate paper &c.

made any application for preferments there. This gave him a favourable reception among people of all parties; his converſation being always entertaining and polite. It cannot, however, be doubted, but that his relation to the Hampden family inſtilled a diſlike to the demand of Ship-money, and ſome other practices in thoſe times; and conſequently that he never was acceptable to the reigning favourites, further than his muſe made him. He appears in that temper to have entered into the Houſe of Commons on the revival of parliaments in 1640; when, being again choſen for Agmondeſham, he not only voted but ſpoke for the redreſs of grievances before the granting of any ſupply [*L*]. This parliament, which met on the 13th of April and was diſſolved before the end of March, and has been generally called the Short Parliament, was ſucceeded the ſame year by the ever memorable Long Parliament, which met on the 3d of November following. Mr Waller repreſented Agmondeſham the third time; and continuing in the ſame ill humour at the late meaſures of the court, and particularly exaſperated by his uncle Hampden's ſufferings, when the King's right to levy the Ship-money was debated, he broke out with diſtinguiſhed ardency againſt it; and thereupon was choſen by the Commons to impeach Judge Crawley, who had been a buſy man in that affair. His ſpeech on this occaſion was inſpirited with ſuch an inflaming eloquence [*M*], as might, eſpecially if taken in conjunction with that in the preceding

[*L*] *He ſpoke for the redreſs of grievances before the ſupply ſhould be granted.*] In this ſpeech, which was ſpoken April 22d 1640, he has theſe words.

‘Let us do what poſſibly may be done with reaſon and honeſty on our parts to comply with his Majeſty's deſires, and to prevent the imminent ills which threaten us.

‘But conſider (Mr Speaker) that they who think themſelves already undone, can never apprehend themſelves in danger; and they that have nothing left, can never give freely. Nor ſhall we ever diſcharge the truſt of thoſe that ſent us hither, or make them believe that they contribute to their own defence and ſafety, unleſs his Majeſty be pleaſed firſt to reſtore them to the propriety of their goods and lawful liberties, whereof they eſteem themſelves now out of poſſeſſion. One need not tell you, that the propriety of goods is the mother of courage and the nurſe of induſtry, makes us valiant in war and good huſbands in peace. The experience I have of former parliaments, and my preſent obſervation of the care the country has had to chuſe perſons of worth and courage, makes me think this Houſe like the Spartans, whoſe forward valour required ſome ſofter muſic to allay and quiet their ſpirits, too much moved with the ſound of martial inſtruments. 'Tis not the fear of impriſonment, or, if need be, of death itſelf, that can keep a true-hearted Engliſhman from the care to leave this part of his inheritance as entire to poſterity, as he received it from his anceſtors.

‘This therefore let us firſt do, and the more ſpeedily, that we may come to the matter of ſupply; let us give new force to the many laws which have been heretofore made for the maintaining of our rights and privileges, and endeavour to reſtore this nation to thoſe fundamental and vital liberties, the propriety of our goods, and the freedom of our perſons: no way doubting, but we ſhall find his Majeſty as gracious and ready, as any of his royal progenitors have been, to grant us our juſt deſires therein. For not only the people do think, but the wiſeſt do know, that what we have ſuffered in this long vacancy of parliaments, we have ſuffered from his miniſters. That the perſon of no King was ever better beloved of his people; and that no people were ever more unſatisfied with the ways of levying monies, are two truths, which may ſerve one to demonſtrate the other: for ſuch is their averſion to the preſent courſes, that neither the admiration they have of his Majeſty's native inclinations to juſtice and clemency, nor the pretended conſent of the judges, could make them willingly ſubmit themſelves to this late *tax of ſhip-money*; and ſuch is their natural love and juſt eſteem of his Majeſty's goodneſs, that no late preſſure could provoke them, nor any example invite them to diſloyalty or diſobedience.’

Notwithſtanding the oppoſition preſſed with ſo much zeal againſt his Majeſty's meſſage to the Houſe for a ſupply, the writer of his life, having obſerved that as he did not come up to the heights of thoſe who were for an unlimited monarchy, ſo he did not go the lengths of ſuch as would have ſunk the kingdom into a commonwealth, proceeds to tell us, that ‘he had ſo much credit at court, that in this parliament the King particularly ſent to him to ſecond his demand of ſome ſubſidies to pay off the army: And Sir Henry Vane objecting againſt firſt voting a ſupply, becauſe the King would not accept it, unleſs it came to his proportion, Mr Waller ſpoke earneſtly to Sir Thomas Jermyn, Comptroller of the houſehold, to ſave his maſter from the effects of ſo bold a falſity: *For*, ſays he, *I am but a country gentleman, and cannot pretend to know the King's mind.* But Sir Thomas durſt not contradict the Secretary; and his ſon, the Earl of St Albans, afterwards told Mr Waller, that his father's cowardice ruin'd the King (17).’ The truth of this ſtory, which ſo little conſiſts with Mr Waller's ſpeech juſt mentioned, muſt reſt upon the credit of the relator.

(17) Waller's life, p. 20, 21.

[*M*] *His ſpeech againſt Judge Crawley was animated with an inflaming eloquence.*] This cannot be made to appear, but from drawing ſome extracts from it; and the wit with which they are ſharply pointed will always be entertaining. The ſpeech was ſpoken at a conference of both houſes in the painted chamber, July 6. 1641. Having by way of introduction, after the articles were read, declared his reverence to the dignity of a judge's place, he proceeds in theſe bitter terms. “But as all profeſſions are obnoxious to the malice of the profeſſors, and by them moſt eaſily betrayed, ſo (my Lords) theſe articles have told you how theſe brothers of the coif are become *fratres in malo*; how theſe ſons of the law have torn out the bowels of their mother. But this judge whoſe charge you laſt heard, in one expreſſion of his, exceeds no leſs his fellows, than they have done the worſt of their predeceſſors, in this conſpiracy againſt the commonwealth. Of the judgment for ſhip-money, and thoſe extrajudicial opinions preceding the ſame (wherein they are jointly concerned) you have already heard; how unjuſt and pernicious a proceeding that was in ſo public a cauſe, has been ſufficiently expreſſed to your Lordſhips. But this man, adding deſpair to our miſery, tells us from the bench, that ſhip-money was a right ſo inherent in the crown, that it would not be in the power of an act of parliament to take it away. Herein, my Lords, he did not only give as deep a wound to the commonwealth as any of the reſt, but dipt his dart in ſuch a poiſon, that, ſo far as in him lay, it might never receive a cure. As by thoſe abortive opinions ſubſcribing to the ſubverſion of our property, before he heard what could be ſaid for it, he prevented his own; ſo by this declaration of his, he endeavours to prevent the judgment of your Lordſhips too, and to confine the power of a parliament, the only place where this miſchief might be redreſſed: Sure he is more wiſe and learned, than to believe himſelf in this opinion, or not to know how ridiculous it would appear to a parliament, and how dangerous to himſelf; and therefore no doubt but by ſaying no parliament could aboliſh this judgment, his meaning was, that this judgment had aboliſhed parliaments.

The impoſition of ſhip money ſpringing from a pretended neceſſity, was it not enough that it was now grown annual, but he muſt entail it upon the ſtate for ever, at once making neceſſity inherent to the crown, and ſlavery to the ſubject? Neceſſity which diſſolving all law, is ſo much the more prejudicial to his Majeſty than to any of us, by how much the law has inveſted his parliament, have rendered it doubtful whether the ſweet or ſour paſſions were moſt in his nature, had the fire of this tranſient love of civil liberty in the public ſtate burned with as ſteady and uniform a flame, as did that of his fixed love for beauty in private life. But we ſhall have too much reaſon hereafter to mark the unſteadineſs of his political conduct *. In the mean time, no reſpect for his uncle Hampden could engage him to enter into that gentleman's deeper deſigns againſt his Prince, or biaſs him to any irreverence to the perſon of the King. For though he continued to vote for three years with thoſe who were moſt diſaffected to the adminiſtration, yet he kept up a fair correſpondence and underſtanding with the moderate men in the court; and when the great breach happen'd, which brought on a war between the King and parliament, if he forbore giving his attendance in the Houſe of Commons a few days, yet he returned with his Majeſty's leave to his ſeat there [*N*], *following the opinion of the then Lord Dorſet and the Neuters*; and even ſent the King a thouſand broad pieces to Nottingham, when his Majeſty ſet up his ſtandard there, on the 22d of Auguſt 1642. Yet he continued to ſtay with the parliament *(p)* till the plot, ſpeaking on all occaſions with great freedom and ſharpneſs; inſomuch that when the abſenting members alledged that *they did not come to the Houſe, becauſe they were not ſuffered to declare their opinions freely*; it was objected, *that was a groundleſs pretence, when all men knew what liberties Mr Waller took, and ſpoke every day with impunity againſt the ſenſe and proceedings of the Houſe (q)*. It is manifeſt that he was in great eſtimation among them; for after their loſs of the battle at Edge-hill, and the King's victorious march with his army towards London and thence to Oxford, he was one of the Commiſſioners appointed by the parliament to preſent their propoſitions for peace to his Majeſty at that city [*O*]. This won him a great reputation with all who wiſhed the King well; and ſuch Lords and Commons as really deſired to prevent the ruin of the kingdom entered into a great familiarity with him, as a man reſolute in their ends, and beſt able to promote them. All men ſpoke their minds freely to him, and thought themſelves ſecure in his fortune and natural warineſs *(r)*. In this ſituation he began to think that it lay in his power to do a ſingular piece of ſervice to his King and country, by forming a ſort of aſſociation to oppoſe the levying of taxes and carrying on the war. He had a ſiſter married to one Mr Tomkins, Clerk of the Queen's Council, a gentleman of a very good character, and of great intereſt and reputation in the city among thoſe who were for the old conſtitution and diſaffected to the parliament; from whom he learnt the diſpoſition of the citizens upon all accidents, which he freely communicated to his brother Waller, as the latter imparted to him what obſervations

* This part of his character has been ſeverely handled in a piece intituled *Dialogues Moral and Political*, printed in 1763, 8vo, Dialogue the firſt.

(p) His life, p. 22.

(*q*) Clarendon's hiſt. of the Rebellion, B. vii. p. 247. ed. 1707. 8vo.

(r) Idem, ibid.

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royal ſtate with a greater power and ampler fortune: for ſo undoubted a truth it has ever been that Kings as well as ſubjects are involved in the confuſion which neceſſity produces, that the heathens thought their Gods alſo obliged by the ſame; *Pareamus neceſſitati, quam nec homines nec Dii ſuperant.* This judge then having in his charge at the aſſize declared the diſſolution of the law by this ſuppoſed neceſſity, with what conſcience could he at the ſame aſſize proceed to condemn and puniſh men, unleſs perhaps he meant the law was ſtill in force for our deſtruction, and not for our preſervation; that it ſhould have power to kill, but none to protect us: a thing no leſs horrid, than if the ſun ſhould burn without lighting us, or the earth ſerve only to bury, and not to feed and nouriſh us. But, my Lords, to demonſtrate that this was a ſuppoſititious impoſed neceſſity, and ſuch as they could remove when they pleaſed; at the laſt convention in parliament a price was ſet upon it; *for twelve ſubſidies you ſhall reverſe this ſentence.* It may be ſaid that ſo much money would have removed the preſent neceſſity; but here was a rate ſet upon future neceſſity, *for twelve ſubſidies you ſhall never ſuffer neceſſity again, you ſhall for ever aboliſh that judgment.* Here this myſtery is revealed, this vizor of neceſſity is pulled off; and it now appears, that this parliament of judges had very frankly and bountifully preſented his Majeſty with twelve ſubſidies, to be levyed on your Lordſhips and the Commons."— He concludes thus: "What judgments your predeceſſors have given, and what puniſhments their predeceſſors have ſuffered for offences of this nature, your Lordſhips have already been ſo well informed, that I ſhall not trouble you with a repetition of thoſe precedents: only, my Lords, ſomething I ſhall take leave to obſerve of the perſon with whoſe charge I have preſented you, that you may the leſs doubt of the wilfulneſs of his offence.

His education in the inns of court, his conſtant practice as a counſellor, and his experience as a judge, conſidered with the miſchief he has done, make it appear, that this progreſs of his thro' the law has been like that of a diligent ſpy thro' a country, into which he meant to conduct an enemy.

Rode caper vitem, tamen hinc cum ſtabis ad aras,
In tua quod fundi cornua poſſit, erit.

He has cropt and infringed the privileges of a baniſhed parliament; but now it is returned, he may find it has power enough to make a ſacrifice of him to the better eſtabliſhment of the *laws*: and in truth what other ſatisfaction can *he* make his injured country, than to confirm by his example thoſe rights and liberties, which he had ruined by his opinion?"

[*N*] *If he forbore attending in parliament*, &c.] This matter is differently related. In the manuſcript account of his life, ſaid to be written by one of his neareſt relations, and who dwelt in his family, it is ſaid, when the war came on he did not leave the Houſe, but, as is before mentioned, followed the opinion of the Lord Dorſet and the Neuters; whereas Lord Clarendon's words are, When the rupture grew ſo hot between the King and the two Houſes, that very many of the members retired from thoſe councils, he [Mr Waller] with equal diſlike abſented himſelf. But at the time the ſtandard was ſet up, having intimacy and friendſhip with ſome perſons now of nearneſs about the King, with the King's approbation he returned to London.—By which, ſays the writer of his life (18), it is plain he did leave the Houſe; which opinion, as indeed the moſt probable, is adopted in the Text.

(18) His life, p. 23, 24.

[*O*] *He was one of the Commiſſioners ſent to Oxford with propoſals of peace.*] Whitlocke informs us, that 'When Mr Waller kiſſed the King's hand in the garden at Chriſt-church, his Majeſty ſaid to him, *Though you are the laſt *, yet you are not the worſt, nor the leaſt in our favour.*—The diſcovery of a plot,' continues Whitlocke, 'then in hand in London to betray the parliament, wherein Mr Waller was engaged, with Tomkins, Chaloner, and others, which was then in agitation, did manifeſt the King's courtſhip to Mr Waller to be for that ſervice (19).' But Mr Fenton, in relating the ſame ſtory, has given his Majeſty's words another turn. 'I am verily perſuaded, ſays he, 'that the compunction of ſoul which he [Mr Waller] received from this affectionate reproof, prevailed ſo far over the diffidence and caution of his nature, as to make him engage in that confederacy, which proved ſo calamitous to himſelf, and ſo fatal to ſome of his friends and aſſociates (20).'

* The right of precedence was due to the birth and quality of his fellow commiſſioners.

(19) Whitlocke's memorials, p. 67. edit. 1732.

(20) Fenton's obſervations on Waller's works, p. 122. 8vo edition.

he made from thoſe he converſed with. Mr Waller told him how many Lords and Commons were for a peace: Mr Tomkins made the ſame relation with reſpect to the moſt ſubſtantial men of London; which Mr Waller reported to the well affected members of both houſes, and Mr Tomkins to the well affected citizens: from whence they came to a concluſion, that if they heartily united in the mutual aſſiſtance of one another, they ſhould be able to prevent thoſe tumults which ſeemed to countenance the diſtractions, and the Houſes would be induced to terms of moderation. The Lord Conway at that time coming from Ireland incenſed againſt the Scots, and diſcontented with the parliament here, and finding Mr Waller in good eſteem with the Earl of Northumberland, and in great friendſhip with the Earl of Portland, entered into the ſame familiarity; and being a ſoldier, in the diſcourſes they had, inſinuated, that it was convenient to enquire into the numbers of the well affected in the city, that they might know whom they had to truſt to. Mr Waller telling Mr Tomkins this, the latter imparted it to his confidents there; and it was agreed that ſome truſty perſons in every pariſh and ward about London ſhould make a liſt of all the inhabitants, and by gueſſing at their ſeveral affections, compute the ſtrength of the party that oppoſed an accommodation, and of that which was for it. Lord Clarendon was perſuaded the utmoſt project in this deſign was to beget ſuch a combination among the party well affected, that they would refuſe to conform to thoſe ordinances of the twentieth part, and other taxes for the ſupport of the war; and thereby, or by joint petitioning for peace, and diſcountenancing the other who petitioned againſt it, to prevail with the parliament to incline to a determination of the war: But that as to letting the King's army into London, or raiſing an army there, or ſurprizing the parliament, or uſing any violence in or on that city, he could never ſee cauſe to believe [P]. But it unluckily happened, that while this combination was on foot, Sir Nicholas Criſp procured a commiſſion of array to be ſent from Oxford to London, which was carried by the Lady Aubigny, and delivered to a gentleman employed by Sir Nicholas to take it of her; and this being diſcovered at the ſame time that Mr Waller's plot was, the two conſpiracies were blended into one, tho' really two diſtinct deſigns (s) [Q], as has been obſerved before in theſe memoirs (t). The diſcovery of Mr Waller's plot is variouſly related: In the manuſcript written by one of his relations who lived in his family, it is ſaid, "he was betrayed by his ſiſter Price, and "her Preſbyterian Chaplain Mr Good, who ſtole ſome of his papers; and if he had not "ſtrangely dreamed the night before he was ſeized, that his ſiſter had betrayed him, "and thereupon burnt the reſt of his papers by the fire left in his chimney, he had certainly loſt his life for it." The Lord Clarendon reports it otherwiſe; that a ſervant of Mr Tomkins, who had curſorily overheard Mr Waller and his maſter diſcourſe of the ſubject, placed himſelf behind a hanging, and overheard him ſay enough to put him upon informing, in hopes of a reward: and ſo went to Mr Pym, and told him all he knew, or, adds my Lord, probably imagined. But however the diſcovery was made, the circumſtances of publiſhing it were ſuch as filled all men with apprehenſions. It was on Wedneſday the 31ſt of May, their ſolemn faſt-day, when being all at their ſermon in St Margaret's church, Weſtminſter, a letter was brought to Mr Pym, who with ſome of the moſt active members, roſe from their ſeats, and, after a little whiſpering together, went out of the church. Orders were immediately ſent to ſearch the priſoners who were malignants; and as ſoon as the Houſes met, they were told letters were intercepted going to the court at Oxford, that expreſſed ſome notable conſpiracy in hand, to deliver up the parliament and the city into the hands of the cavaliers, and that the time for the execution of it drew very nigh: upon which a committee was appointed to examine all perſons they thought fit to apprehend, and ſome nominated at that time; in conſequence whereof Mr Waller and Mr Tomkins were apprehended the ſame night, and others the next day [R]. It

(s) Ibid. p. 248, 249.

(t) Under Sir Nicholas Criſp's article, vol. III. p. 1522.

[P] *He could never ſee cauſe to believe any violence intended in it.*] The ſame is alſo profeſſed by Mr Waller himſelf. In his ſpeech at the bar of the houſe of commons, in order to ſhew that his crime was not properly cognizable by a court martial, he ſays, 'I 'ſhall humbly deſire you to conſider the nature of my 'offence; not that but I ſhould be much aſhamed to 'ſay any thing in diminution thereof: God knows, ''tis horrid enough (for the evil it might have occaſioned), but if you look near it, it may perhaps appear to be rather a civil than a martial crime, and 'ſo to have title to a tryal at the common law of the 'land; here may juſtly be ſome difference put between 'me and others in this buſineſs.

'I have had nothing to do with the other army, 'or any intention to begin the offer of violence to any 'body (21).'

His third
h inſerted
s works,
73. edit.
), 8vo.

[Q] *Sir Nicholas Criſp's and Mr Waller's were really two diſtinct deſigns.*] This likewiſe is averred by Mr Waller in his laſt mentioned ſpeech; where he declares, 'For ſo much as concerns myſelf and my part in this 'buſineſs (if I were worthy to have any thing ſpoken 'or patiently heard in my behalf) this might truly be 'ſaid, that I made not this buſineſs, but found it: It 'was in other mens hands long before it was brought 'to me; and when it came, I extended it not, but 'reſtrained it. For the propoſitions of letting in part 'of the King's army, or offering violence to the members of this Houſe, I ever diſallowed, and utterly 'rejected them (22).'

(22) Ibid.

[R] *Mr Waller, and Tomkins, and others were apprehended.*] Beſides this of Lord Clarendon, ſeveral other accounts are extant, particularly one by Mr Whitlocke (23), and another by Mr May (24). But the moſt authentic account of this plot is given by Mr Pym, who was appointed by the Houſe of Commons to acquaint the Lord Mayor and citizens of London with the particulars of it, as he did at a common hall in a long ſpeech; which being very ſcarce, we ſhall lay the ſubſtance of it before the reader, as follows. The title is, *A diſcovery of the great plot for the utter ruin of the city of London and the parliament, as it was at large made known by John Pym, Eſq; on Thurſday, being the* 18*th of June* 1643, *at a common hall, and afterwards corrected by his own hand for the preſs. Lond.* 1643. Having obſerved, 'that this plot aroſe from 'the aſhes of another deſign that failed, the actors 'thereof being diſappointed, fell preſently into conſultation how they might compaſs their former end 'in another way, whereby the parliament, the city, 'and

(23) Whitlocke's memorials, p. 70.

(24) May's hiſt. of the parliament of England which begun Nov. 3, 1640. b. III. c. ii. p. 45. edit. 1647. fol.

It is no wonder that ſo unexpected a cataſtrophe threw a man of Mr Waller's ſoft mold and pleaſurable caſt into the utmoſt confuſion and conſternation! Certain death with

'and the army were to be deſtroyed; he proceeds to declare the firſt ſtep in their preparation, which was to appoint a committee to meet and conſult often together.

'The next ſtep was to furniſh that committee with intelligence from the armies both of the King and parliament, and eſpecially to underſtand the proceedings of parliament.

'Having thus provided for intelligence, they projected to procure a commiſſion of array from the King to raiſe forces, and money for their maintenance, in order, as it is expreſſed in the commiſſion, to deſtroy the army under the command of the Earl of Eſſex.

He then acquaints them with the actors and agents in this buſineſs: 'That theſe were, firſt, ſome members of the city; 2. ſome members of the two houſes of parliament; 3. Mr Waller and Mr Tomkins, who were to be agents betwixt the parliament and the city; 4. Meſſengers to carry intelligence to the court at Oxford; 5. the Lord of Falkland, who kept a correſpondence with them from the court.

'They then deviſed a proteſtation of ſecrecy, and a warineſs in diſcovering the buſineſs to any of thoſe who were to be brought into the plot; that ſo if it came to examination, it ſhould never go farther than three by the ſame party that diſcovered it, and then thoſe two had the like power that any one of them might diſcover it to two others, that ſo ſtill it might be confined to three.

'Then there was a ſpecial obligation, as was pretended by Mr Waller, which he had made to thoſe that, he ſaid, were members of both houſes of parliament, and conſenting to this plot.

'In the next place, they thought of ſome means to encreaſe their numbers; for which purpoſe they reſolved to apply artfully to ſuch as were diſcontented with the tax and aſſeſſments of parliament, adviſing them to repair to the committee for eaſe.

'From this care of augmentation, they projected a way to diſcover how far their party extended; for which purpoſe they deſired a ſurvey to be made of all the wards and pariſhes in London and the ſuburbs and places adjoining; to obſerve thoſe that were for them, whom they called *right men*, and others that were againſt them, called *averſe men*, and a third ſort, whom they called *neutrals* and *indifferent men*.

'Having thus formed the deſign, they proceeded to bring it ſomewhat nearer to execution. The firſt ſtep that came into action, was procuring a commiſſion of array granted to ſeventeen perſons, whoſe names are mentioned in the proof, with power to name others to the number of twenty-one.

'In the next place, they obtained a warrant from the King to Mr Chaloner for receiving money and plate from all ſuch as, either by voluntary contribution or loan, would furniſh the King in this neceſſity; and thereby his Majeſty obliged himſelf to repay it.

'Then the liſt upon the ſurvey of the city being completed, except in ſome few pariſhes, was brought to Mr Waller; when the citizens entruſted therein declaring, that now they had done their part, and had diſcovered to them a foundation of ſtrength, they expected from them a foundation of authority and countenance; and that they would proceed no farther till they knew the names of thoſe members, that ſhould joyn them.

'Thereupon they were aſſured by Mr Waller, that they ſhould have members of both houſes to joyn them; that he himſelf was but their mouth; that he ſpoke not his own words, but theirs; that he was but their agent, and did their work; that they ſhould have of the ableſt, of the beſt, and the greateſt number; nay, that they ſhould pick and chuſe; that they ſhould not wiſh for a Lord, whom he doubted not to procure them.

'This done, Mr Waller propounded diverſe quæries, which had been framed, as he ſaid, by the Lords and Commons, in whoſe names he preſented them.

'Theſe quæries being for the removal of ſome difficulties or obſtructions that might hinder the work, were delivered to ſome of the citizens on Friday was ſev'night, and on Saturday morning were returned with anſwers.

'*Quærie* 1. What number of men are armed? Anſw. *A third part well armed, a third part with halberts, and another third with what they could get.*

'2. In what places are the magazines laid? Anſ. *At Alderman Fowkes's houſe, at Leaden-Hall, and at Guild-Hall.*

'3. Where ſhould be the rendezvous? Anſ. *At all the gates of the city, at the places of the magazines, in Cheapſide, in the Exchange, and at other places the Lords ſhould think fit.*

'4. Where was the place of retreat, if there ſhould be occaſion? Anſ. *They had Bampſtead Downs and Black-Heath in propoſition, but referred the concluſion of the place to the Lords.*

'5. What colours there ſhould be? Anſ. *At every rendezvous there ſhould be colours.*

'6. By what marks and tokens are they to be diſtinguiſhed and know their friends from their foes? Anſ. *They ſhould have white ribbons or white tape?*

'7. What ſtrength is there within and without the walls? Anſ. *Within the walls for one with them three were againſt them, but without the walls for one againſt them there was five for them.*

'8. What is to be done with the Tower? Anſ. *They could conclude nothing in that point.*

'9. Where the chief commanders dwelt? Anſ. *Every pariſh can tell what new commanders and captains they had, and who of the militia dwelt in it.*

'10. What time this ſhould be put in execution? Anſ. *The time is wholly left to the Lords.*

'Theſe quæries being thus propounded and anſwered, Mr Waller told them he would acquaint the Lords with their anſwers; and wiſhed them not to be troubled, tho' the Lords did not yet declare themſelves, for they could do them as good ſervice in the houſe.

'Being got thus far, it was propoſed to put the following things into execution.

'1. To take into their cuſtody the King's children that were here.

'2. To lay hold on all, or at leaſt a conſiderable number of perſons, whom they thought might oppoſe; ſome of whom were named, as the Lords Say and Wharton; and, beſides my Lord Major, there was named of the Commons Sir Philip Stapleton, Mr Hambden, Mr Strode, and, ſays Mr Pym, they did me the honour to mention me too.

'3. To ſeize all the committee of the city militia;

'4. To releaſe all priſoners that had been committed by the parliament.

'5. To ſeize on the magazines.

'6. To make a declaration to ſatisfy the people; ſetting forth, that they ſtood up for the preſervation of religion, the King's prerogative, the liberties of the ſubject, and the privileges of parliament. Of theſe 1000 were to be printed, and ſet upon poſts and gates in the moſt conſiderable and open parts of the city, where they were to be diſperſed as much as poſſible againſt the time it ſhould be put in execution.

'This was done upon Saturday laſt was ſev'night in the morning; and in the afternoon Mr Hazel was ſent from Mr Waller's houſe to give intelligence of their proceedings to the court at Oxford, in two meſſages; firſt, to tell Lord Falkland from Mr Waller, that he would give him a fuller notice of the great buſineſs very ſpeedily; and ſecondly, from Mr Tomkins, that the deſign was now come to good maturity, and that they had got ſo ſtrong a party in the city, that they would be able to put it in execution, tho' it ſhould be diſcovered. They promiſed to give notice to the King of the very day, and (if poſſible) of the very hour, wherein it ſhould be put in execution: and then they deſired, that when they had ſeized upon the outworks, ſome part of the King's army might come within fifteen miles of the city, who, upon knowledge of their proceedings, muſt be admitted into it. To both theſe meſſages the Lord Falkland bid the meſſenger tell Mr Waller, Tomkins, and one Hambden (25), that he could not well write, but prayed them to uſe all poſſible haſte in the main buſineſs.

'On the Tueſday following this Saturday, which was Tueſday was ſev'night, in the evening, Mr Waller being come home, told Mr Tomkins, who

'was

(25) Alexander Hambden, Mr Waller's couſin.

with all its terrors ſtarted up to his frighted imagination, and drove him to the uſe of ſuch diſhonorable means to eſcape it, as will for ever remain an indelible blot upon his memory [*S*]. Yet his unparalleled wit and dexterity in ſaving his life will be the admiration

‘ was then with him, that the very next morning, that was Wedneſday the faſt-day, he ſhould go to my Lord of Holland, and acquaint him with this plot, diſcovering ſo much to him as he thought fit; that he himſelf would go to ſome other Lords, and do the like; and both were ſo confident of ſucceſſe, that Mr Waller broke out with a great oath, that, *if they carried this plot throughout, they would have any thing*. This he ſpoke to Mr Tomkins with a very great deal of earneſtneſs and aſſurance.

‘ So far they went on in hope and expectation; but here they were cut ſhort. That very night there were warrants iſſued, upon ſome diſcoveries that were made of this plot, to the Lord Major and Sheriffs of this city, which, for the good thereof, they executed with ſo much diligence and care, that the next morning, when Mr Tomkins and Mr Waller ſhould have gone about their buſineſs, they were apprehended, and the reſt of the citizens diverſe of them; ſome eſcaped.’

He then proceeds to produce the evidence (26).

He concludes with ſeveral obſervations, ſetting forth the heinouſneſs of the crime, and the reſolutions paſſed in the Houſe of Commons on the occaſion.

‘ 1. To appoint a publick thankſgiving throughout the kingdom.

‘ 2. To acquaint the Houſe of Lords with the diſcovery and the proofs; which had been done.

‘ 3. To make a covenant, teſtifying their deteſtation of this miſchievous plot, and to joyn themſelves more cloſely in the maintenance of the common intereſt of the church and commonwealth in religion and liberty, which were ſtill in great danger (27).

‘ 4. To thank the Lord Major, Sheriffs, and other officers of the city, and to beg the continuance of their care.

‘ 5. To thank thoſe gentlemen that had the cuſtody of the priſoners.’

Laſtly, he communicated to them draughts of both the covenants [for there were two] one for the Houſe of Commons, which had been taken by all the members, and by thoſe that are named in the examinations to have been privy to the plot (which they had diſavowed); and laſtly had been reſolved on by the Lords (28).

This vow and covenant was ſo ſevere, that few, it is ſaid, ſwallowed it, but by compulſion; and many to avoid it fled to Oxford, whither alſo the Earl of Portland and Lord Conway went as ſoon as they had an opportunity (29). The conſpirators were arraigned at Guildhall, and Waller, Tomkins, Chaloner, Haſell, White, and Blinkhorne, were all condemned; and Tomkins and Chaloner were both hanged, Tomkins in Holborn, and Chaloner in Cornhill, both within ſight of their own dwelling houſes. Haſell died in priſon. Blinkhorne with others were reprieved, and afterwards ſaved by the mercy of the parliament and the Lord General.

Alexander Hambden, who was a relation of Mr Waller's, eſcaped (probably on account of his name) being proſecuted with the ſame ſeverity as others; yet the parliament ſuffered him to dye in priſon, though no judgment had been given againſt him (30).

[*S*] *His fright put him upon unjuſtifiable means to eſcape death.*] ‘ When he was ſeized,’ ſays Lord Clarendon, ‘ he was ſo confounded with fear and apprehenſion, that he confeſſed whatever he had ſaid, heard, thought, or ſeen; all that he knew of himſelf, and all that he ſuſpected of others, without concealing any perſon of what degree or quality ſoever, or any diſcourſe that he ever had upon any occaſion entertained with them: what ſuch and ſuch ladies of great honour, to whom, upon the credit of his great wit and very good reputation, he had been admitted, had ſpoke to him in their chambers of the proceedings of the Houſe; and how they encouraged him to oppoſe them; what correſpondence and intercourſe they had with ſome miniſters of ſtate at Oxford, and how they derived all intelligence thither. He alſo accuſed the Earl of Portland and the Lord Conway of being concerned in the agitations in the city, and the Earl of Northumberland of wiſhing them ſucceſs. The Earl of Portland and Lord Conway were impriſoned on his accuſation, and often confronted with him before the committee; where they as peremptorily denying as he charging them, and there being no other witneſs but he againſt them, they were kept a while in reſtraint, and then bailed. My Lord Northumberland (31), tho' charged by him to be a well-wiſher to the conſpiracy, yet on account of his great reputation, was proceeded againſt very tenderly.’

In regard to the Earl of Portland, the following letter to him from Mr Waller has been produced in his vindication by Mr Fenton *.

‘ My Lord,

‘ Having obtained leave to write to your Lordſhip, and having but a very little time to perform it in, I ſhall not make any apology to ſatisfy you (as I might do) of the way I proceed in; which, if it were to be tried by the rules of neceſſity and honour (even in the common acceptation thereof) if you knew all circumſtances, I doubt not but I ſhould be juſtified therein. My Lord, I beſeech you, know that this buſineſs was never meant for your knowledge either by the Lord Conway or Sir Hugh Pollard. The only reaſon I imparted it to your Lordſhip was, that by you (in whom I had ſo great confidence, both for your judgment and friendſhip towards me) I might be inſtructed how far that Lord Conway might be truſted, with whom Sir Hugh ſo often urged me to ſpeak. This you might perceive by ſome ſtrangeneſs towards you, when we firſt met at Pollard's chamber, and often after when that Lord whiſpered to me apart, which for the moſt part he did, when he mentioned the Earl of Northumberland. So that but for me, I think (nay I am confident) you had never known any thing of this buſineſs, which was by them prepared for another. And therefore I cannot imagine why you ſhould hide it ſo far, as to contract your own ruin by concealing it, and perſiſting unreaſonably to hide that truth, which without you already is and will every day be made more manifeſt. Can you imagine yourſelf obliged in honour to keep that ſecret, which is already revealed by another; or poſſible it ſhould ſtill be a ſecret, which is known to one of the other ſex (tho' for a time denied)? No, my Lord, be moſt aſſured, that if you perſiſt to be cruel to yourſelf for others ſakes that deſerve it not, it will, nevertheleſs, be made appear ere long, I fear, to your ruin. Sure if I had the happineſs to wait on you, I could move you to compaſſionate both yourſelf and me, who (as deſperate as my caſe is) am deſirous to dye with the honour of being known to have declared the truth, which God knows I have in every circumſtance, to the utmoſt of my remembrance. And once more I beſeech you, for God's ſake, the fountain of truth, to do the like. Much more I have to ſay (if I might be permitted to confer with your Lordſhip about it) whereby I can demonſtrate, that you have no reaſon in the conſideration of honour, profit, or friendſhip, vainly to contend to hide, what is already revealed, and ſhall at laſt be made moſt manifeſt, inconſiderately to throw yourſelf for the intereſt of others, and ſuch to whom you are leſs obliged than you are aware of, and to them to make a ſacrifice of your noble family; and (as much as in you lies) of the life and fortune of him, that has ever been moſt unfeignedly, and never more ſhew'd it than in the humble and hearty advice he now gives you, your Lordſhip's

‘ Moſt humble and moſt faithful
‘ Servant and kinſman,
‘ EDM. WALLER.

‘ May God in time direct your heart to that which is moſt pleaſing to him, and the only way to preſerve yourſelf before it be too late (32)!’

Mr Whitlocke tells us, that ‘ Mr Waller on his examination being aſked whether Selden, Pierpoint, Whitelocke, and others by name, were acquainted with the plot? He anſwered, that they were not; but that he did come one evening to Selden's ſtudy, where Pierpoint and Whitelocke then were with Selden, on purpoſe to impart it to them all; and ſpeaking of ſuch a thing in general terms, thoſe gentlemen did ſo inveigh againſt any ſuch thing, as

‘ treachery

(26) This part is not printed with the ſpeech.

(27) Denouncing war againſt the King more diſtinctly than they had done before.

(28) It was alſo taken by the city and army.

(29) Waller's life, p. 36.

(30) Fenton's Obſervations, p. 104. upon a poem, p. 200. entituled in the firſt edition To A. H. [probably Alexander Hambden] on the different ſucceſs of their loves.

(31) This Lord is the ſame to whom our Poet addreſſes two poems, and another on the death of his lady.

* In his Obſervations, &c.

(32) Speeches and letters by Edm. Waller, Eſq; in the edition of his works by E. Fenton, p. 280. 8vo.

ration of all ages [*T*]. However, he did not eſcape without paſſing, as it were, thro' the fire: after being kept ſome time in priſon by the Council of War, he appealed to the Houſe of Commons, as one of their members; where he was condemned to perpetual baniſhment, and to pay a fine of ten thouſand pounds, and that after having diſburſed three times that ſum in bribes * to the leading men, in order to obtain their favour in procuring it. In theſe circumſtances he choſe France for the place of his exile; and being accompanied by his wife, he paſſed firſt to Rohan in Normandy; and taking up his reſidence there, his favourite daughter Margaret was born in that city, who was afterwards his amanuenſis. At length he removed to Paris, and not being diſpoſed to give into the churliſh humour of a malecontent, or the unmanly dejection of a diſgraced exile, he appeared with an eaſe and gaiety of mind which made him welcome to the greateſt men of that country: he lived with diſtinguiſhed hoſpitality, and even ſplendor, (*u*) and indulged himſelf in the delights of an elegant converſation, and often [*U*] entertained

* He is ſaid to have ſold eſtates of 1000l. per ann. on this occaſion. His life, p. 36.

(*u*) There was no Engliſh table but Mr Waller's, except that of my Lord St Albans, who was the Queen of England's prime miniſter when ſhe kept her court there. Ibid. p. 40.

'treachery and baſeneſs, and that which might be the 'occaſion of ſhedding much blood, that he durſt not, 'for the awe and reſpect which he had for Selden 'and the reſt, communicate any of the particulars to 'them, but was almoſt diſheartned himſelf to proceed 'in it (33).'

(33) Whitelocke's memorials, as before, p. 70.

[*T*] *His dexterity in ſaving his life will always be aſtoniſhing.*] The following account of it is given by the forementioned noble hiſtorian. 'After he had,' ſays the Earl, 'with incredible diſſimulation acted 'ſuch a remorſe of conſcience, that his trial was put 'off, out of Chriſtian compaſſion, till he might reco'ver his underſtanding (and that was not till the heat 'and fury of the proſecutors was reaſonably abated 'by the ſacrifices they had made) and by drawing 'viſitants to himſelf of the moſt powerful miniſters of 'all factions, had by his liberality and penitence, his 'receiving vulgar and vile ſayings from them with 'humility and reverence, as clearer convictions and 'informations than in his life he had ever had; and 'diſtributing great ſums to them for their prayers and 'ghoſtly counſel, ſo ſatisfied them, that they ſatisfied 'others; he was brought, at his ſuit, to the Houſe of 'Commons bar, where (being a man in truth very 'powerful in language, and who by what he ſpake, 'and in the manner of ſpeaking it, exceedingly cap'tivated the good-will and benevolence of his hear'ers, which is the higheſt part of an orator) with ſuch 'flattery as was exactly calculated to that meridian, 'with ſuch a ſubmiſſion, as their pride took delight 'in, and ſuch dejection of mind and ſpirit, as was 'like to cozen the major part, and be thought ſeri'ous, he laid before them their own danger and con'cernment, if they ſhould ſuffer one of their body, 'how unworthy and monſtrous ſoever, to be tried by 'the ſoldiers, who might thereby grow to that power 'hereafter, that they would both try thoſe they would 'not be willing ſhould be tried, and for things which 'they would account no crime; the inconvenience 'and inſupportable miſchief whereof, wiſe common'wealths had foreſeen and prevented, by exempting 'their own members from all judgments but their 'own *; he prevailed not to be tried by a council of 'war, and thereby preſerved his dear-bought life; ſo 'that in truth he does as much owe the keeping his 'head to that oration as Cataline did the loſs of his 'to thoſe of Tully; and by having done *ill* very well, 'he by degrees drew that reſpect to his parts, which 'always carries ſome compaſſion to the perſon, that 'he got leave to compound for his tranſgreſſion, and 'them to accept of ten thouſand pounds (which their 'affairs wanted) for his liberty. Whereupon he had 'leave to recollect himſelf in another country (for his 'liberty was to be in baniſhment) how miſerable he 'had made himſelf in obtaining that leave to live out 'of his own; and there cannot be a greater evidence 'of the ineſtimable value of his parts, than that he 'lived after this in the good affection and eſteem of 'many, the pity of moſt, and the reproach or ſcorn 'of few or none (34).' We have likewiſe a narrative of this extraordinary part which our author acted, and the reaſon of its prevalence, entirely agreeing in ſubſtance with that of Lord Clarendon, by another hiſtorian of a different ſtamp, and a bitter enemy to his Lordſhip; I mean Mr May, who was Secretary for that parliament; in theſe words. 'It was much won'dered at,' ſays he, 'and accordingly diſcourſed of 'by many at that time, what the reaſon ſhould be, 'why Maſter Waller being the principal agent in that 'conſpiracy (whereas Maſter Tomkins and Maſter 'Chaloner, who had been drawn in by him, as their 'own confeſſions even at their deaths expreſſed, were 'both executed) ſhould eſcape with life. The only 'reaſon,' continues this hiſtorian, 'which I could 'ever hear given for it was, that Maſter Waller had 'been ſo free in his confeſſions at the firſt, without 'which the plot could not have been ſo clearly de'tected, that Maſter Pym and others of the examiners 'had engaged their promiſe to do whatever they could 'to preſerve his life. He *ſeemed* alſo much ſmitten in 'conſcience, and deſired the comfort of godly mi'niſters, being extremely penitent for that foul of'fence; and afterwards in his ſpeech to the Houſe, 'when he came to be put out of it, much bewailed 'his offence, thanking God that ſo miſchievous and 'bloody a conſpiracy was diſcovered before it could 'take effect (35).' If Lord Clarendon expreſſes himſelf with greater indignation againſt the unmanly cowardice of his friend's heart, yet he does more honour than Mr May does to his eloquence.

* We are told by another author, that he was condemned by that council, and reprieved by the Earl of Eſſex the General.—Parliamentary Hiſtory under this year.

(34) Clarendon's hiſt. of this rebellion, book vii. as before.

(35) May's hiſt. of the parliament of England, &c. book iii.

[*U*] *Entertained himſelf with his muſe.*] Among others we find one addreſſed to Lady Morton, on New year's day 1650, at the Louvre in Paris, which will come under our notice hereafter. It will not be ſuperfluous to obſerve at preſent, how much reaſon Lord Clarendon had to impute his behaviour aſſumed as abſolutely neceſſary to ſave his life at ſuch a tribunal as he then pleaded before, entirely to diſſimulation, and acting a part. Conſonant to which we find him in this poem to Lady Morton lamenting the miſeries and the iniquity of the times. Thus he ſings:

Dark ſhades become the portrait of our time;
Here weeps misfortune, and there triumphs crime.

In the ſame vein he concludes with a prophetical preſage, or at leaſt a wiſh, of the reſtoration, addreſſed particularly to Henrietta Maria, youngeſt daughter of King Charles I. conveyed by Lady Morton ſecretly to France.

Born in the ſtorms of war, this royal Fair
Produc'd like lightning in tempeſtuous air,
Tho' now ſhe flies her native iſle (leſs kind,
Leſs ſafe for her, than either ſea or wind)
Shall, when the bloſſom of her beauty's blown,
See her great brother on the Britiſh throne:
Where peace ſhall reign, and no diſpute ariſe,
But which rules moſt, his ſceptre, or her eyes.

This Lady Anne Counteſs of Morton was daughter to Sir Edward Villiers, the great Duke of Buckingham's brother, and wife of Robert Douglaſs Lord Dalkeith; who on the death of his father ſucceeded to the earldom of Morton. She was one of the moſt admired beauties of that age, and the graces of her mind were not inferior to that of her perſon; for which reaſon ſhe was diſtinguiſhed by the concurrent choice of K. Charles I. and his Queen to be governeſs to the Princeſs Henrietta, whom ſhe conveyed in diſguiſe from Oatlands into France in 1646. At that time Mr Waller was there in exile, and to his private calamities had a large addition of ſorrow in ſeeing that coaſt covered with the wrecks of a royal family, which but a few years before he had beheld in ſo flouriſhing a ſecurity, that one might have reaſonably believed the greateſt violence of fortune would have beat on in vain. Nor was the reception they met with at the court of France equal to their affliction or dignity. We have the following account by Cardinal de Retz of a viſit which he paid at the Louvre. 'I 'went,' ſays he, 'to viſit the Queen of England, whom 'I found in her daughter's chamber, who hath ſince 'been tained himſelf with his muſe, and publiſhed the firſt edition of his poems in 1640 [*W*]. The chief ſupport of this magnificent way of life was derived from his wife's jewels; which he had taken along with him; but after ten years thus ſpent, being reduced, as he ſaid, to what he called the *Rump* jewel, it was time for him to think of ſome means to obtain his return. The favour was procured by the intereſt of Colonel Scroope, who had married his ſiſter; at that gentleman's interceſſion he was permitted to return to England, and to his eſtate, which, though now reduced indeed to leſs than half of that left him *(w)* by his father, yet enough remained to ſupport him handſomely; he was ſatisfied with it, and ſtill preſerved his former independency on the court, reſiding moſtly at Hall Burn, a houſe built by himſelf about a quarter of a mile from Beconsfield *(x)*, where his mother dwelt [*X*]. Oliver had now enſlaved the nation under the title of Protector, and it cannot be denied, that Mr Waller acted in his circumſtances no inconſiſtent part in wearing the chain; and if he adored the author of his redemption, gratitude may be thought in a manner to hallow the ſacrifice. Cromwell took him into an extraordinary degree of favour, and converſed with him as an intimate friend and relation [*Y*]; and our poet repaid the condeſcenſion in that noble panegyric addreſſed in 1654 *To my Lord Protector of the preſent greatneſs and joint intereſt of his Highneſs and this nation.*

(*w*) Ibid. p. 42.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 17.

'been created Dutcheſs of Orleans. At my coming in 'ſhe ſaid, *You ſee I am come to keep Henrietta company; 'the poor child could not riſe to day for want of a fire.* 'The truth is, that the Cardinal Mazarin for ſix 'months together had not ordered her any money towards her penſion; that no trades-people would truſt 'her for any thing; and that there was not at her 'lodgings in the Louvre one ſingle billet.—I remem-'ber'd,' proceeds he, 'the condition I had found her 'in, and had ſtrongly repreſented the ſhame of aban-'doning her in that manner, which cauſed the parlia-'ment [of Paris] to ſend forty thouſand livres to her 'Majeſty. Poſterity will hardly believe, that a Prin-'ceſs of England, grand-daughter to Henry the Great, 'hath wanted a faggot in the month of January, to 'get out of bed in the Louvre, and in the eyes of a 'French court *.' But it was owing to Mazarin, who, though a member of the ſacred college, ſeems to have reverenced Cromwell more than his Maker.

* Cardinal de Retz's Memoirs.

It was likewiſe in our Poet's exile, that Mr Waller wrote the epitaph on Colonel Charles Cavendiſh, in which appear theſe lines:

Cromwell, with odds of numbers and of fate,
Remov'd this bulwark of the church and ſtate;
Which the ſad iſſue of the war declar'd,
And made his taſk to ruin both leſs hard.

This gallant gentleman was a younger ſon of William Earl of Devonſhire, and brother to that beautiful and very excellent Lady Rich, celebrated by our Poet †. His genius led him equally to excel in letters and arms. After he had made the tour of France and Italy, he embarked at Venice for Conſtantinople, and after a long circuit by land thro' Natolia, ſailed to Alexandria; thence to Cairo; viſited Malta in his courſe to Spain; and from Spain returning to Paris, he arrived in England about the end of May 1641, when the courſe of his ſtudies (in which Mathematicks engaged his principal attention) being interrupted by the rebellion, he was among the firſt who drew their ſwords in the crown's defence; and after many ſignal ſervices performed for the King in the North, he was ſlain at Gainsborough in Lincolnſhire, anno 1643, in the 23d year of his age. Cromwell, who commanded that party of rebels by which he was defeated, in a letter to the aſſociation, then ſitting at Cambridge, ſays, *my Captain lieutenant ſlew him with a thruſt under the ſhort ribs*; which may very well conſiſt with another account, that he was murthered in cold blood, after quarter had been offered, and he had accepted it ‡.

† In his Poem on the Death of Lady Rich.

‡ Memoirs of the family of Cavendiſh.

[*W*] *He publiſhed the firſt edition of his poems.*] They came out under the title of *Poems, &c. written by Edmond Waller, of Beconsfield, Eſq; lately a Member of the Honourable Houſe of Commons.* To which is added, *All the Lyrick Poems in this book were ſet by Mr Henry Lawes, Gent. of the King's Chappel, and one of his Majeſty's private Muſick.* In the Preface, which is addreſſed to a lady, whoſe name is concealed, we ſee, that his gayety and wit ſhined with as much brilliancy in his exile as ever. It begins thus:

'MADAM:

'Your commands for gathering theſe ſticks into a 'faggot had ſooner been obeyed, but intending to 'preſent you with my whole vintage, I ſtaid till the 'lateſt grapes were ripe: for here your Ladyſhip has 'not only all I have done, but all I ever mean to do 'of this kind. Not but that I may defend the at-'tempt I have made upon poetry, by the examples '(not to trouble you with hiſtory) of many wiſe and 'worthy perſons of our own times, as Sir Philip Sid-'ney, Sir Francis Bacon, Cardinal Perron (the ableſt 'of his countrymen) and the former Pope, who, they 'ſay, inſtead of the Triple-crown, wore ſometimes 'the Poet's Ivy, as an ornament perhaps of leſſer 'weight and trouble. But, Madam, theſe nightin-'gales ſung only in the ſpring; it was the diverſion of 'their youth, as ladies learn to ſing and play when 'they are children what they forget when they are 'women. The reſemblance holds further; for as you 'quit the lute the ſooner, becauſe the poſture is ſuſ-'pected to draw the body awry, ſo this is not always 'practiſed without ſome villany to the mind, wreſting 'it from preſent occaſions, and accuſtoming us to a 'ſtyle ſomewhat removed from common uſe. But 'that you may not think his caſe deplorable who had 'made verſes: we are told that Tully (the greateſt wit 'among the Romans) was once ſick of this diſeaſe, 'and yet recovered ſo well, that of almoſt as bad a 'poet as your ſervant he became the moſt perfect 'orator in the world. So that not ſo much to have 'made verſes, as not to give over in time, leaves a 'man without excuſe——'

Notwithſtanding this formal declaration and vow, it is evident he did but diſſemble. Poetry is in truth no more in a man's power than love; and he who thinks he is paſt it, may carry the paſſion with him to his grave, as Mr Waller did.

[*X*] *His mother reſided at Beconsfield.*] Here ſhe often entertained Cromwell during his uſurpation, he being related to her. But notwithſtanding her relation both to him and Colonel Hampden, ſhe was a royaliſt in her principles; and when Oliver viſited her at Beconsfield, ſhe would frankly tell him how his pretenſions would end. The uſurper uſed merrily to throw a napkin at her in return, and ſaid, *He would not enter into further diſputes with his aunt*; for ſo he uſed to call her, though not quite ſo nearly related. However, finding at laſt, that Mrs Waller was more in earneſt than he was in jeſt, and that ſhe correſponded with perſons of her own principles in favour of the King, ſhe was for ſome time made a priſoner to her daughter in her own houſe (36).

(36) His life, p. 6.

[*Y*] *The Protector received him as an intimate friend.*] Mr Waller frequently waited on the Uſurper, and, as he often declared, obſerved him to be very well read in the Greek and Roman ſtory; for his rude cant, and ſpiritual ſimplicity were downright affectation: than which nothing can be more evident from Mr Waller's obſervation, and his confeſſion to him. Our author often took notice, that in the midſt of their diſcourſe a ſervant has come in to tell him ſuch and ſuch attended; whereupon Cromwell would riſe and ſtop them at the door, where he would overhear him ſay, *The Lord will reveal, The Lord will help*, and ſeveral ſuch expreſſions; which, when he returned to Mr Waller, he excuſed, ſaying, *Couſin Waller, I muſt talk to theſe men after their own way*; and would then go on where they left off. This created in Mr Waller an opinion that he ſecretly deſpiſed thoſe whom he ſeemed to court (37).

(37) Ibid. p. 43, 44.

The deſign of this poem was to perſuade the nation to think itſelf ſafe and happy under the new Protector; and it was followed by another *Of a war with Spain, and fight at ſea*, in 1656: the principal aim of which was to recommend the Protector to their reverence under the title of King, which the uſurper ambitiouſly affected [*Z*]. This poem was crowned by a third inimitable poem on his great benefactor's death *; which being lamented in ſuch elevated and ardent ſtrains on that occaſion, is a convincing evidence as of the diſintereſtedneſs, ſo of the reality of his affection. This was taken notice of by King Charles II. to whom our poet addreſſed a copy of verſes *On his Majeſty's happy return*. The date of theſe coincides with the 55th year of his age, from which time Mr. Waller's genius is obſerved to begin to decline apace from its meridian (*y*); at leaſt, there is a ſpirit of humility that runs throughout the whole, which perhaps might ariſe from a ſenſe of the public and his own guilt in particular [*AA*]. We are told in the *Menagiana*, that when he preſented this poem to the King, his Majeſty ſaid, *he thought it much inferior to his panegyric on Cromwell. Sir!* replied Mr Waller, *We poets never ſucceed ſo well in writing truth as in fiction*. He was much reſpected and careſſed at the pleaſurable court of King Charles II. and looked on as one of the reigning wits there. His Majeſty always uſed him with great civility, and in his diverſions with the Duke of Buckingham and others conſtantly made Mr Waller a party, excuſing his not drinking with the company, in which while he drank only water, yet he had the dexterity to accommodate his diſcourſe to the pitch of theirs as it ſunk: whereupon Mr Savile uſed to ſay, *No man in England ſhould keep him company without drinking, but Ned Waller* (*z*). The gracious manner in which he was always received by the King encouraged him to aſk for the Provoſtſhip of Eton College [*BB*], which became vacant by the death of Dr John Meredith

* Againſt this poem and his panegyric there came out a ſevere anſwer, entituled, The Panegyric and Storm, two poetical epiſtles by Edmond Waller, vaſſal to the Uſurper, anſwered by more faithful ſubjects to his Majeſty King Charles II. printed abroad in ſix ſheets 4to. in 1659, and dedicated to George Earl of Norwich.

(*y*) Fenton's Obſervations, p. 118.

(*z*) Waller's life, p. 47.

[Z] *His aim was to obtain the title of King for the Uſurper, which he affected.*] Oliver finding his deſign perplexed with ſome difficulties, projected the ſcheme of engaging in a war with Spain, to be enabled by foreign ſpoil to eſtabliſh his government in what form and under what denomination he pleaſed, without depending on parliamentary counſel or ſupplies. With this view he concluded a peace with France againſt Spain, which is cenſured by Ludlow, Welwood, and others, for the falſeſt ſtep that he ever made, and the moſt fatal to the tranquillity of Europe. However, his own hopes were anſwered by the ſucceſs of that naval expedition, which is the ſubject of Mr Waller's poem *Of a war with Spain, and fight at ſea*, which will be illuſtrated by Lord Clarendon's account of the action. 'Montagu, a young gentleman of a 'good family, who had been drawn into the party of 'Cromwell, and ſerved under him as a colonel in his 'army with much courage, was ſent with an addition 'of ſhips to join with Blake, and joined in commiſ'ſion of Admiral and General with him. Blake hav'ing found himſelf much indiſpoſed in his health, 'and having deſired that another might be ſent to 'aſſiſt him, and to take care of the fleet, if worſe 'ſhould befal him. Upon his arrival with the fleet, 'they lay long before Cales, in expectation of the 'Spaniſh Weſt-India fleet, and to keep all ſhips from 'going out to give notice of their being there. After 'ſome months attendance they were at laſt compel'led to remove their ſtation, that they might get freſh 'water and ſome other proviſions which they wanted, 'and ſo drew off to a convenient bay in Portugal; 'and left a ſquadron of ſhips to watch the Spaniſh fleet, 'which within a very ſhort time after the remove of 'the Engliſh fleet came upon the coaſt; and before 'they were diſcovered by the commander of the 'ſquadron, Captain Richard Stayner, who was to 'the leeward, made their way ſo faſt, that when he 'got up with them, though he was inferior to them 'in number (having with him but two frigates, be'ſides that in which himſelf failed; the Spaniſh fleet 'conſiſting of eight men of war and gallions) they 'rather thought of ſaving themſelves by flight, than 'of defending themſelves: and ſo the Spaniſh admi'ral run on ſhore in the bay, and the vice-admiral '(in which was the Marquis of Bajadox, Vice-King 'of Mexico, with his wife and ſons and daughters) 'fired, in which the poor gentleman himſelf, his wife, 'and his eldeſt daughter periſhed; his other daugh'ter and his two ſons, and near one hundred others 'were ſaved by the Engliſh, who took the rere-ad'miral and another ſhip very richly laden, having 'above two millions of plate on board, which, toge'ther with the priſoners, were ſent to England; the 'reſt eſcaped into Gibralter (38).' Mr Waller concludes his poem in theſe lines:

With theſe returns victorious Montagu,
With laurels in his hand, and half Peru.
Let the brave generals divide that bough,
Our great PROTECTOR *hath ſuch wreaths enough;*
His conq'ring head hath no more room for bays.
Then let it be as the glad nation prays:
Let the rich ore forthwith be melted down,
And the ſtate fix'd by making him a crown:
With ermin clad, and purple, let him hold
A royal ſceptre, made of Spaniſh gold.

This crown, as is ſaid above, was greatly ambitioned by Oliver, but upon ſounding the minds of the army, particularly Fleetwood and Lambert, he found them ſo much averſe to it, that he concluded the ſafeſt way was to decline it; and therefore he ſent a meſſage to his parliament, declaring, that *he could not accept the government under the title of King* (39).

[*AA*] *A ſpirit of humility might ariſe from a ſenſe of his guilt.*] This guilt is hinted in this couplet of that poem:

Like your great Maſter, you the ſtorm withſtood;
And pity'd thoſe who love with frailty ſhew'd.

In this alluſion (40) he ſeems to touch tenderly upon his want of reſolution, that put him upon ſtooping to the uſe of the moſt abject means for ſaving his life, on an occaſion in which, ſays Lord Clarendon (41) *he ought to have been ambitious to have loſt it*. But whatever was the cauſe of his muſe's fainting on this occaſion, yet the ſymptoms of decay ſeem to be abated, when he wrote his poem afterwards *On St James's Park, as lately improved by his Majeſty*, in which he concludes a handſome compliment to the King, in theſe lines:

His thoughts riſe higher, when he does reflect
On what the world may from that ſtar expect,
Which at his birth appear'd, to let us ſee
Day, for his ſake, could with the night agree.
A Prince on whom ſuch different lights did ſmile,
Born the divided world to reconcile:
Whatever heav'n, or high-extracted blood,
Could promiſe or foretell, he will make good:
Reform theſe nations, and improve them more
Than this fair park from what it was before.

And in his *Advice to a Painter*, written when he was threeſcore, his addreſs *To the King* ends in a ſtrain, little, if at all, inferior to his moſt elevated pieces, thus:

Had the old Greeks diſcover'd your abode,
Crete had not been the cradle of their god;
On that ſmall iſland they had look'd with ſcorn,
And in Great Britain thought the Thund'rer born.

[*BB*] *He aſked the King for the Provoſtſhip of Eton College.*] In the preface to the edition of his poems in 1664,

(38) Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, Vol. III. fol.

(39) Whitelocke's memorials.

(40) See St. Matthew's goſpel, ch. viii. v. 24.

(41) See his life, p. 24. edit. Oxford, 1759, folio.

Meredith in 1665, and he obtained a grant of it from his Majeſty; but when the patent was brought to the Earl of Clarendon, then Lord Chancellor, his Lordſhip refuſed to ſet the ſeal to it, alledging, that by the ſtatutes of that college laymen were excluded from the provoſtſhip † [CC]. Mr Waller had ſet his heart upon this place, and the diſappointment ſunk ſo deep into his mind, that it made a breach in that ancient friendſhip which had ſubſiſted hitherto between the Chancellor and him, inſomuch that he joined warmly with the Duke of Buckingham in the proſecution of the Earl, and both voted and ſpoke for his impeachment in 1667 [DD]. The Chancellor going thereupon into baniſhment, Mr Waller applied again for the Provoſtſhip of Eton, upon the death of Dr Alleſtre in 1668, but to his infinite regret met with the like ill ſucceſs as before, the famous Dr. Zachary Cradock being choſen by the fellows of the college. The King, on Mr Waller's application for it, referred the matter to the privy council, before whom it was argued for three days by the beſt lawyers at that time. The reſult was, the council gave their opinion, that the place could not be held by a layman, according to the act of uniformity, ſince which the provoſts had always been inſtituted to it, as to a parſonage, by the Biſhop of Lincoln, in whoſe dioceſe it lies. Whereupon the King ſaid, he could not deſtroy an act of his own making (aa). And Mr Waller never reaped any real fruit for himſelf from his ſiding with the court in this or the following reign; only about the year 1685, when his couſin John Hampden Eſq; grandſon of the patriot, was proſecuted and condemned for high treaſon, Mr Waller had the favour of obtaining his pardon, and protecting his ſon from the need of one (bb). He ſat in all the parliaments of King Charles II. tho' never for Agmondeſham [EE]: and we find him frequently bearing a part in their debates (cc). But as his indolence and love of eaſe rendered him averſe to the fatigue of buſineſs, ſo he always refuſed to be in the commiſſion of the peace or

lieutenancy.

† See Preface to Dr Alleſtry's ſermons by Dean Fell.

(aa) Communicated by Francis Godolphin, Eſq; of Bayles near Eton, member of parliament for Helſton in Cornwall, 1763. N. B. Dr Cradock never printed any thing but a ſingle ſermon, which for the excellency thereof was generally called *Dr Cradock's Works.*

(bb) Waller's life, p. 48. compared with patriot Hampden's articles, Vol. IV. p. 2529, Remark [K]

(cc) Grey's debates of the houſe of commons, as before.

1664, apparently either written by himſelf, or by his immediate direction, he mentions his ſufferings for the royal cauſe, which, as ſays Mr Fenton, ſeems deſigned for a modeſt memorial preparatory to his ſtanding candidate for the provoſtſhip of Eton college, as he did ſoon after it was publiſhed. Speaking of the additional poems inſerted in that edition, his words are, 'For what has been done ſince, and now added, 'if it commend not his poetry, it muſt his philoſophy, which teaches him ſo chearfully to bear ſo 'great a calamity, as the loſs of the beſt part of his 'fortune, torn from him in priſon (in which, and in 'baniſhment, the beſt part of his life has alſo been 'ſpent) that he can ſtill ſing under the burthen, not 'unlike that Roman,

——*Quem demiſere Philippi,*
Deciſis humilem pennis, inopemque paterni,
Et Laris & fundi.——

'Whoſe ſpreading wings the civil war had clipp'd,
'And him of his old patrimony ſtripp'd.'

'Who yet not long after could ſay,

Muſis amicus, triſtitiam & metus
Tradam protervis in mare Creticum
Portare ventis—— (42).

'They that acquainted with the Muſes be,
'Send care and ſorrow by the winds to ſea.'

(42) Horace, Ode 26. lib. 1.

[CC] *Laymen are excluded from that provoſtſhip.*] No doubt Mr Waller took pains to ſearch for precedents on this occaſion, and 'tis certain that both Sir Henry Savile, made Provoſt by Queen Elizabeth, and Thomas Murray his ſucceſſor, appointed by King James I. (43) were laymen; as alſo was Sir Henry Wotton, put in by King Charles I. but upon conſulting the ſtatutes of the college afterwards, he took deacon's orders (44), and the provoſts, if I miſtake not, have ever ſince been of the clergy (45).

(43) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. Col. 466, 468.

(44) See his article.

(45) It is a doubt whether Francis Rous, put into the place by the parliament during the rebellion, was in orders or not. Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. Col. 231: but if not, as Mr Wood ſeem[illegible] yet his caſe happening in ſuch times, cannot be drawn into a precedent.

[DD] *He voted and ſpoke for Lord Clarendon's impeachment.*] In the debates upon the firſt article of his Lordſhip's impeachment, Mr Waller ſaid, 'The advice given to the King I look upon to be this: To 'eſtabliſh a new government: To be governed by 'Janizaries inſtead of parliaments: To have a Divan and a great miniſter of ſtate, inſtead of a Vizier-Baſhau. A worſe plot than that of the 5th of November. There, if the Lords and Commons had 'been deſtroyed, there would have been a ſucceſſion, 'but here both had been deſtroyed for ever. Then 'in order to a juſt debate, conſider how the law looks 'on it: for though we may accuſe on leſs evidence 'than we may judge, yet we muſt be cautious in naming the crime: what therefore doth the law call 'this before the 25th Edw. III. then look whether 'the power of conſtructive treaſon be taken away 'ſince.'

Again, upon the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th articles, Mr Waller ſaid, 'To ſhew that Dunkirk was annexed 'to England, conſider that we were paſſing a bill for '1,200,000 l. but when we were making a preamble to 'the bill, we were to ſeek for reaſons for giving the 'money, ſeeing we had no war; ſome ſaid to Dunkirk, but we were told we ſhould take heed of looking 'upon it as annexed to the crown. But it was looked 'upon as a frontier town, and accordingly needed not 'bail. Therefore the ſale of it treaſon (46).'

(46) State Trials, Vol. II. edit. 1730, p. 559, 560, 561. 567.

From theſe and Mr Waller's ſpeeches in parliament before-mentioned, it is certain, that Lord Clarendon had no good reaſon to point the end of his remark upon this part of our Author's character ſo much to his diſadvantage. 'He (Mr Waller) ſays his Lordſhip, had been nurſed in parliaments, where he ſat when he was very young; and ſo when they were reſumed again (after a long intermiſſion) he appeared in thoſe aſſemblies with great advantage, having a graceful way of ſpeaking; and by thinking much upon ſeveral arguments (which his temper and complexion, that had much of melancholic, inclined him to) he ſeemed often to ſpeak upon the ſudden, when the occaſion had only miniſtered the opportunity of ſaying what he had thoroughly conſidered, which gave a great luſtre to all he ſaid, *which yet was rather of delight than weight*" (47).

(47) Life of the Earl of Clarendon, p. 24.

[EE] *He ſat in all the parliaments under Charles II.*] Mr Fenton tells us (*) that he was a member of the Houſe of Commons from the time of his leaving Cambridge in the reign of King James I. to the end of that parliament which was diſſolved in 1678. But neither does that gentleman nor the writer of Mr Waller's life give us any account of the particular places for which he ſerved. This taſk therefore has fallen to our ſhare, and ſome pains have been taken to ſupply the defect. The difficulty of determining this matter with regard to the parliaments in James Iſt's time has been already noted, and the point diſcuſſed. In the firſt parliament of Charles I. which met in 1625, he was choſen, tho' ſtill a minor, for Chipping Wycombe in Bucks (48). We cannot find that he ſat in the ſecond parliament of this reign, which alſo met in the ſame year. In the ſubſequent parliaments of Charles I. he repreſented Agmondeſham, as is obſerved in the text. It does not appear that he ſat (and it is morally certain he did not ſit) in the convention-parliament of Charles II. but in the next parliament which met at Weſtminſter, March 8, 1661. he ſerved for Haſtings in Suſſex (49); upon the diſſolution of which, January 25, 1678, another meeting March 6, the ſame year he was returned again for Chipping Wycombe (50). It is ſaid alſo, and from the records, that he was returned with Mr Sidney Godolphin to the laſt parliament of this reign, which met at Weſtminſter, October 21, 1680, But I have found no ſuch record; and I am aſſured by Francis Godolphin, Eſq; above-mentioned, that he never was choſen with any anceſtor or relation of his family for any borough in Cornwal. 'Tis true, mention is made of a Sydney Godolphin, ſecond ſon of Sir William Godolphin of

Godolphin

(*) In his Obſervations, &c. p. 160.

(48) From a copy of the return, in the poſſeſſion of the family.

(49) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. Col. 25.

(50) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, under that borough.

lieutenancy *(dd)*. He choſe to paſs his days with his muſe, in whoſe company he was ſupremely bleſt, and notwithſtanding the promiſe he made in his letter to the lady, prefixed to the firſt edition of his poems, he wrote on. Poetry had been the ſupreme delight of his youth, and he refreſhed his old age with the ſame cordial; and it cannot be denied, that whatever traces of decay may appear in his later compoſitions, yet Longinus's obſervation of Homer is juſtly applied to our poet; *it was the Old Age of Mr Waller.* Who would think that the verſes he wrote *On the Earl of Roſcommon's Tranſlation of Horace's Art of Poetry* were the compoſition of a man twelve years beyond his grand climacteric? for he was then ſeventy-five: yet he wrote on ſtill, and ſtill with beauty and ſpirit. However, not many years after this, he turned his muſe, as became his age, towards heaven; for which flight his ſoul had evidently been preparing. And though his *Divine Poems* were written at fourſcore and after, yet the ſame elevation and fire, though with a little fainter flame, glows in them as in his earlier productions. He intended to crown all his labours with the poem *Of the laſt verſes in the book*, which can never be too much admired: ſo natural are the images, ſo lively the repreſentation of old age, ſo feelingly does the author ſpeak of its infirmities, and all is ſo poetical! Never did old bard ſing with a ſweeter and more charming voice [*FF*]. Theſe ſurely will be allowed, if any thing can be allowed, to make atonement for the follies and irregularities which he fell into in the former courſe of his life; let them be all covered with this noble veil woven in the laſt ſtage of it. Some time before his death he purchaſed a ſmall eſtate, with a little houſe upon it, at Coleſhill, his birth-place, to which he frequently retired, but did not ſtay long: being once carried to dine there, he ſaid, *he ſhould be glad to die, like the ſtag, where he was rouſed (ee).* But in that he happened not to have his wiſh. He was at Beconsfield, when finding his legs begin to ſwell, he took his ſon-in-law, Dr Birch, with him to Sir Charles Scarborough, then at Windſor in attendance as firſt Phyſician to King James II. [*GG*]; and telling the Doctor he came to him as an old friend as well as phyſician to aſk him what that ſwelling meant, Sir Charles ſaid plainly, *Why, Sir, your blood will run no longer.* Whereupon Mr Waller repeated ſome verſes out of Virgil ſuitable to the occaſion, and received his ſentence very compoſedly *(ff)*. His laſt poems ſhew us, that his laſt years were ſpent in divine ſtudies, and that he had fortified himſelf againſt this hour by ſpiritual meditations, and making his peace with Heaven. The dropſical ſymptom increaſing, he ordered Dr Birch to give him the holy ſacrament, and deſire all his children to join with him. At the ſame time he profeſſed his Chriſtian faith with great earneſtneſs; telling them, he *remembered the Duke of Buckingham once talked profanely* before King Charles, and that he told him, *My Lord, I am a great deal older than your Grace, and believe I have heard more arguments for Atheiſm, than ever your Grace did; but I have lived long enough to ſee there is nothing in them, and ſo I hope your Grace will (gg).* He died on the 21ſt of October 1687, and was interred with his anceſtors in the church-yard at Beconsfield. Preſently after his deceaſe there came out a ſmall collection of poems upon him, conſiſting of panegyrics and elegies, by Monſ. St Evremond, Sir Thomas Higgins, the Honourable George Granville, Eſq; afterwards Lord Landſdowne, Sir Robert Cotton, Mr Rymer, and others. Nor was

(dd) His life, p. 48.

(ee) Ibid. p. 55. 57.

(ff) P. 56.

(gg) P. 57.

Godolphin near Helſton in Cornwal, who was elected a burgeſs for that town in the ſhort and long parliaments, which both begun in 1640. This gentleman was a poet, and among other things tranſlated into Engliſh verſe *The paſſion of Dido for Æneas, as it is incomparably expreſt in the fourth book of Virgil.* This, ſays Mr Wood, being done (all but a very little) by our incomparable author, as well for virtue as wit, was perfected, completed, and publiſhed by Edmund Waller, of Beconsfield in Bucks, Eſq; London, 1658. 8vo. But this gentleman was killed in January or February 1642-3, fighting for the King at Chagford in Cornwal †. In which county however it is certain, Mr Waller was returned with Sir Cyril Wych for Saltaſh in the firſt and only parliament of James II. which met in 1685 ‡. He was then fourſcore; and yet Burnet obſerves, that he entertained the Houſe of Commons at that age §.

† Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 23, 24.

‡ From a liſt of the members in Ward and Chandler's collection of Debates in the Houſe of Commons.

§ In the hiſtory of his own Times, p. 388, folio.

[*FF*] *Never did old bard ſing more ſweetly.*] The two laſt lines in this poem, *viz.*

Leaving the old, both worlds at once they view
That ſtand upon the threſhold of the new,

brought to my mind the two following lines in Mr Fenton's Epitaph:

Calmly he look'd on either life, and here
Saw nothing to regard, or there to fear.

The author of this epitaph is our late much famed bard Alexander Pope, Eſq; who was in truth not ſo much diſtinguiſhed by any ſtrokes of original wit of his own, as he was for improving thoſe of others; of which this is a remarkable inſtance. Nor does the improvement he made in number and harmony of our verſification after Mr Waller, who firſt refined it from the ore, redound leſs to his honour.

[*GG*] *King James II.*] Mr Waller wrote when he was paſt fourſcore a poem, intituled *A preſage of the ruin of the Turkiſh empire, preſented to his Majeſty King James II. on his birth-day.* That Prince was very gracious to him. His Majeſty one time ordered my Lord Sunderland to bid him ſee him in the afternoon: when he came, the King carried him into his cloſet, and there aſked him, *how he liked ſuch a picture? Sir,* ſays Mr Waller, *my eyes are dim, and I know not who it is. 'Tis the Princeſs of Orange,* ſays the King. Then ſays Mr Waller, *She is like the greateſt woman in the world. Who do you call ſo?* anſwered the King. *Queen Elizabeth,* ſaid he. *I wonder, Mr Waller,* reply'd the King, *you ſhould think ſo; but I muſt confeſs ſhe had a wiſe council. And, Sir,* ſaid Mr Waller, *did you ever know a fool chuſe a wiſe one?* The writer of his life tells a ſtory, which he ſays he had from Dr Birch himſelf, as follows: Mr Waller ſome time after being known to reſolve to marry his daughter to Dr Birch, the King was prevailed with to endeavour to hinder it; and for that end ordered a French gentleman of quality to tell him, *that the King wondered he could have any thoughts of marrying his daughter to a falling church.* He made anſwer, *Sir, the King does me very great honour, to take any notice of my domeſtic affairs; but I have lived long enough to obſerve, that this falling church has got a trick of riſing again.* If we may believe the writer of his life, Mr Waller was certainly in the ſecret of the Revolution; for he would often ſay, *The King would be left like a whale upon the ſtrand.* But theſe words ſeem to be nothing more than a judicious preſage grounded upon that unfortunate monarch's arbitrary proceedings, and the general diſcontent and murmuring of the people thereupon. However, it is not improbable, as this writer maintains, that Mr Waller might charge ſome about him not to meddle, till they ſaw the Prince of Orange already landed; and that his ſon and heir Edmund Waller, Eſq; then went in to the Prince (51).

(51) Waller's life, p. 52, 53.

his

his reputation confined to England; he was known to all the polite world. La Fontaine and St Evremond ſpeak with the higheſt commendation of his genius [*HH*]; but the ſureſt teſtimony we have of his merit is, that he lived ſucceſſively in great familiarity and friendſhip with the Lord Falkland, Sir Francis Wenman, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Holland, the Earl of Leiceſter, the Counteſs of Carliſle, the Earl of St Albans, the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Dorſet, the Earl of Rocheſter, Sir Charles Sedley, the Dutcheſs of Mazarine, Monſr Bonrepaux, Monſr St Evremond, and many other perſons of the ſame rank and character. In ſhort, he was one of the moſt polite, the moſt gallant, and the moſt witty men of his time [*II*], and he ſupported that character above half a century; and his writings will immortalize his name. He was certainly the Father of our Engliſh verſification; yet he ingenuouſly declared, that it was *to* Fairfax he owed the harmony and ſweetneſs of it (*bb*). He undoubtedly ſtands firſt in the liſt of refiners. The tongue came into his hands like a rough diamond; he poliſhed it firſt, and to that degree, that all artiſts ſince him have admired the workmanſhip, without pretending to mend it (*ii*). It is ſurprizing, that between what Spencer wrote laſt and Mr Waller firſt, there ſhould not be much above twenty years diſtance, and yet the one's language, like the money of that time, is as current now as ever; whilſt the other's words are like old coin, one muſt go to an antiquary to underſtand their true meaning and value. Such advances may a great genius make, when it undertakes any thing in earneſt! We are no leſs beholden to him for the new turn of verſe he brought in, and the improvement he made in our numbers. Before his time men rhymed indeed, and that was all; as for the harmony of meaſure, and that dance of words, which good ears are ſo much pleaſed with, they knew nothing of it. Mr Waller's rhymes are always good, and very often the better for being new. It is a decided caſe by the great maſter of writing*, *Quæ ſunt ampla & pulchra diu placere poſſunt, quæ ſunt lepida & concinna* (among which rhyme muſt, whether it will or no, take its place) *cito ſatietate afficiunt aurium ſenſum faſtidioſiſſimum.* This he underſtood very well, and therefore to take off the danger of a ſurfeit that way, ſtrove to pleaſe by variety and new ſounds. Had he carried this obſervation among others, as far as it would go, it muſt methinks have ſhewn him the incurable fault of this jingling kind of poetry, and have led his later judgment to blank verſe. But he continued an obſtinate lover of rhyme to the very laſt: it was a miſtreſs that never appeared unhandſome in his eyes, and was courted by him long after Sachariſſa was forſaken. He had raiſed it, and brought it to that perfection we now enjoy it in; and the poet's temper (which has always a little vanity in it) would not ſuffer him ever to ſlight a thing, he had taken ſo much pains to adorn (*kk*). But who is abſolutely perfect? It has been obſerved, that there are ſeveral little overſights, improprieties, and ſlips of grammar to be found up and down in his works. We may add likewiſe, that ſometimes his thoughts are not ſo very juſt as, in all probability, they would have been, if he had been at the pains to reviſe them in his cooler ſeaſons [*KK*]. He left ſeveral children by his ſecond wife behind him, and bequeathed his eſtate

(*bb*) P. 66.

(*ii*) This was written before Mr Pope's appearance.

* Cicero ad Herennium, lib. iv.

(*kk*) Preface to the ſecond part of Mr Waller's poems, printed in 1690.

[*HH*] *La Fontaine and St Evremond ſpeak of him with the higheſt commendation.*] La Fontaine writing to Monſr De Bonrepaux, then in England, and afterwards the French Envoy to the Northern Crowns, ſays, *J'aye tant entendu dire du bien de Mr Waller, que ſon approbation me comble de joie*; I have heard ſo much ſaid in praiſe of Mr Waller, that I am overjoyed with his approbation. And ſpeaking of what that gentleman had written to him of Windſor, he ſays, *Il y'a pluſieurs choſes conſiderables; entre autres, vos deux Anacreons, Monſr de St Evremond & Mr Waller, en qui l'imagination & l'amour ne finiſſent point*; There are ſome things conſiderable; among others, your two Anacreons, Monſr de St Evremond and Mr Waller, of whoſe imagination and love there is no end. Mr St Evremond in a letter to La Fontaine, ſoon after our author's death, expreſſes his concern for the loſs in theſe terms: *Monſr Waller, dont nous regrettons la perte, a pouſſé la vigueur de l'eſprit juſqu'a l'age de quatre vingt deux ans*; Mr Waller, whoſe loſs we regret, enjoyed the full vigour of his wit at fourſcore and two years of age. Again, writing to my Lord St Alban's, he ſays, *Mr Waller vous garde une converſation delicieuſe; je ne ſuis pas ſi vain de vous parler de mienne*; Mr Waller keeps a delicious converſation for you; I am not ſo vain as to mention mine. Again, in his diſcourſe *des belles lettres; Je n'ay point, dit il, connu d'homme a qui l'antiquité ſoit ſi* [redacted] *qu'a Mr Waller; il lui prete ſa belle imagination, auſſi que ſon intelligence fine & delicate; en ſorte qu'il entre dans l'eſprit des anciens, non ſeulement pour bien entendre ce qu'ils ont penſé, mais pour embellir encore leurs penſées.* I never knew a man to whom antiquity is ſo much obliged, as to Mr Waller; he lends her his beautiful imagination, as alſo his fine and delicate underſtanding; ſo that he enters into the genius of the ancients, not only to underſtand rightly what they thought, but to embelliſh their thoughts ſtill more.

[*II*] *One of the moſt polite and witty men of his time.*] In this reſpect we find the Earl of Clarendon gives his teſtimony to Mr Waller. Speaking of the principal members in the Houſe of Commons in the long parliament of King Charles I. he ſays, 'There was of 'the Houſe of Commons one Mr Waller, a gentleman 'of very good fortune and eſtate, and of admirable 'parts and faculty of wit, and of an intimate converſation with thoſe who had that reputation (52).

[*KK*] *His thoughts are not always ſo very juſt, &c.*] There are two inſtances of this fault ſo notorious, that it is no wonder they have not eſcaped the ſharp-ſighted Dean Swift, who has not ſpared to give our poet among others a place in his *Art of ſinking in poetry*; where, under the article of what he calls *the Antitheſis or See-ſaw*, his firſt inſtance is taken from our author's verſes to Lady Morton, then at the Louvre in Paris, in 1650. In it bewailing the miſeries of the time in England, he concludes his lamentation thus:

Let him that draws it hide the reſt in night,
This portion only may endure the light:

which are followed by theſe two remarkable lines:

Where the kind nymph changing her faultleſs ſhape,
Becomes unhandſom, handſomly to 'ſcape.

Here, ſays the Dean, contraries and oppoſitions are balanced in ſuch a way, as to cauſe the reader to remain ſuſpended between them, to his exceeding delight and recreation (53). Again, in the ſame piece, under the claſs of diminiſhing figures, one of which is denominated *The Anticlimax*, are quoted as a ſpecimen of that figure the two following lines from our author's poem on the death of the Protector in 1658.

Under the Tropic is our language ſpoke,
And part of Flanders hath receiv'd our yoke (54),

where the ſecond line drops quite ſhort of the firſt, than

(52) Clarendon's hiſt. of the rebellion, b. vii. p. 247. edit. Oxf. 1707. 8vo.

(53) Art of ſinking in poetry, ch. x.

(54) Chap. xi.

eſtate to his ſecond ſon Edmund, his eldeſt named Benjamin being ſo far from inheriting his father's wit, that he had not a common portion; and therefore was ſent to New Jerſey in America. William, the third ſon, was a merchant in London; and his fourth ſon, Dr Stephen Waller, was an eminent civilian, and was one of the Commiſſioners appointed for the Union of the two kingdoms. There was a fifth ſon, but we have met with no account of him. Edmund Waller, his heir, uſed to be choſen for Agmondeſham; and as in parliament he never eſpouſed the court or country party, he was generally looked upon as the head of what was thence called *The Flying Squadron*. He accepted of the commiſſions [of the peace and lieutenancy] which his father refuſed; and was eſteemed in his country as a very honeſt gentleman, and a man of good ſenſe *(ll)*. Nor was he without a taſte in poetry [*LL*], and a vein which would have ſhined more, had it not been

than which nothing creates greater ſurprize. Theſe are both paſſed over in ſilence, as utterly inexcuſable, by Mr Fenton, who yet modeſtly mentions an impropriety of Mr Waller's, thro' want of judgment, in the following ſong.

Stay, Phœbus, ſtay!
The world to which you fly ſo faſt,
Conveying day from us to them, can pay your haſte
With no ſuch object, nor ſalute your riſe
With no ſuch wonder as DE MORNAY's eyes.
Well does this prove
The error of thoſe antique books,
Which made you move
About the world: her charming looks
Would fix your beams, and make it ever day,
Did not the rowling earth ſnatch her away.

The latter ſtanza of theſe verſes (which certainly, ſays Mr Fenton, are of Mr Waller's earlieſt production) alludes to the Copernican ſyſtem, in which the earth is ſuppoſed to be a planet, and to move on its own axis round the ſun, the center of the univerſe. Dr Donne and Mr Cowley, proceeds this obſervator, induſtriouſly affected to entertain the fair ſex with ſuch philoſophical alluſions; which in his riper age Mr Waller as induſtriouſly avoided (55). The author of the Tatler remarks, that Mr Waller has the beſt and worſt verſes of any among our great Engliſh poets. He is charged in the ſame papers alſo with being guilty of a piece of falſe wit in the following *Epigram under a Lady's picture.*

Such Helen was; and who can blame the boy,
That in ſo bright a flame conſum'd his Troy?
But had like virtue ſhin'd in that fair Greek,
The am'rous ſhepherd had not dar'd to ſeek
Or hope or pity; but with ſilent moan
And better fate had periſhed alone.

But here the laſt mentioned candid critic ſteps in to our author's defence. 'I can much eaſier,' ſays he, 'agree with the author of the Tatlers, that every woman thinks herſelf deſcribed in the two firſt verſes, than that they are a piece of falſe wit; and I believe all the admirers of Horace, a numerous party! will ſupport me in diſſenting from his criticiſm. This expreſſion,

————*Non pulchrior ignis*
Accendit obſeſſam Ilion,

has hitherto never been accuſed of impropriety; and I think it is particularly commended by Dacier; whoſe countryman De la Foſſe approved ſo well of the whole ſix lines of Mr Waller, as to change them into a madrigal, and print them for his own. Yet ſhall we arraign him of wit-felony? or commend the perfect notion he had of the French nation, which would never have allowed the verſes to have been polite, if he had honeſtly confeſſed that they were imported from England?

Telle fut celle dont les charmes
Mirent toute la Grece en armes!
Trop heureux le Berger qui fut ſon favori!
Mais ſi la belle Grecque eut eu cet air modeſte
Paris a ſe patrie eut ete moins funeſtes
Le reſpect l'eut fait taire, a lui ſeul eut peri (56).

Monſr de Voltaire, writing lately ſeveral remarks upon the Engliſh nation, hath obſerved, 'that our author had been much talked of in France, and that his elogium had been written both by De la Fontaine, St Evremond, and Bayle; yet ſtill,' ſays he, 'his name only is known. He had much the ſame reputation,' continues this critic, 'in London as Voiture had at Paris, and in my opinion deſerved it better. Voiture, born with an eaſy and frivolous genius, was the firſt who ſhone in this aurora of French literature. Waller, though better than Voiture, was not yet a finiſhed poet. The graces breathe in ſuch of his works as are wrote in a tender ſtrain; *but then they are languid thro' negligence, and often disfigured with falſe thoughts.* The Engliſh had not in his time attained the art of correct writing. But his ſerious compoſitions exhibit a ſtrength and vigour, which could not have been expected from the ſoftneſs and effeminacy of his other pieces. He wrote an Elegy on Oliver Cromwell, which, with all its faults, is nevertheleſs eſteemed a maſter-piece (57).' Mr Fenton plainly had his eye upon ſuch a cenſure as this of Voltaire upon our author's negligence, in his obſervation upon *The verſes written in the Taſſo of her Royal Highneſs.* 'When the court was at Windſor,' ſays he, 'theſe verſes were writ in the Taſſo of her Royal Highneſs, at Mr Waller's requeſt, by the late Duke of Bucks; and I very well remember to have heard his Grace ſay, that the author employed the greateſt part of a ſummer in compoſing and correcting them: ſo that, however he is generally reputed the parent of thoſe ſwarms of inſect-wits who affect to be thought eaſy writers, it is evident that he beſtowed much time and care on his poems, before he ventured them out of his hands. That *illaborata facilitas,* which a great critic aſſigns for the diſtinguiſhing character of Cicero's proſe, may with equal propriety be apply'd to Sir George Etherege's ſtyle in his comedies, and to Mr Waller's verſification *.'

The celebrated Mrs Katharine Philips, well known by the feigned name of Orinda, makes the following criticiſm on Mr Waller's tranſlation of the firſt act of Corneille's tragedy of Pompey. In a letter to Sir Charles Cotterel (58), ſhe writes thus: 'I muſt then tell you, that Mr Waller's own act is not free, in my opinion, from juſt exceptions. The word *Roman blade* choques me very much; his frequent double rhymes in an heroic poem; his calling Pompey a conſul, when that was not in the orignal or the hiſtory, both the conſuls being with him at Pharſalia; Pharſalian Kites, for *les Vautours de Pharſale:* I cannot reliſh his Engliſhing *le dernier preuve de leur amitie,* their *new* friendſhip; and many additions and omiſſions of the author's ſenſe. I think a tranſlation ought not to be uſed as muſicians do a ground, with all the liberty to deſcant, but as painters when they copy. And the rule which I underſtood of tranſlation, till theſe gentlemen inform'd me better, was to write ſo Corneille's ſenſe, as it is to be ſuppoſed Corneille would have done, if he had been an Engliſhman, not confined to his lines nor his numbers (unleſs we can do it happily), but always to his meaning; or to ſay all, to tranſlate as the *Temple of death* is tranſlated (59), where the original appears in its own true undisfigured proportion, and yet beautified with all the riches of a mother-tongue. But, after all this, let me aſſure you, that what I have ſaid of thoſe gentlemen's tranſlation (6[redacted] engage you to tell me your opinion, rather than to ſpeak mine; which yet is, that all together it is an excellent piece, and done with great ſpirit and happineſs; and whoſoever ſhall attack it muſt ſhew themſelves either very envious, or very idle.'

[*LL*] *His ſon Edmund had a taſte in poetry.*] The writer of Mr Waller's life tells us he had ſeen ſeveral copies of verſes written by this his ſon and heir, moſtly upon

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(ll) His life, p. 59.

(55) Fenton's obſervations, &c. p. 61. 8vo edit. 1730.

(56) Ibid. p. 154.

(57) Letters concerning the Engliſh nation, letter 21.

* Fenton's obſervations, &c. p. 148.

(58) Communicated by Sir Clement Cotterel, maſter of the ceremonies, to Mr Fenton. See his obſervations, p. 158, 159.

(59) By Sir Charles Cotterel. This tranſlation remains ſtill in manuſcript.

(60) *Viz.* Sir Robert Filmer, who did one, Sir [redacted] another, and my Lord Buckhurſt another; but who the fifth, ſays ſhe, I cannot learn. Letters from Orinda to Poliarchus, letter 23. p. 112. edit. 1705.

been ſet ſo near his father's. In the latter part of his life he embraced the ſect of the Quakers, as appears by his laſt will, in which he ordered, that a certain ſum ſhould be laid out on his funeral, and if there was any overplus, it ſhould be diſtributed among his poor friends the Quakers at Bath in Somerſetſhire, where he died in 1699, and his body was interred, by his own direction, in the Quakers burying-ground, five or ſix miles from that city, the Mayor and Aldermen attending it thither (mm). The mother of this gentleman obliged him to promiſe, he would lay out three hundred pounds in a monument for his father; and it was in conſequence of that promiſe, that the fine tomb was erected over our Poet's grave by his ſon's executors, Mrs Eliza Waller, John Fanſhaw, and Henry Gould, Eſquires. This monument ſtands in the church-yard of Beconsfield, where the Wallers were buried in little better than a common grave; but the vault was on this occaſion enlarged, and the tomb has all the advantages and decorations that could be deſired to honour the remains of ſo great a man (nn) [MM]. This ſon and heir dying without iſſue, gave the eſtate to Edmund Waller, the eldeſt ſon of Dr Stephen Waller. This gentleman is ſtill living; and his ſon Robert Waller, Eſq; is one of the members of the preſent parliament for Chipping Wycombe in Buckinghamſhire (oo).

(mm) Ibid. p. 60.

(nn) Ibid. p. 60, 61.

(oo) Court Kalendar for this year 1763, where he is ſtiled Robert Waller, Eſq; of Hall-Barn in Bucks.

upon religious ſubjects, and particularly one on divine worſhip, alluding to ſome verſes in Horace, where he hangs up his votive offerings after a poem.

——When love divine our breaſt inflames,
It calms the mind, and all our paſſions tames:
Down ſink the hills, and mountains melt away;
The vallies riſe, and night is turn'd to day.
The waters to their bidden ſeats remove,
And with the olive leaf returns the dove;
The ark then reſts, and man's again reſtor'd.
And Noah builds an altar to the Lord.

[MM] *His monument is handſomly decorated.*] It ſtands on the Eaſt ſide of the church-yard, near the vault of the family; at the Eaſt end of which grew a walnut tree, as alſo at the Weſt end (61). The tree at the Eaſt end was down in 1711, but that at the Weſt end is incloſed within the iron rails around the tomb; and branching Eaſt and Weſt, the Eaſtern branches hang over the ſpiral pillar, that riſes into them from the monument; and being a fair tree, has a very good effect. The inſcriptions on the tomb were written by Mr Rymer, Hiſtoriographer Royal, and are as follow.

On the Weſtern end.

EDMUNDI WALLER *hic jacet quantum morti ceſſit,*
Qui inter Poetas ſui temporis facile princeps,
Lauream, quam meruit adoleſcens,
Octogenarius haud abdicavit
Huic debet Patria Lingua quod credas,
Si Græce Latineq; intermitterent, Muſæ
Loqui amarent Anglice.

On the South ſide.

Heus, Viator, tumulatum vides EDMUNDUM WALLER
Qui tanti nomines Poetæ, & idem avitis opibus,
Inter primos, ſpectabilis; Muſis ſe dedit, & patriæ.
Nondum octodecenaris, inter ardua Regni tractantes,
Sedem habuit a Burgo de Amerſham miſſus.
Hic vitæ curſus: nec oneri defuit ſenex, vixitq; ſemper
Populo charus, Principibus in deliciis, admirationi omnibus
Hic conditur tumulo ſub eodem
Rara virtute & multa prole nobilis
Uxor, Maria ex Breſſyorum familia,
Cum Edmundo Waller, conjuge chariſſimo:
Quem ter & decies lætum fecit patrem,
V Filiis, Filiabus VIII.
Quos mundo dedit, & in cælum rediit.

On the Eaſt end.

EDMUNDUS WALLER *cui hoc marmor ſacrum eſt,*
Coleſhill naſcendi locum habuit, Cantabrigiam ſtudendi,
Patrem Robertum, & ex Hampdena ſtirpe matrem;
Cæpit vivere 3 Martii A. D. 1605.
Prima Uxor Anna Edwardi Banks filia unica hæres;
Ex prima bis pater factus, ex ſecunda tredecies.
Cui & duo luſtra ſuperſtes; obiit 21 Octobris,
A. D. 1687.

On the North end.

Hoc marmore EDMVNDO WALLER
Mariæq; ex ſecundis Nuptiis conjugi,
Pientiſſimis Parentibus piiſime parentavit
EDMUNDUS *filius.*
Honores bene merentibus extremos dedit.
Quos ipſe fugit.
El. W. J. F. H. G. ex teſtamento H. M. P.
Id. Julii 1700.

The children herein mentioned by his firſt wife, were a daughter, who married Mr Dormer of Oxfordſhire, and a ſon, who died young. The daughters by his ſecond match (for the ſons are mentioned above in the Text) were, 1. Margaret, the eldeſt, already mentioned. 2. Mary, the wife of Dr Birch. 3. —— married to —— Hervey, of Suffolk, Eſq; 4. —— married —— Tipping, of Oxfordſhire, Eſq; 5. Eliza, living in 1711, unmarried, executrix to her brother Edmund Waller, Eſq; 6. Dorothy, a dwarf, who was ſent into the North of England: 7. ——, of whom we have no account. 8. Octavia, ſo called from being the eighth (62).

E

(61) The walnut leaf being the arms of the family, they were fond of this *Rebus* in the ſcituation too, to borrow a term from heraldry.

(62) His life, p. 58, 59.

WALLIS [JOHN], the moſt eminent Mathematician of his time, was born Nov. 23, 1616, at Aſhford in Eaſt Kent, of which town his Father, Mr John Wallis, a pious, prudent, and orthodox Divine (and ſon of Robert and Ellen Wallis, of Thingdon (a) in Northamptonſhire) was then Miniſter (b), but did not ſurvive the birth of this his eldeſt ſon above ſix years. He died there on the 30th of November, 1622, leaving three young ſons, beſides two daughters (c), to the care of their mother [A]; who, upon this loſs, purchaſed a houſe in Aſhford, thinking it beſt to continue in town, for the ſake of her children's education. Accordingly, our Author, the eldeſt ſon, was

(a) or Fyenden, as it is generally pronounced.

(b) He was born in Janu. 1587, and bred at Trinity college in Cambridge, where he took both degrees in arts, and entring into orders, became miniſter of Aſhford toward the end of Queen Eliz. reign. See a letter to Dr Tho. Smith from Dr Wallis in Hearne's preface to Peter Langtoft's chronicle, Appendix, no. x. edit. 1725. in 2 vols 8vo.

(c) They were born in this order: Sarah, Ellen, John (the ſubject of the preſent article) Henry, and William. Ibid.

[A] *He left five children to the care of their mother.*] His ſon ſays (1), He was an eminent and diligent preacher; and by his prudent carriage kept that great town in very good order, and promoted piety to a great degree. Beſides his preaching twice on the Lord's day, and other occaſional ſermons, and his catechiſing and otherwiſe inſtructing the younger ſort, he did, with ſome of the moſt eminent neighbouring miniſters, maintain a week-day Lecture on Saturday, their market-day, which was much frequented (beſides a numerous auditory of others) by very many of the neighbour miniſters, juſtices of the peace, and others of the gentry; who, after ſermon, did uſe to dine at an ordinary, and there confer, as there was occaſion, about ſuch affairs, as might concern the welfare and good government of that town and the parts adjacent, wherein they were reſpectively concerned.

(1) In his letter to Dr Tho. Smith, printed by Mr Hearne in his preface to Langtoft's chronicle, as above.

firſt put to ſchool there; but the plague, which broke out in 1625, raging very much in that town, he was removed to Ley Green in the pariſh of Tenterden. He was nine years old, and had juſt enter'd upon the firſt rudiments of grammar, when he came hither to one Mr James Movat, a Scotchman, by whoſe care he was well grounded in that learning. Here the turn of his genius ſoon diſcovered itſelf, by leading him from the beginning not ſo much to learn the rules merely by rote, the uſual method of other boys, as by knowing the reaſon of them, his memory being rather more judicious than technical. In 1630, Mr Movat breaking up ſchool, in order to attend two young gentlemen in their travels, would gladly have taken young Wallis along with him; but his mother, not complying with that propoſal, ſent him, at Chriſtmaſs, ſeemingly againſt his inclination [*B*], to *Felſted* ſchool in Eſſex, where the celebrated Mr *Martyn Holbeach* was then Maſter. During the Chriſtmaſs holidays, in 1631, he went home to his mother at Aſhford; where finding that one of his brothers, to qualify himſelf for an apprentice in ſome trade, had been learning to cypher, he was inquiſitive to know what that meant; upon which his brother ſhew'd him his book, and went through all the rules gradually with him. He found no difficulty in working the queſtions; and was ſo much pleaſed with it, that in ten days or a fortnight he maſter'd the whole. This was his firſt inſight into mathematics, and all the teaching he ever had in that way: but the ſubject ſtruck his humour greatly, and he proſecuted this ſtudy at ſpare hours upon his return to Felſted; where he continued a year longer under Mr *Holbeach*, by whom he was inſtructed in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues, as alſo in the rudiments of logic, muſic, and the French language. Thus accompliſhed, he was ſent by his mother, about Chriſtmaſs 1632, to Cambridge, where he was admitted of Emmanuel-college, under the tuition firſt of Mr *Anthony Burgeſs* (*d*), next of Mr *Thomas Horton* (*e*), and at laſt of Mr *Benjamin Whichcot* (*f*). At his firſt entrance upon the academical ſtudies, he found it was no diſadvantage to have ſtaid a year or more at ſchool longer than perhaps he needed to have done, ſince, by the improvement he made there, he was able to keep pace with thoſe who were ſome years his ſeniors; and in logic he preſently obtained the reputation of a good diſputant (*g*) [*C*]. From logic he proceeded through the uſual courſe of ethics, phyſics, and metaphyſics; and taking in the ſpeculative parts of medicine and anatomy, he kept his public exerciſe in that branch of natural philoſophy, under Doctor *Gliſſon*, then Profeſſor of Phyſic at Cambridge; and was the firſt of that Profeſſor's ſons, who in a public diſputation maintained the circulation of the blood (*h*), in that univerſity. At the ſame time, our Author imbibed the principles of what was then called the new philoſophy. As to the mathematics, though he could not forbear indulging his genius when books of that kind fell occaſionally in his way, yet he formed no kind of plan for thoſe ſtudies, having none to direct him what books to read, or what to ſeek, or in what method to proceed; the mathematics being at that time more cultivated at London than in the univerſity [*D*]. Soon after his admittance into Emmanuel-college, he was choſen a Scholar of the houſe upon the foundation, and ſo continued during his ſtay at that college, from whence, in Hilary-term, 1636-7, he proceeded Batchelor of Arts, and commenced Maſter in 1640; when being choſen Fellow of Queen's-college [*E*], he

(*d*) He was afterwards Rector of Sutton-Cofield, and one of the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter. Baxter's dedication to his aphoriſms, in 1659. 12mo.

(*e*) He was afterwards maſter of Queen's college in that univerſity.

(*f*) See his article.

(*g*) He had been uſed to ſpeak Latin at ſchool, which he now found of great ſervice to him.

(*h*) This diſcovery was firſt publiſhed by Dr Hervey, in his book *De motu cordis & ſanguinis.* Franckf. 1628.

[*B*] *Seemingly againſt his inclination.*] Mr *Movat* had been entertained, for the education of his children, in the houſe of one Mr *Finch*, who permitted him likewiſe to teach ſeveral others in the neighbourhood, and our Author among the reſt. But, when Mr Finch's eldeſt ſon became fit to be ſent to the univerſity, Mr Movat was diſcharged from that family, and thereupon attended two of his ſcholars in their travels as Tutor. There was a deſign of taking Mr Wallis into the party; but upon mentioning it to his mother, ſhe did not like to have him at ſo great a diſtance from her, and inſtead of that ſent him to *Felſted*, which was a kind of academy at that time. He was then fourteen years old; and, ſays he, ' I was as ripe for ' the univerſity as ſome that are ſent thither; and ' Mr *Holbeach*, the Maſter of the Academy, told him, ' that he came better qualified than boys uſually did ' from other ſchools (2).'

[*C*] *A good diſputant.*] ' I ſoon,' ſays he in his letter to Dr Smith, ' became maſter of a ſyllogiſm, ' as to its ſtructure, and the reaſon of its conſe- ' quences, however cryptically propoſed, ſo as not ' eaſily to be impoſed on by fallacious or falſe ſyl- ' logiſms, when I was to anſwer or defend, and to ' manage an argument with good advantage, when ' I was to argue or oppoſe, and to diſtinguiſh am- ' biguous words or ſentences as there was occaſion.' By this account it ſeems as if the diſputations were managed more in ſyllogiſms, than they are in that univerſity at preſent.

[*D*] *Mathematics were more cultivated at London than in the Univerſity.*] He made no ſcruple of diverting from the common road of ſtudies then in faſhion to any part of uſeful learning, preſuming that knowledge is no burthen; ' and, ſays he, if of any part ' thereof I ſhould have occaſion to make uſe, it would ' at leaſt do me no hurt; and what of it I might not ' might not have occaſion for, I could not then fore- ' ſee.' On this account he diverted to geography and aſtronomy, and other parts of the mathematics, tho', at that time, theſe were ſcarcely looked upon as academical ſtudies, but rather eſteemed mechanical, and the buſineſs of traders, merchants, ſeamen, carpenters, or the like, and perhaps ſome Almanack-makers in London. And, amongſt more than 200 ſtudents at that time in *Emanuel* college, he did not know of any two (perhaps not any) who had more of mathematics than himſelf, if ſo much (which was then but little) and very few in the whole univerſity (3).

[*E*] *He was choſen Fellow of Queen's.*] He happened to be rendered incapable of having a fellowſhip at his own college, by the ſtatutes, of which it was provided, that there ſhould be no more than one Fellow at the ſame time of the ſame county; and there was already a Fellow of the county of Kent. Otherwiſe the ſociety had ſo great an eſteem for him, that he could not have miſſed of a fellowſhip there: As is evident from what paſſed when he firſt declared his deſign of leaving the college. Upon this occaſion, Dr *Richard Oldſworth*, then Maſter, ſhewed ſuch a particular kindneſs for him, that he had a conſultation with the Fellows about founding a new fellowſhip on his account, that he might not remove from them: But the times growing confuſed and troubleſome, there was no room for executing ſuch a deſign. He therefore removed to Queen's, apparently by the invitation of Dr *Horton*, his quondam Tutor, who was then become Maſter of that college. Our Author always

(2) Ibid.

(3) Letter to Dr Smith.

he removed thither *. Being from the firſt deſigned for the Church [*F*], he had, in all his other ſtudies, continually kept his eye upon divinity, which he made it his principal care to cultivate, and became early acquainted with the ſyſtematic and polemic branches of it. Accordingly, he enter'd, this year, into Holy Orders, which he received from the hands of Dr *Walter Curle*, Biſhop of Wincheſter; and leaving his reſidence in the college, in 1641, he went to be Chaplain to Sir *William Darley*, at Buſtercramb in Yorkſhire. The next year, 1642, he removed thence, to attend, in the ſame ſtation, upon the Lady *Vere*, Widow of Lord *Horatio Vere*. This Lady, not chuſing to live altogether in the country *(i)*, reſided ſometimes in London, by which means our Author, not long after his coming into the family, met with an occaſion that firſt diſcovered his ſurprizing talent in the art of decyphering. It was about the beginning of the civil wars, when ſitting down to ſupper, a Chaplain of Sir *William Waller* ſhewed him, as a curioſity, an intercepted letter, written in cypher †, and aſked him, between jeſt and earneſt, whether he could make any thing of it? Notwithſtanding it was the firſt thing he had ſeen written in cyphers, yet, to his friend's great ſurprize, he ſaid, at firſt view, that perhaps he might unriddle it, if it proved no more than a new alphabet. As ſoon as ſupper was over, about ten o'clock, he withdrew to his chamber to conſider it; and by the number of different characters therein (not above twenty-two or twenty-three) judging it could be nothing but a new alphabet, in about two hours he decyphered it, before he went to bed, and ſent a copy of it, ſo decyphered, next morning to his brother Chaplain. The unexpected ſucceſs he met with in this firſt attempt ſoon brought him an opportunity of convincing all that applied to him, that he was abſolute maſter of that important ſecret [*G*]. He had always joined with the friends to the Parliament, and that party thought

always retained a grateful ſenſe of the favour, and gave a public teſtimony of his gratitude after his deceaſe, when he publiſhed a volume of his ſermons, with an account of his life prefixed: Which informs us, that he was ſon of *Laurence Horton*, citizen and merchant, and member of the mercer's company in London, where his ſon Thomas had his birth and firſt education. He was admitted a Penſioner of Emanuel-college, July 8, 1623; took the degrees in arts, in 1626; and, 1630, was choſen a Fellow of his college (4), and took Holy Orders; and proceeding B. D. in 1637, was appointed one of the twelve Univerſity-preachers. The following year, he was choſen Maſter of *Queen's-college* in Cambridge, and Miniſter of *St Mary Colechurch* London, a donative of the mercers company (5). In 1641, he was elected Divinity Profeſſor at Greſham-college (6), and Preacher at Gray's-Inn in 1647 (7). He was created D. D. in 1649, and the enſuing year was choſen Vice-chancellor of Cambridge; he entered into matrimony about 1651, and to ſecure his continuance at Greſham, he procured an order from the Committee of Parliament appointed to reform the Univerſities and other colleges, not to be removed from that place in caſe of marriage (8). In 1652, he was incorporated D. D. at Oxford (9), and the next year was nominated one of the Triers for Commiſſioners for the approbation of Miniſters (10). In 1656, the Greſham Committee having elected Mr George Gifford their Profeſſor of Divinity, Dr Horton procured a freſh diſpenſation from the Protector and Council, by the intereſt of Secretary Thurloe (11). After this the Doctor continued in the quiet poſſeſſion of his profeſſorſhip till the Reſtoration, and held it with his headſhip of Queen's college; but, Auguſt 2, 1660, he was ejected from this latter, to make room for Dr *Martyn*, who had been ejected April 11, 1644 (12). However, our Doctor had intereſt enough at Court (13) to obtain a new diſpenſation from his Majeſty to retain the Greſham Lecture (14). But this did not continue long; for, March 25, 1661, the King's commiſſion was iſſued out for holding the Savoy conference, in which Dr Horton was nominated as an aſſiſtant on the ſide of the Preſbyterians; and, ſoon after, the forementioned Mr Gifford, by a petition to his Majeſty, procured the grant of the Doctor's diſpenſation to be revoked, and himſelf to be re-elected June 7, that year. In 1662, Dr Horton was in the number of thoſe divines who were ſilenced by the Bartholomew Act; but he conformed afterwards (15), and, June 13, 1666, was admitted to the Vicarage of Great St Helen in Biſhopgate-ſtreet London (16), and held it till his death; which happening in 1673, he was buried in the chancel of that church under the communion-table (17), leaving behind him a widow, but no children (18). Dr Wallis gives him the character of a pious and learned man, a hard ſtudent, a ſound divine, a good textuary, very well ſkilled in the oriental languages, very well accompliſhed for the work of the miniſtry, and very conſcientious in the diſcharge of it (19). Mr Wood, as his manner is, tells us (20), the Doctor was a *Holder-forth* ſometimes before the Long Parliament. However, he publiſhed only three ſermons himſelf, the titles of which are, 1. *Sion's diſcovery and revenge. A Sermon preached to the Right Honourable the Houſe of Peers*, 30 December 1646. Lond. 1646. 4to. 2. *A Sermon preached on the* 5*th of November* 1654, *before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, at St Paul's Church.* Lond. 1655. 4to. 3. *A Funeral Sermon for Mr William Adams.* Lond. 1661. 4to. But after his death there came out, 4. *Forty-ſix Sermons upon the whole eighth chapter of the Epiſtle of the Apoſtle Paul to the Romans.* Lond. 1674. folio. 5. *A choice and practical Expoſition upon the IVth, XXVIIth, LIſt, and LXIIId Pſalms, in forty-five Sermons.* Lond. 1675. fol. 6. *One hundred ſelect Sermons upon ſeveral Texts, fifty upon the Old Teſtament, and fifty upon the New. To which is prefixed, ſome account of the Author's life, by Dr John Wallis.* 1679. fol. He alſo left behind him, prepared for the preſs, 1. *A Volume of Sermons on the ſeventeenth chapter of St John's Goſpel.* 2. *A Volume of Sacramental Sermons.* 3. *A Volume of Funeral Sermons.* Mr Wood alſo ſays, that he, with William Dillingham, D. D. and Maſter of Emanuel-college, did publiſh, *A Chain of Principles; or an orderly concatenation of Theological Aphoriſms and Exercitations, wherein the chief Heads of the Chriſtian Religion are aſſerted and improved.* Lond. 1660. *Written by John Arrowſmith, D. D. ſucceſſively Maſter of St John's and Trinity-college, and the King's Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of Cambridge; publiſhed ſince his death, according to his own Manuſcript.*

[*F*] *He was originally deſigned for the Church.*] It is evident from his ſchool-education, ſo different from that of his younger brother, who was bred to trade, that he was deſigned for one of the three learned profeſſions; and he was more inclined to the Prieſthood, than to Law or Phyſic, by his ſtrictly religious education from a child; 'whereby, ſays he, I was not 'only preſerved from vicious courſes, and acquainted 'with religious exerciſes, but was early inſtructed in 'the principles of religion and catechetical divinity, 'and the frequent reading of ſcripture and other good 'books, and diligent attendance on ſermons (21).

[*G*] *He was maſter of that important ſecret.*] Some while after his firſt ſucceſs, there was brought to him a letter of Mr Secretary *Windebank*, then in France, to his ſon in England, in a cypher hard enough, and not unbecoming a Secretary of State: it was in numeral figures, extending in number to above ſeven hundred, with many other characters intermixed, but yet not ſo hard as ſome which he met with afterwards. However, he was then backward at firſt to attempt it, and after he had ſpent ſome time upon it, threw it by in deſpair; but, after ſome months, reſuming it again, had the good luck to maſter it (22). Encouraged by this ſucceſs beyond his own expectation, he afterwards ventured thought proper now to take more notice of him. In 1643, he had the ſequeſtered Living of *St Gabriel Fenchurch-ſtreet* granted to him (*k*). The ſame year, he publiſhed, in 4to, *Truth tried*; or *Animadverſions on the Lord Brooke's Treatiſe of the Nature of Truth* (*l*). His mother dying this year, left him poſſeſſed of a handſome fortune [*H*]. In 1644, he was appointed one of the Scribes or Secretaries to the *Aſſembly of Divines* at Weſtminſter, and ſo continued as long as the ſitting of that Aſſembly, which, ſeveral years afterwards, he vindicated from ſome cenſures that had been thrown upon it [*I*]. On the

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* Carter, in his hiſtory of Cambridge, tells us, that he ſucceeded an ejected loyaliſt, and probably Anthony (afterwards Biſhop) Sparrow, who was the firſt of all the loyaliſts ejected from Queen's college, April 8, 1644; and Dr Wallis was put in June 11th following: If ſo, he muſt have been præelected on his firſt coming thither, and not have been actual fellow quite nine months, ſince he married March 14, 1644.

† After the taking of Chicheſter on the 29th of December 1642.

(*i*) At her houſe at Caſtle-Hadingham in Eſſex, the ancient ſeat of the Earls of Oxford.

(4) The time of his election is uncertain. Their catalogue places it under the maſterſhip of Dr Holdſworth, which muſt be a miſtake; for he was not maſter till 1637, and Dr Wallis tells us, his firſt knowledge of Dr Horton was in 1632. See his letter to Dr Smith, ubi ſupra.

(5) He was ſucceeded by Mr Sam. Cheney Nov. 28. 1640. Newcourt, Rep. vol. I. p. 919.

(6) Nicolas Bernard ſucceeded him there in Eaſter term 1651.

(7) Againſt Dr Whichcot, who was his competitor. See his article.

(8) From the Regiſter of that Inn.

(9) Faſti Oxon. vol. II. col. 100.

(10) Thurloe's papers, vol. 39. fol. 355.

(11) Ibid. vol. 42. fol. 333 & 335.

(12) Dr Martyn was reſtored by an order of the Earl of Mancheſter, who before had ejected him; and upon his return vacated all the elections of fellows made after his removal, tho' they were all, or moſt of them again confirmed. MS of Mr Baker.

(13) In the Cambridge verſes intituled ΣΩΣΤΡΑ, written upon the reſtoration of K. Ch. II. there is a poem by Dr Horton, maſter of Queen's college in that univerſity. Edit. Cantab. 1660. 4to.

(14) Mr Baxter ſays, he never came among them. Baxter's narrative of his life and times, B. I. part i. p. 303. 307.

(15) Conform- [illegible] conformity, part i. p. 33.

(16) Newcourt's Repert. ubi ſupra.

(17) Regiſter of that church.

(18) Ward's lives of the Greſham profeſſors.

(19) In the account of his life, ubi ſupra.

(20) Faſti Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(21) Letter to Dr Smith,

(22) He ſpent a quarter of a year about it. Davis, as cited in the next note.

(*k*) His letter to Dr South, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) The whole title is, *The Nature of Truth, its union and unity with the ſoul, which is one in its eſſence, faculties, acts, one with truth.*

ventured on many others, ſome of more, ſome of leſs difficulty, and ſcarce miſcarried in any that he undertook during the civil wars and afterwards. Hence he has been generally called *the Father of this Art:* nor was his claim thereto ever diſputed, that I know of, till the year 1722, when on occaſion of Biſhop Atterbury's proſecution for high crimes and miſdemeanors, the truth of the charge depending greatly upon decyphering ſome letters wrote by his Lordſhip in cypher, the art came to be much talked of, and, among other things, Dr Wallis being ſaid to be *the Father of it*, there appeared ſoon after a perſon in the London Journal, under the feigned name of *Britannicus*, who took upon him to acquaint the world, that the Doctor never could be thought to be father of an art, which was in being many hundred years before he was born. But Britannicus was ſome time afterwards taken to taſk for this cenſure by a very ingenious artiſt in this way, (23) who obſerves, that 'whoever Britannicus is, if he be a perſon of candour, he will the better bear to be freely told of the miſtake he has committed, in treating of an art, in which I preſume, ſays this Author, he does not deſire to be thought very expert. It would have been kindly done of him, if he had produced his vouchers in proof of his aſſertion, that the art was in being many hundred years before Dr Wallis was born. But I am perſuaded that he had a confuſed notion of the matter here, as he manifeſtly had in another place, and miſtook the art of cyphering, or writing in cyphers, for that of decyphering. The former we allow to have been very ancient: but the latter, if I greatly miſtake not, will prove to be a more modern diſcovery.'

(23) Mr John Davis, Rector of Caſtle-Aſhby in Northamptonſhire, in his *Eſſay on the Art of Decyphering. In which is inſerted A Diſcourſe of Dr Wallis, now firſt publiſhed from his original MS. in the public library at Oxford.* London 1737. 4to.

Dr Wallis has given ſo juſt an account of *Johannes Baptiſta Porta* (24), who wrote a piece intituled *De furtivis literarum notis, &c.* that I have but little to add to it. It was printed at Naples in 1563, and at London in 1591, and, with the title altered to *De occultis literarum notis, &c.* at Straſburg in 1606. 'But as his rules for decyphering concern only ſimple cyphers, ſuch as are commonly framed to put perſons to a trial, and which are now well known to be mere trifles. They are profeſſedly calculated for what ſhould be written in Latin or Italian, though capable of being accommodated to other languages. But the main queſtion, which I confeſs I am not able to reſolve, is this, whether he were the firſt man that ever decyphered without the help of a key.' It is certain that he thought himſelf the firſt who ever wrote upon that ſubject. *De retam implicita, præſertim autem qui neminem habuerim quem ſequi potuerim*, are his words *.

(24) See Rem. [*P*].

* The art is put *inter deſiderata* by Lord Bacon in his Advancement of Learning.

During the time in which *Porta* flouriſhed, an extraordinary accident fell out at Paris. A diſpatch of the Spaniard, written in another kind of cypher than thoſe of *Porta*, was intercepted by the French, and ſent by that King to *Vieta* (25), and decyphered by him. As Dr Wallis ſays nothing of this in his forementioned diſcourſe, it was probably unknown to him at the time when he wrote it. However that were, the ſtory is particularly told by *Thuanus*, in the 29th book of his hiſtory; where, having ſhewn the occaſion that *Spain* had for cyphers, and their abundant caution in uſing them, he proceeds thus: *Such was the cypher, conſiſting of above 500 characters, which they uſed in the deſtructive ten years war againſt us. At which time we intercepted ſeveral of their letters of very conſiderable length, giving a full account of their reſolutions and deſigns. But ſo great was the number of the characters, the common decypherers knew not what to make of them; whereupon the King ordered them to be laid before* Vieta, *who little expected ſuch a taſk, and would have been better pleaſed with applying his thoughts to any better ſubject. However, having acquired a habit of cloſe thinking to ſerious ſtudies, he decyphered the whole; and being once become maſter of the key, readily interpreted many other letters of the higheſt importance. This put the Spaniſh affairs into great confuſion for full two years; till, by intercepting letters of ours, they diſcovered the matter, and were forced to contrive a new cypher, inſtead of that, which they judged to be incapable of being decyphered: and to put the moſt odious conſtruction they could upon the caſe, they induſtriouſly gave out, eſpecially at Rome, that the King had acted in it by magic art* (*a*); *for that they were ſure the thing could have been done by no other means: But the report was entertained only with ſcorn and deriſion by men of ſenſe.* 'From this account there ariſes two following obſervables. 1. That here is mention made of common decypherers, or thoſe *qui vulgo his in rebus induſtriam ſuam exerceant*; and what wonder is it, provided Porta's book was publiſhed at Naples ſome 20 years or more before the time that Thuanus ſpeaks of? 2. That one very difficult cypher was diſcovered by Vieta, and that it is reported as a new thing attended with no ſmall ſurprize and amazement. But when the Spaniards were ſatisfied, that it really was ſo, and thereupon formed another cypher, we hear no more of his decyphering. It is pity no ſpecimens of this wondrous performance were preſerved; that ſo we might have fully ſeen what ſort of a cypher it was, and how it was uſed, the want of which gave occaſion to the compiler of the *Acta Eruditorum Lipſ.* to ſay, that *the credibility of the fact reſted upon the ſingle authority of* THUANUS. I don't believe the gentleman had the leaſt thought in this expreſſion to diminiſh the character of that celebrated hiſtorian. But I mention this to ſhew, that if Dr Wallis had known when he firſt attempted an intricate cypher, that Vieta had once ſucceeded in a like attempt, yet this could have been of no further ſervice to the Doctor, than that it might have encouraged him to undertake what was poſſible to be performed. Vieta died in 1603 (26), Porta in 1615*, and Dr Wallis was born in 1617; ſo that in all probability here is a great deduction from the many hundred years in which we were to underſtand that the art of decyphering had been in being before Dr Wallis was born. Upon the whole it is evident, that tho' Dr Wallis was not the firſt performer in this art, and ſo not in that ſenſe *the Father of it*, yet he has a claim to that title in the more proper ſenſe of the word; ſince we may ſafely challenge any one to find another before him who has given ſuch eſſential obſervations about it, and ſuch a variety of inſtances and examples in it, as have been the principal means of producing all the performances of thoſe that have excelled in the art ſince his time, who may therefore be truly called his children, and he their father.'

(25) An eminent mathematician, ſaid to be the firſt inventor of the ſpecious Algebra. Moreri's Dictionary, under his article, Vol. VIII. Edit. 1740.

(26) Thuanus.

* Collier's Dict.

[*H*] *His mother left him poſſeſſed of a handſome fortune.*] Her maiden name was Suſannah Chapman, being the daughter of Henry and Mary Chapman of Godmarſham. After the death of her huſband, ſhe refuſed ſeveral good matches that were offered to her, reſolving to continue a widow for the ſake of her children: of whoſe education ſhe took very particular care, and left them all in good circumſtances (27).

(27) Letter to Dr Smith.

[*I*] *He vindicated the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter.*] In his letter to Dr Smith, he owns himſelf to have received much advantage by the converſation and learned diſcourſes of ſo many grave, reverend, and learned Divines, on all points of divinity, while they were compiling *The Confeſſion of Faith, and the larger and leſſer Catechiſm.* This leads him to vindicate their proceedings, as follows. 'The occaſion,' ſays he, 'of that Aſſembly was this. The parliament which then was, or the prevailing part of them, were engaged in a war with the King, occaſioned partly by

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(*a*) This notion was countenanced by a book upon the art, intituled, A Treatiſe of Polygraphy, containing ſome rules in this art, by John Trithemius, in the XVth century, who was thereupon charged with dealing in magic. (See his article in Moreri, Tome 8, Edit. 1740.) And this notion of aſcribing the art to magic, prevailed ſo much, that when Lucatello publiſhed ſome of the monks ſecrets in cypher, he ſeems to have had the fear of the *Holy Office* before his eyes: for he takes eſpecial care to inform his readers, that all this paſſage (that is, all that is written in cyphers) had been explained to, and allowed by his ſuperiors. Davis, ubi ſup.

the 4th of March this year, he married *Suſanna*, daughter of *John* and *Rachel Glyde*, of Northiam, Northamptonſhire. In 1645, the weekly meetings, which gave birth to

by diverſe innovations in ceremonies, and ſuperconformity introduced and ſtrictly urged within ten or twelve years then paſſed, tending (as was apprehended) to a nearer compliance with Popery; of which diverſe of the biſhops then in power were preſumed the authors and fomenters, together with the impoſing of biſhops, there long diſuſed, and the common prayer book on the Scots, which much enraged that nation: partly by ſeveral encroachments on liberty and property (as was apprehended) by ſevere methods practiſed for raiſing of money on the ſubject, without the conſent of parliament, with other grievances, of which there were great complaints, and the long intermiſſion of Parliaments: partly by diverſe ſentences of the *Star Chamber High Commiſſion Court* againſt perſons otherwiſe conformable, for not complying therein. The iſſue of which war proved very different from what was ſaid to be at firſt intended; as is uſual in ſuch caſes, the power of the ſword frequently paſſing from hand to hand, and thoſe who begin a war not being able to foreſee where it will end. The Parliament thus engaged, had among other things a great diſpleaſure againſt the order of biſhops, or rather not ſo much againſt the order, as againſt the men, and againſt the order for their ſakes; and had reſolved upon the abolition of Epiſcopacy, as it then ſtood, before they were agreed what to put inſtead of it: and did then convene this aſſembly to conſult upon ſome other form, to be ſuggeſted to the parliament; to be by them ſet up, if they liked it, or ſo far as they ſhould like it. The divines of this aſſembly were, for the generality of them, conformable Epiſcopalians, and had generally the reputation of pious, orthodox, and religious Proteſtants; and, excepting the ſeven *Independent*, or (as they were called) *diſſenting brethren*, I do not know of any nonconformiſt among them, as to the legal conformity then required. Many of them were profeſſedly epiſcopal, and, I think, all of them ſo epiſcopal, as to account a *well regulated Epiſcopacy* to be at leaſt allowable, if not deſireable and adviſeable: yet ſo as they thought the preſent conſtitution capable of reformation for the better. When I name,' proceeds he, 'the Divines of this Aſſembly, I don't include the *Scots Commiſſioners*, who, though they were permitted to be preſent there, and did interpoſe in the debates, as they ſaw occaſion, yet were no members of that aſſembly, nor did vote with them, but acted ſeparately in behalf of the church of Scotland, and were zealous enough for the Scots preſbytery, but could never prevail with the aſſembly to declare for it. On the other ſide, the *Independents* were againſt all united church government of more than one ſingle congregation: holding, that each ſingle congregation voluntarily agreeing to make themſelves a church, and chooſe their own officers, were of themſelves independent, and not accountable to any other eccleſiaſtical government, but only to the civil magiſtrate, as to the public peace; admitting indeed that meſſengers from ſeveral churches might meet to conſult in common, as there might be occaſion, but without any authoritative juriſdiction. Againſt theſe the reſt of the aſſembly was unanimous (and the Scots commiſſioners with them) that it was lawful by the word of God for diverſe particular congregations (beſides the inſpection of their own paſtors and officers) to be united under the ſame common government; and ſuch communities to be further ſubordinate to Provincial and National Aſſemblies; which is equally conſiſtent with epiſcopal and preſbyterian principles. But whether with or without a biſhop or ſtanding preſident of ſuch aſſemblies, was not determined or debated by them: When any ſuch queſtion chanced to be ſuggeſted, the common cry was, that this point was not before them, but was precluded by the ordinance by which they ſat, which did firſt declare the abolition of epiſcopacy (not refer it to their declaration) and they only to ſuggeſt ſomething in the room of that ſo aboliſhed. *And this is a true account of that Aſſembly, as to this point*; (*and when as they were called Preſbyterians, it was not in the ſenſe of Anti-epiſcopal, but Anti-independents*) which I have more largely inſiſted on, becauſe there are not many now living, who can give a better account of that aſſembly than I can. To this may be objected their agreement to the covenant, which was before I was amongſt them. But this, if rightly underſtood, makes nothing againſt what I have ſaid. The Covenant, as it came from Scotland, and was ſent by the Parliament to the Aſſembly, ſeemed directly againſt all Epiſcopacy, and for ſetting up the Scots Preſbytery, juſt as among them. But the Aſſembly could not be brought to aſſent to it on theſe terms, being ſo worded as to preſerve the government of the church of Scotland, and to reform that of England, and ſo to reduce it to the neareſt uniformity. But before the Aſſembly could agree to it, it was thus mollified: *To preſerve that of Scotland (not abſolutely, but) againſt the common enemy, and to reform that of England (not ſo as it is in Scotland, but) according to the word of God, and the example of the beſt reformed churches; and to endeavour the neareſt uniformity*; which might as well be by reforming that of Scotland, as that of England, or of both. And whereas the Covenant, as firſt brought to them, was againſt *Popery*, *Prelacy*, *Hereſy*, *Schiſm*, *Profaneneſs*, &c. they could by no means be perſuaded to admit the word *Prelacy*, as thus ſtanding abſolute. For though they thought the Engliſh epiſcopacy, as it then ſtood, capable of reformation for the better in diverſe things, yet to engage indefinitely againſt all prelacy, they would not agree. After many days debate upon this point (as I underſtood from thoſe who were then preſent) ſome of the parliament, who then preſſed it, ſuggeſted this expedient, That by *Prelacy* they did not underſtand all manner of Epiſcopacy or ſuperiority, but only the preſent Epiſcopacy, as it now ſtood in England, conſiſting of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and their ſeveral courts and ſubordinate officers, *&c.* And that if any conſiderable alteration was made in any part of this whole frame, it was an abolition of the preſent Prelacy, and as much as was here intended in theſe words, and that no more was intended, but a reformation of the preſent Epiſcopacy in England. And in purſuance of this, it was agreed to be expreſſed with this interpretation: *Prelacy, that is, Church government by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors and Commiſſaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other eccleſiaſtical Officers depending on that Hierarchy.* And with this interpretation at length it paſſed, and the Scots commiſſioners in behalf of their church agreed to thoſe amendments. I know ſome have been apt to put another ſenſe upon that interpretation: but this was the true intent of that aſſembly, and of what was done upon this occaſion.' Mr Richard Baxter gives the ſame account of this debate about the word *Prelacy* in theſe words. 'Dr Burgeſs *, ſays he, the Prolocutor, and Mr Gataker, and abundance more declared their judgments for Epiſcopacy, even for the ancient moderate Epiſcopacy; in which one ſtated Preſident with his preſbytery governed every church, though not for the Engliſh dioceſan form, in which one biſhop without his preſbyters did by a lay chancellor's court govern all the preſbyters and churches in his dioceſe, being many thouſands; and that in a ſecular manner, by abundance of ſecular officers, unknown to the primitive church. Hereupon grew ſome debate in the Aſſembly; ſome being againſt every degree of Epiſcopacy, eſpecially the Scottiſh divines; and others for a *moderate Epiſcopacy*. But theſe Engliſh divines would not ſubſcribe the Covenant, till there was an alteration ſuited to their judgment, and ſo an alteration was yielded to, which deſcribed that ſort of *Prelacy* which they oppoſed; that is, church-government by archbiſhops, biſhops, their chancellors, and commiſſaries, *&c.* all which it is acknowledged are mentioned as the deſcription of that form of church-government which they meant by *Prelacy*, as not extending to the ancient Epiſcopacy (28).'

It was thought requiſite to give this account of the proceedings in the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter at large from our author's own mouth, eſpecially with regard to Epiſcopacy, becauſe in it are manifeſtly included his own ſentiments upon that point, in which he was bred, and which he retained to the laſt, and which not improbably was the cauſe of his never riſing to that dignity in the church.

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* The ſame who had been tutor to Dr Wallis at Emanuel College.

(28) Baxter's Vindiciæ Natalitium, p.48, 49.

the Royal Society, being propoſed by Mr *Theodore Haak* [*K*], a German, then reſident in London, Mr Wallis was among the firſt who came into that propoſal, and preſently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in thoſe aſſemblies by his ſkill in the mathematics (*). In 1647, he happened to meet with Mr Oughtred's *Clavis*, which he made himſelf maſter of in a few weeks, and diſcovered a new method of reſolving cubic equations, which he communicated to Mr *Smith*, Fellow of Queen's-college, and Profeſſor of Mathematics at Cambridge, with whom he held a literary correſpondence upon mathematical ſubjects for ſome years (*n*), about this time. The Independents having now got the upper hand againſt the Covenanters, our Author joined with ſome other Miniſters of London, who met at *Sion-college*, in ſubſcribing a paper, intituled, *A Teſtimony to the Truth of Jeſus Chriſt, and to the Solemn League and Covenant; as alſo againſt the Errors, Hereſies, and Blaſphemies of theſe times, and the Toleration of them.* Not long after this, he left *St Gabriel Fenchurch-ſtreet*, and went to *St Martin's church in Ironmonger-lane*; and, in 1648, ſubſcribed, as Miniſter of that church, to the remonſtrance againſt putting the King to death; as alſo to a paper, intituled, *A ſerious and faithful Repreſentation of the Judgments of Miniſters of the Goſpel within the Province of London, in a Letter from them to the General and his Council of War*, dated January 17, 1648. The next year, June 14th, he was appointed, by the Parliamentary Viſitors, Savilian Profeſſor of Geometry in Oxford (*o*), in the room of Dr *Peter Turner*, who had been ejected both from his Fellowſhip at Merton-college and that Profeſſorſhip, by the ſame Committee, November 9th, 1648 (*p*). The ſame year, 1649, he quitted his church in Ironmonger-lane, and went to Oxford, where, having enter'd himſelf of Exeter-college, he was incorporated Maſter of Arts of that Univerſity, October the 23d, and ſpoke his inauguration ſpeech in the geometry ſchool, the laſt day of that month (*q*). This preferment was very acceptable to him, and he was no ſooner ſettled in the poſſeſſion of it, than he quitted his church in London, and applied himſelf cloſely to the ſubject of his new profeſſion, being well pleaſed to make that ſtudy his buſineſs, which had always before been his ſingular diverſion, and was one of the firſt that ſet on foot the *Philoſophical Society* at Oxford, which began their meetings before the expiration of this year (*r*). However, as occaſion offered, he did not neglect his clerical character; for Mr *Baxter*, the famed Preſbyterian Divine, having publiſhed his *Aphoriſms of Juſtification and the Covenants*, our Author wrote and printed ſome Animadverſions on that piece, not improbably at the inſtance of Mr Baxter himſelf [*L*], who acknowledged they were very judicious and moderate (*s*). Before the end of this year, Mr Wallis, in peruſing the mathematical works of *Torricelli*, was particularly ſtruck with what he found there concerning *Cavallerius's Method of Indiviſibles*. This was the firſt time he had ſeen or heard any thing of that method; and he preſently conceived hopes of getting ſome new light by it into the deſperate problem concerning the quadrature of the circle. What encreaſed his expectation was, that the proportion of the infinite number of circles in the cone to thoſe in the cylinder were known by this method, *viz.* as 1 to 3; but all the diameters of

[*K*] *Mr Theodore Haak.*] Some account will naturally be expected of a gentleman who broke the firſt ground toward the foundation of the Royal Society. He was born at Newhauſen near Worms in the Palatinate in 1605, and being bred in the reformed religion, he came in 1625 to Oxford (29), where he ſtaid half a year, and afterwards as long at Cambridge. Thence he croſſed the ſea back, and viſited ſeveral univerſities abroad, but returned in 1629, and became a commoner of Glouceſter-hall in Oxford; continued there near three years, but took no degree; and ſoon after was ordained Deacon by Dr Joſeph Hall, Biſhop of Exeter. In the time of the German wars he was appointed one of the procurators to receive the benevolence-money which was raiſed in England to ſupport the Palatines, which, he uſually ſaid, *was a deacon's work.* On the breaking out of the civil wars, he ſided with the parliament, but, being a ſtudious man, he declined the offer made him by the Prince Elector Palatine to be his ſecretary, as he did alſo the reſidentſhip at London for the city of Hamburgh, and for Frederick III. King of Denmark. In 1648 he was recommended by the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter, for tranſlating into Engliſh the Dutch Bible, with the annotations (30) by the ſynod of Dort, to the parliament, who for his encouragement granted him March 30, 1648, a patent for the ſole printing and vending that bible for 14 years. Accordingly he completed the work, and publiſhed it with this title, *The Dutch Annotations upon the whole Bible, together with their tranſlation, according to the direction of the Synod of Dort* 1618. *London* 1657, in 2 Vol. fol. with a preface, containing a narrative both of the original and the tranſlation. Mr Haak likewiſe tranſlated into High Dutch ſeveral Engliſh books of practical divinity, as alſo into the ſame language in blank verſe one half of Milton's Paradiſe Loſt, with which J. Seobald Fabricius, the famous divine at Heidelberg, was ſo much pleaſed, as to tell him in a letter, *Incredibile eſt quantum nos omnes affecerit gravitas ſtyli, & copia lectiſſimorum verborum.* He was ſeveral years fellow and ſecretary of the Royal Society, and there are ſome papers of his in the philoſophical collections, publiſhed in May 1682. He died May 9th, 1690, at the houſe of his kinſman Dr Frederic Slare, M. D. in an alley adjoining to Fetter-lane, and was buried in a vault under the chancel of St Andrew's church, Holborn, London. Dr Anthony Horneck * preached his funeral ſermon †, in which he gave him the character of a virtuous and learned perſon.

[*L*] *Not improbably at Mr. Baxter's requeſt.*] The title of Mr. Baxter's piece is *Aphoriſms of Juſtification, with their explanation, as alſo upon the nature of the Covenants, Satisfaction, Righteouſneſs, Faith, and Works, by their unworthy teacher Richard Baxter.* London, 1650. They are dedicated to Mr Vine, and Mr Anthony Burgeſs, the latter of whom, as we have before obſerved, had been tutor to Dr Wallis. And Mr Wood (30) tells us, they were animadverted upon at their firſt coming forth by many learned men ‡, ſome of whom wrote upon the motion and deſire of their Author himſelf, among whom Mr George Lawſon, Mr John Warren, Mr Chriſt. Cartwright, and Dr John Wallis were the chief. Whereupon Mr Baxter publiſhed A ſuſpenſion, and a fuller explanation of them in his *Apology*, &c. (31) as alſo afterwards an additional explanation and defence, both in his *Confeſſion of Faith*, &c. and in his *Four Diſputations on Juſtification* (32). Dr Wallis is allowed to have explained the damnatory clauſes in the Athanaſian Creed juſtly and truly, as well as modeſtly, as the diſſenters wiſhed: and Mr Baxter declared that the damnatory clauſes excepted or modeſtly expounded, he embraced the creed commonly called Athanaſius's, as the beſt explication of the Trinity §.

(*) In the letter to Dr Smith there is an account of ſeveral enquiries, which were the buſineſs of theſe aſſemblies.

(*n*) See his Algebra, chap. 46. edit. 1685, fol.

(*o*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. vol. II. col. 72.

(*p*) Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors at Greſham-college, p. 133.

(*q*) Preface to his *Matheſis Univerſalis*, publiſhed in 1657.

(*r*) See the article of Biſhop Wilkins.

(*s*) In his life, p. 107.

(29) He came in Auguſt, while the two houſes of parliament were ſitting there.

(30) They are called the Dutch Annotations, as being compiled chiefly by the divines of that country; but they were aſſiſted by others from moſt of the reformed churches, and particularly from England, by Dr Carleton biſhop of Chicheſter, Dr Davenant biſhop of Sarum, Dr Hall biſhop of Eton, Dr Samuel Ward of Cambridge, &c.

* An eminent divine, a German by extraction. See an account of him in the Appendix.

† Athen. Oxon. vol. II. col. 845, 846.

(30) Ibid. vol. II. col. 553, 554.

‡ They were firſt attacked by Dr Thomas Tully in his *Juſtificatio Paulina*, which was written againſt this piece of Baxter, as well as againſt Dr G. Bull's *Harmonia Apoſtolica.*

(31) Edit. Lond. 1654, 4to.

(32) Edit. Lond. 1655, 4to. Ibid. 1658, 4to.

§ Baxter [illegible] thod of Theology, p. 123.— See alſo The critical Hiſtory of the Athanaſian Creed, by Dr Waterland, p. 282, 2d edition, 1728, 8vo.

theſe circles in a triangle through the axis of the cone are to thoſe in a parallelogram through the axis of the cylinder as 1 to 2: In like manner, all the circles in a conoid paraboloid are to thoſe in a cylinder as 1 to 2; and alſo all the diameters of thoſe circles to the diameter of theſe are as 2 to 3. It was likewiſe manifeſt, that the right lines of the triangle are in arithmetic proportion, or as 1, 2, 3, *&c.* and therefore the circles of the cones being in a duplicate proportion of their diameters, muſt be as 1, 4, 9, *&c.* Alſo the circles of the parabolic conoid being in a duplicate proportion of their ordinates, *i. e.* in the proportion of their diameters, are as 1, 2, 3, *&c.* and their diameters as $\sqrt{1}, \sqrt{2}, \sqrt{3}$, *&c.* to wit, in the ſubduplicate proportion of their circles. He hoped, therefore, that by other means from other known proportions, which the increaſing and decreaſing ſeries of circles or ſquares have to the ſum of their equals, it might be known likewiſe what proportion their ſides or diameters had to their equals. But if this could be found by any univerſal method, the ſquaring of the circle would be ſufficiently provided for, ſince it was now known that all the parallel circles in a ſphere were to the like number in the cylinder as 2 to 3: If it could be thence known what proportion the diameters of theſe have to the diameters of thoſe, we ſhould obtain the thing ſought; for thoſe would conſtitute the circle, and theſe the ſquare of the diameter; ſo that the geometrical problem would be reduced to one which was purely arithmetical. Upon theſe grounds our Author ſpent all the year 1651, and ſome part of the next, in this enquiry; and the method ſucceeded even beyond his expectation, both in finding eaſier ways of coming at the areas of ſuch curves and ſolids as had been given before, and in ſeveral others, which no method had then produced: And this he did as well by ſimple ſeries of numbers, as by thoſe of their powers, and theſe either increaſed or diminiſhed by their ſeries. But when he came to the ſubduplicate and ſubtriplicate proportion of theſe increaſed and diminiſhed ſeries, which directly and immediately belonged to the hyperbola and ellipſe, there his method failed, and brought him into a difficulty which he could not any way conquer: He propoſed the matter to Mr *Seth Ward*, then Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy, to Mr *Lawrence Rook*, Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Greſham, to Mr *Chriſtopher Wren*, then Fellow of All-Souls College, and ſeveral others of the moſt eminent mathematicians at that time in Oxford (*t*) [*M*]; but not meeting with any ſatisfactory anſwer, he came at laſt to this concluſion, that the number he ſought for could not be expreſſed by any known way of Notation. In the mean time, the next year, 1653, he publiſhed at Oxford, in 8vo, a Grammar of the Engliſh tongue, for the uſe of Foreigners, in Latin [*N*]. To this Grammar he prefixed a Treatiſe of Speech, wherein he, firſt of any one, conſidered philoſophically the formation of all ſounds uſed in articulate ſpeech, as well of the Engliſh as other languages [*O*], by what organs and in what poſition of them each ſound was formed, with the nice diſtinctions of each (which in ſome letters of the ſame organ is very ſubtle), ſo that by ſuch organs in ſuch poſition the breath iſſuing from the lungs will form ſuch ſounds, whether the perſon do or do not hear himſelf ſpeak. The ſame year, 1653, he repoſited in the Archives of the Bodleian Library a collection of ſeveral copies of letters, that had then been decyphered by him [*P*], with this Memorandum prefixed.

[*M*] *He propoſed his difficulties to ſeveral of the moſt eminent mathematicians then at Oxford.*] This was done in the following manner. He ſelected the moſt ſimple form of a ſeries for expreſſing what he wanted, and then put this problem. *Si æqualem quandam Curvam contingat in vertice recta, unde ad Curvam diameter rectæ Axi parallelæ æqualibus ab invicem diſtantiis remotæ, quarum prima ſit* 1, *ſecunda* 6, *tertia* 30, *quarta* 140, *&c. quanta erit illa, quæ interponenda eſt media inter* 1 *&* 6? *Vel etiam Arithmetice, in ſerie numerorum* 1, 6, 30, 140, 630, *&c. quæritur Terminus medius ipſis* 1 *&* 6 *interponendus.* He likewiſe adviſed them, that the terms of the ſeries were produced by the continual multiplication of theſe numbers $1 \times 4\frac{2}{1} \times 4\frac{2}{2} \times 4\frac{2}{3} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, whoſe numerators as well as denominators were arithmetically proportional. He further intimated, that the quadrature of the circle would be the conſequence of this ſolution. But all the ſatisfaction he got was, that one of them referred him to *Gregorius a Sto. Vincentio*, who, he ſaid, had handled the ſubject thoroughly. He had never ſeen that author; and conſulting him now found nothing to his purpoſe upon the queſtion propoſed about ſquaring of the circle, which Vincentius left as ſufficiently executed by that which is the 136th propoſition in the *Arithmetica Infinitorum*, as had been ſhewn by Mr Huygens in his Ἐξετασει (33). However, turning over Vincentius, he obſerved, that the method of indiviſibles was known to, and made uſe of by, him in this treatiſe *De Cyclometria*, as was evident from theſe words, *Ductus rectarum omnium unius plani in alterius reſpectivas rectas* (34).

[*N*] *A grammar of the Engliſh tongue.*] It was printed in 1674, much enlarged by the author, with the addition of a grammatical praxis. This is highly recommended by Dr Hickes in 1689. But in 1692 Mr Dryden, in the dedication prefixed to his tranſlation of Juvenal, complained that we had no Engliſh *proſodia*, nor ſo much as a tolerable dictionary, or a grammar, ſo that our language was in a manner barbarous, by which (if he had ſeen this grammar by our author) he muſt mean (what indeed is apparently his intention) that we had no ſuch grammar as was wrote with any view of improving the language; that being not the deſign of Dr Wallis. But this was done afterwards by Mr James Greenwood, late ſubmaſter of St Paul's ſchool, in his *Eſſay towards a practical Engliſh Grammar.* In the preface to which, deſcribing the genius and nature of the Engliſh tongue, he tells us, that he has taken in every thing that was material from our author. 'But,' ſays he, 'the doctor 'writing for foreigners, and in Latin, I have not purſued his method, as not being every where anſwerable to my deſigns.'

[*O*] *He firſt of any one conſidered philoſophically the organical formation of articulate ſounds.*] In our Author's letter to Dr Smith, ſpeaking of this treatiſe, he ſays, 'I think it was a new attempt, not undertaken 'by any that I know of before that time. For tho' it 'was obſerved, that ſome letters were labials, ſome palatines, and ſome gutturals; and ſome grammarians 'have in ſome few ſhewed a different formation of 'the ſame organ, yet it is but of very few that they 'have ſo done, and very imperfectly. None that I 'know of had before attempted it as to all, whatever 'may have been done in purſuance of what I had 'then taught.'

[*P*] *He gave ſeveral decyphered letters to the Bodleian library.*] The body of this MS. conſiſts of 227 pages in 4to. and he prefixed a preface or introduction to it, which being both curious, and very ſcarce to be met with,

(*t*) See his dedication of his *Arithmetica Infinitorum* to Mr Oughtred.

(33) The whole title of which is, *Theoremata de quadratura hyperbolis Ellipſis & Circuli ex dato portionum gravitatis centro. Quibus ſubjuncta eſt* Ἐξετασις *Cyclometria a Gregorio a Sto. Vincentio editæ anno* 1647, *cum aſſertione hujus* Ἐξετασεως. Leyden 1651, 4to. It is inſerted among his *Opera varia*, printed at Leyden 1724.

(34) Dedication to the Arithmetica Infinitorum.

prefixed. *Hanc epiſtolarum collectionem quas cyphris ſcriptas ipſe retexerat, celeberrimæ Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ in illuſtriſſima Academia Oxonienſi, dedit Johannes Wallis, ibidem Geometriæ*

with, we ſhall lay the ſubſtance of it before the reader, as follows. Having firſt mentioned the obvious neceſſity there was for him to give ſome account of the collection, he ſets out with an hiſtorical account of the origin and progreſs of Cryptography, which, he obſerves, took its riſe from the great uſe of it in public affairs of ſtate, when engaged in war, and more eſpecially in the caſe of civil wars, where the intermingling of oppoſite parties makes it difficult, if not impoſſible, to diſtinguiſh friends from foes. However, that it was at firſt ſcarce known to any but Secretaries of ſtate, or perſons of like condition; but that during the late civil wars in England, it was grown ſo common, that there was hardly any perſon of quality who was not acquainted with it, and did not upon occaſion make uſe of it: That, heretofore, ſlight and eaſy cyphers were uſed, as being found ſufficiently ſecure from a diſcovery; but as the age improved, that danger grew greater, and thereby the art improved, 'ſo that,' ſays he, 'there is ſcarce 'any now uſed, but ſuch as might with very great 'probability be judged impoſſible to be diſcovered 'without a copy of the key whereby they were writ'ten.' He then proceeds to give an account of the accident, as already mentioned (35), which firſt occaſioned his application to the art of decyphering; in which, he ſays, he had made a conſiderable progreſs, tho' not without conſiderable pains, before he was informed that Baptiſta Porta, and one or two more, had written ſomewhat upon the ſubject: Hereupon he conſulted theſe writers, but found very little in them for his purpoſe; their buſineſs for the moſt part being only to ſhew how to write in cyphers, and that the things ſo written were beyond the ſkill of man to decypher. 'Only in Porta (who alone,' ſays he,' if I 'miſtake not, hath written any thing to the purpoſe 'about decyphering, and was, it ſeems, famous in his 'time, for his abilities that way) I found that there 'were ſome general directions, ſuch as were obvious 'from the nature of the thing, and which I had be'fore of myſelf taken notice of, and made uſe of as 'far as the nature of an *intricate cypher* would permit. 'But the truth is, there are ſcarce any of his rules 'which the preſent much-improved way of cyphering 'ſince his time doth not in a manner wholly exclude.' Hereby he ſaw there was little help to be expected from others, but that if he ſhould have further occaſion of this kind, he muſt truſt to his own induſtry, and ſuch obſervations as the preſent caſe ſhould afford. 'And indeed,' continues he, 'the nature of the 'thing is ſcarce capable of any other direction, every 'new cypher almoſt being contrived in a new way, 'which does not admit any conſtant method for 'finding it out. But he that will do any thing in 'it, muſt firſt furniſh himſelf with patience and ſa'gacity as well as he may, and then *conſilium in arena* '*capere,* and make the beſt conjectures he can, till 'he happen upon ſomething that he may conclude 'with for truth. However,' proceeds he, 'the ſuc'ceſs I had already, made me very inclinable to the 'like attempt afterwards, at the ſolicitation of di'verſe perſons of honour and quality; wherein I 'have had ſuch ſucceſs, as the following collection 'doth manifeſt; for which my greateſt reward hath 'been the ſatisfaction of my own inquiſitive curioſity, 'and the gratifying of ſome friends that have re'queſted it. And indeed I ſhould never have had the 'patience to take that incredible pains about it, which 'I have often done, had not my inquiſitive diſpoſi'tion in ſearch of difficulties been a greater argument 'to perſuade me to it, than any gains which either I 'have received or do expect from it: *Tho' I know* '*that leſs ſervices than theſe have been often rewarded* '*with greater recompences than I look for.*' In proceeding he expatiates upon the excellence of the cyphers made uſe of in this collection; wherein he maintains, that neither was it the weakneſs of the cypher that expoſed them to the danger of being decyphered, nor yet does he aver the impoſſibility of inventing any that may be free from that danger. The firſt is inferred as well from the high quality of the perſons who made uſe of them, as from the important matters in which they are uſed. That for his own part he judged, that many of them were written in as good a cypher as hath at any time been in uſe; and that if he were himſelf to make uſe of a cypher, tho' in a buſineſs of great conſequence, he ſhould not deſire a better than many, yea, moſt of theſe. As to the danger ariſing from the poſſibility of their being detected, he does not deny it (though even *that* before the decyphering of theſe would ſcarce have been believed) nor does he deny the poſſibility of contriving ſome others that may in point of ſafety exceed theſe: 'But,' ſays he, '(not to prejudge the invention of future times) I do 'ſcarce believe, that it will be an eaſy matter to con'trive a way more intricate than the *figure cypher,* or'dinarily now in practice, with the like convenience 'for uſe; and if any affect ſome more perplexed than 'any of theſe, I doubt not but his ſuppoſed better 'way will be equally obnoxious to a diſcovery (tho' 'he may perhaps have a better conceit of it) or elſe 'will be ſo extremely tedious in uſe, both to him that 'writes by it, and to him that is to read it, that it 'will not admit of any tolerable diſpatch, and would 'certainly want many of thoſe conveniences which 'in the *figure-cypher* I could eaſily demonſtrate.' He goes on to obſerve, that he who can be deterred by a bare poſſibility of danger, muſt not meddle with ſuch things as need a cypher, for, if he does, he cannot avoid far greater hazards than that is. 'But,' continues he, 'if any ſhall think that becauſe it hath 'been done by one, it is therefore ſo eaſy a matter, 'that it may be done by any, and eſtimate the dan'ger accordingly, I have for that purpoſe left ſome 'of theſe at the end undecyphered, that if they think 'good, they may try their ſkill upon them (36); 'which are not therefore ſingled out, as more diffi'cult than the reſt, for they are but of the ſame kind, 'and in the ſame cyphers with ſome of thoſe that 'went before, but becauſe they were ſome of the laſt 'that came to my hands; and the reſt had been all 'inſerted as you ſee them, before I thought of leav'ing any of this kind undecyphered. As for the 'papers that I have tranſcribed, I was not much ſo'licitous in what method to place them (37), and 'therefore have for the moſt part ſet thoſe firſt that 'came firſt to my hands. Some few of them in the 'beginning I thought it requiſite to tranſcribe, firſt in 'cypher alone, that it may be the better ſeen in what 'form they came to my hands; then the interpreta'tion in a legible character, that it might with the 'leſs difficulty be read; and afterwards, both toge'ther, the decyphering being interlined in a red let'ter, that ſo the filling of the cypher might be the 'more diſtinctly obſerved; and laſt, the key, accord'ing as it is collected out of the decyphering, at leaſt 'ſo far forth, as it is actually there made uſe of. But 'I did not think it neceſſary to continue this labour 'through the whole, and have therefore in thoſe that 'follow only once tranſcribed the papers themſelves, 'and interlined the decyphering thereof, adding the 'key thereto.

'In tranſcribing the papers I was careful to follow 'my original even to a letter; and therefore have not 'preſumed to amend either the errors in ſtile, or the 'manifeſt miſtakes of the writing, but have, when 'there was occaſion, noted them in the margin.

'In the decyphering I have ſometimes left blanks 'for ſome few words, which from the ſenſe of the 'context could not be cleared, eſpecially in names 'and numbers; though even theſe I have ſometimes 'been able to collect, either from circumſtances ap'pearing in the papers themſelves, or at leaſt by com'paring them with matters of fact, which I might 'otherwiſe attain to the knowledge of. But in theſe 'caſes I have ſometimes forborne mentioning of 'names (even when I could have done it) as being 'not at all material to my preſent purpoſe.

'In ſome few places where I might upon conjec'ture have perfected the ſenſe, yet becauſe the ſenſe 'might bear different words, and that it did not ap'pear from other circumſtances which of them was to be taken, I have choſen to leave a blank, al'lowing the reader the like liberty of conjecture 'with myſelf, for the ſupplying of the ſenſe, rather 'than by interpoſing my own uncertain conjecture 'in ſuch caſes, to give occaſion to the reader to 'think, that I have as little reaſon for other words, 'which

(35) Above in the text.

(36) There are three of theſe, one of which has been ſince decyphered by Mr Davys and another, a French one, ſubſcribed Braſſel, is inſerted in the General Dictionary, Vol. III. p. 93. decyphered by Mr Dutton, an acquaintance of Mr Davys.

(37) That which was his firſt attempt this way, as mentioned in the text above, is placed firſt, and followed immediately by others alike eaſy; after which he proceeds to the intricate ones.

triæ Profeſſor Savillianus: Servato ſibi in poſterum poteſtate addendi vel emendandi: i. e. A collection of ſeveral letters and other papers, which were at ſeveral times intercepted, written in cypher, decyphered by John Wallis, Profeſſor of Geometry in the Univerſity of Oxford, given to the public library there, *Anno Domini* 1653. On the 31ſt of May 1654, having performed the regular exerciſe (*w*), he was admitted in the Convocation to the degree of Doctor of Divinity (*x*); and took great pains in making an obſervation of the Solar Eclipſe which happened on the 3d of Auguſt following ‡. About Eaſter, 1655, the propoſition in his *Arithmetica Infinitorum*, containing the quadrature of the circle, being printed, he ſent it to Mr *Oughtred* [*Q*]; and ſoon after, in the ſame year, he publiſhed that treatiſe in 4to. dedicated to the ſame eminent Mathematician. To this he prefixed a Treatiſe of *Conic Sections* [*R*]; which he ſets in a new light, conſidering them as abſolute planes, conſtituted of an infinite number of parallelograms, without any relation to the Cone (*y*); and demonſtrates their properties from his new method of Infinities. Before theſe two pieces were intirely finiſhed at the preſs, there came out *Elementorum Philoſophiæ Sectio prima; de corpore*, part iv. 1655, by Thomas Hobbes; in which that Author pretended to give an abſolute quadrature of the circle. This pretence Dr Wallis confuted the ſame year, in a Latin tract, intituled *Elenchus Geometriæ Hobbianæ*; which being wrote with ſome tartneſs, Mr Hobbes found his mathematical reputation in danger, and therefore reſolved to defend what he had advanced; and the controverſy

‡ See the letter in the article of Mr Oughtred, to whom the doctor took this opportunity of applying for the ſolution of a ſeries there exhibited.

(*w*) He printed this Exerciſe afterwards, with a ſermon intituled *Mens Sobria*, preached before the determining Batchelors, at the end of his works in 1657, and in the 3d volume of his works in 1699.

(*x*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 106.

(*y*) De Witt's attempt of the ſame kind was not publiſhed till 1659, in Schooten's miſcellanies.

‘ which I have taken upon me to determine. Yet I do not think but that it is poſſible that I may in ſome few ſynonimous words have taken the one for the other; as *ſoon* for *ſuddenly*, *ſecurity* for *ſafety*, or the like. But I have been ſo wary and circumſpect, in the determining even of ſuch trivial matters, if any was doubtful, that I am very confident if any ſuch miſtakes be, they are very rare.

‘ And I do in this as alſo for the truth of the decyphering in all the reſt, apply to thoſe from whom or to whom they have been written, who by thus expoſing them to view may have an opportunity of examining them by their own key, and conſequently of detecting my miſtakes, if any be; ſome of whom I preſume would not think themſelves much obliged to favour me in that kind, if they could therein detect any conſiderable errors (though neither do I know any juſt reaſon that any hath to be much offended for what I have done in the decyphering of them) of whom I deſire but this favour, or juſtice rather, that as I have been extremely careful not to wrong them in the leaſt meaſure by my miſtakes or groundleſs conjectures, that they would deal with me *bonâ fide*, if they ſhall charge me with any, and not affirm thoſe to be miſtakes which are not. And I believe, if any ſuch ſhall take the pains to examine my works that way, they will rather wonder how I ſhould be able to chooſe right in ſeeming doubtful caſes, wherein they might think I had nothing to direct me, than find an occaſion to contradict my conjectures.

‘ As for the reaſons which moved me thus to expoſe them to view, I ſhall only ſay thus much. I did not think it worth while to publiſh them in print (nor perhaps would it be convenient ſo to do) and yet I thought them ſo conſiderable, as not to be altogether ſuppreſſed, eſpecially ſince ſuch writings as theſe are not very frequent, and that others doubtleſs would be content to view them. At leaſt this advantage will undoubtedly ariſe by it; thoſe who have a curioſity to enquire into the buſineſs of cyphers, may here ſee variety of patterns, and many of them as good as they are likely to meet with any where elſe. And perhaps ſome others may be as well pleaſed to ſee, that a good cypher, which might upon very great probability be concluded to be ſafe enough, is yet in a poſſibility to be detected. And laſtly, by this means, thoſe who ſhall live hereafter may perhaps be informed what kind of cyphers thoſe were, which have been in uſe in this age.

‘ Thus much I thought it requiſite to ſay, and I think it not neceſſary to ſay more, but leave the judgment of the whole to thoſe who ſhall take the pains to view it.’

[*Q*] *He ſent the propoſition* de Cyclometria *to Mr Oughtred.*] Tho' in the ſeries $1\ \frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{30}\ \frac{1}{140}$, &c. $\frac{3}{2}\ \frac{15}{8}$ he could not interpolate the term between the firſt and ſecond in the order of that ſeries, yet he obſerved it to be produced by the continual multiplication of $1\times\frac{3}{2}\times\frac{5\times5\times7\times7\times9\times9}{4\ \ 6\ \ 6\ \ 8\ \ 8\ \ 10}$, &c. and found that this ſecond term was

$$\left.\begin{matrix}\text{leſſer}\\ \text{and greater}\end{matrix}\right\}\text{than}\left\{\frac{3\times5\times5\times7\times7\times9}{2\ \ 4\ \ 6\ \ 6\ \ 8\ \ 8}\ \&c.\times\right\}\begin{matrix}\sqrt{1\frac{1}{13}}\\ \sqrt{1\frac{1}{14}}\end{matrix}$$

and applying to Lord Brouncker for a better way of expreſſing it, that lord ſupplied him with the following:

$$1\frac{1}{2}\quad\frac{9}{2}\quad\frac{25}{2}\quad\frac{44}{2}\quad\frac{81}{2},\ \&c.$$

Here he left this moſt difficult enquiry, which terminated in ſomething that was ἀῤῥητον, which he therefore called an hypergeometrical decreaſing progreſſion, and putting □ for the ſquare of the circle, wrote it thus, $\square = \text{ɱ} : 1\frac{1}{2}$. Comforting himſelf for all his pains with this thought, that he had at leaſt demonſtrated the abſolute impoſſibility of expreſſing this quadrature in numbers by any known way of notation (38). This ſeries he likewiſe wrote another way, as $\sqrt{R^2-c^2}$, $\sqrt{R^3-c^3}$, &c. which he called a ſeries of univerſal roots: that is, ſuch as could only be conceived abſtractedly, or in their ſpecies, but not reduced to their individuals, of which we have no idea, concluding in theſe words: *In circulo ratio ea quam habet ille ad quadratum (quam etiam mihi præ oculis ab initio fuiſſe non nego) non ita ex voto ſuccedat, ut in aliis aliquot curvilineis, recapto aliquo notationis modo, ſed per varios mæandros me duxit, & tandem in* ἀῤῥητον *quoddam deſinat. Operæ tamen pretium eſt eatenus eam indicaſſe, quatenus natura numerorum patitur, ut nihil inſuper reliquum ſit, niſi ut inter mathematicos conveniatur, qua velint notatione, ſive mea, ſive alia adhuc excogitanda rationem illam* ἀῤῥητον *indicare* (39).

[*R*] *He publiſhed that treatiſe.*] Notwithſtanding the great diſappointment he met with in his principal deſign, his pains upon it were handſomely rewarded by the variety of diſcoveries which that enquiry led him into. And as he had carried the doctrine of infinite progreſſions farther, and applied it to the nature of many curves not known before, he digeſted it into a proper method, and publiſhed it under the title of *Arithmetica Infinitorum*, where, to paſs by others, he particularly gave the areas of a vaſt variety of curve figures, ſuch as run on *in infinitum*, Torricellius having acquired a great reputation by ſquaring only a ſingle one. As he diſcovered the truth of his propoſitions by induction, ſo he determined ingenuouſly to give them to the public in that form, by which means, added to the advantage of a good method and a clear expreſſion, this book, tho' treating of the ſublimeſt ſpeculations, both in arithmetic and geometry, is frequently read with great eaſe and equal ſatisfaction by perſons who have no more than an ordinary ſkill in the rudiments of either of thoſe ſciences.

[*S*] *His treatiſe on Conic Sections.*] In this treatiſe he firſt gave a ſpecimen of his new invention of Indiviſibles, by the help of which he applies his infinite numerical progreſſions to Geometry. The method of Cavallieri had been often charged by the beſt mathematicians with being ungeometrical, and the improvements made by it conſidered as not fairly proved, and conſequently liable to ſuſpicion: ſeveral in-

(38) Propoſition CXC of Arithmetica Infinitorum.

(39) Idem, Prop. CXCI.

controverſy between him and the Doctor (z) was kept up for ſome years [S]. In 1656, he publiſhed his piece upon the angle of contact, wherein he expoſes the opinion of Peletarius, aſſerting that angle had no magnitude at all [T]. In 1657, our Author having completed the firſt plan he laid for the ſubject of his Lectures, digeſted the whole into a proper form, and publiſhed the work in two parts, under the title of *Matheſis Univerſalis, ſive Opus Arithmeticum* [U]. While this book was in the preſs, the Doctor

ſtances being produced, wherein the concluſions ariſing from it were erroneous. Our author here endeavours to clear the method from thoſe objections. Inſtead of ſuppoſing a plane to conſiſt of an infinite number of lines, he conſiders theſe ſuperficies as conſtituted by an infinite number of parallelograms, each of an infinitely ſmall altitude; hereby avoiding the abſurdity in the former method, of ſuppoſing that any, even an infinite number of lines, which have each abſolutely no breadth at all, could conſtitute a ſurface. Our author makes uſe of this, which he takes to be a conſiderable improvement all along in his *Arithmetica Infinitorum*. He likewiſe ſhews in ſeveral propoſitions of this treatiſe a new method of drawing Tangents, which is the ſame with that made uſe of afterwards by Dr Barrow in his Geometry.

But by this new improvement, it has been obſerved, that the doctor in avoiding one abſurdity has the miſfortune to run into another, which is, that in this method theſe infinitely little parallelograms are ſuppoſed actually to fill up the ſeveral ſuperficies in which they are inſcribed, are here preſented to the imagination, as having an actual and poſitive exiſtence, whence infinity is ſignified to be comprehended within the limits of our finite underſtanding. The ἀγεωμετρισία of this poſtulatum our author was very ſenſible of on other occaſions; and has expoſed it very clearly in his piece againſt Clavius, upon the angle of contact. But to this it may be anſwered, that the ſuppoſition here advanced by the doctor has been eſpouſed by the greateſt modern mathematicians, ſince Mr Leibnitz made no ſcruple to aſſume the ſame *poſtulatum* for the foundation of his *infiniteſimal method* on the *calculus differentialis*: not to inſiſt on what our author many years afterwards ſhewed to Mr Leibnitz, that in the doctrine of Tangents treated of in this piece of Conic Sections, he had no occaſion of neglecting the infinitely little quantities, as heterogeneous to finite ones (which poſtulate is conſtantly aſſumed in the *differential method*) ſince in this caſe this infinitely little difference actually vaniſhed and became nothing.

There is a remarkable expreſſion in his dedication to the Conic Sections, where, in ſhewing the preference of his method to that of Cavallieri, he obſerves, that his line (not like that of Cavallieri) is ſuppoſed to be dilatable, or to have ſo much ſpiſſitude as by an infinite multiplication to be capable of acquiring a certain altitude, equal to the figure in which it is inſcribed. *In hac*, ſays he, *differunt* [*Cavalierii & mea methodus*] *quod Linea hæc ſupponitur dilatabilis eſſe, ſive tantillam ſpiſſitudinem habere, ut infinita multiplicatione certam tandem altitudinem ſive latitudinem poſſit acquirere, tantam nempe, quanta eſt figuræ altitudo.* Here the word *dilatabilis* conveys an idea very different from the increaſe made by the appoſition of parts, and plainly evinces, that tho' he repreſents his infinitely little parallelograms as filling up the plane by an infinite multiplication, yet he did ſometimes at leaſt conceive that parallelogram as an infinitely little augment ſwelling by dilatation, till it filled completely the propounded ſpace, which is the very idea of the generation of quantities in the *method of fluxions*. And in his letter to Mr Leibnitz our author obſerves, that his *method of Tangents* may juſtly be called *Methodus de magnitudine evaneſcente*, from the idea he had at the writing of this treatiſe upon Conic Sections, that in the angle of contact this infinitely little augment denoted by the letter *a* was there ſuppoſed to decreaſe till it vaniſhed.

[S] *The controverſy with Mr Hobbes was kept up ſeveral years.*] Our author's firſt anſwer ſo much provoked Mr Hobbes, that he publiſhed his book in Engliſh, with the addition of what he called *Six Leſſons to the Profeſſor of Mathematics in Oxford.* Upon this Dr Wallis wrote an anſwer in Engliſh, intituled, *Due correction for Mr Hobbes; or, ſchool diſcipline for not ſaying his leſſon right.* Oxford, 1656, 8vo. Mr Hobbes replied in a book which he called Στιγμας, *or, the marks of the abſurd geometry, rural language, &c. of Dr Wallis.* London, 1657. This was immediately rejoined to by the Doctor, in his *Hobbiani puncti diſpunctio, in anſwer to Mr Hobbes's* Στιγμας. Oxford, 1657. Here this controverſy ceaſed for a while; but was renewed four years after by Mr Hobbes, who in 1661 printed a piece which he called *Examinatio & emendatio mathematicorum hodiernorum, in ſex dialogis,* which occaſioned Dr Wallis the next year to publiſh *Hobbius Heautontimoroumenos.* Oxford, 1663. 8vo. This piece was addreſſed to Mr Robert Boyle. Our author had egregiouſly the better in this controverſy. However, none of the pieces which he wrote in it were put into the collection of his mathematical works, in three volumes folio, 1699; becauſe, as he ſays himſelf, after the death of his antagoniſt he had no inclination to trample upon the aſhes of the dead, though he was induced to expoſe the bad reaſoning of that *pſeudo-geometrician* at the time of his writing; ſince by the advantage of his mathematical reputation he found means of ſpreading the poiſon of his principles in religion. *Opuſcula quædam contra Thomam Hobbes pſeudo-geometram non hic habentur, ne velle videar de homine jam demortuo triumphare: quamvis enim prout tunc res erat, id omnino faciendum, quando ſub prætextu magni Geometræ qualem ſe venditabat, auſus eſt in religionis negotio incautis adoleſcentibus perperam ſentiendi materiam ſubminiſtrare.*

[T] *The angle of contact has no magnitude.*] He afterwards wrote a defence of this piece, wherein he obſerves, that the ancient *method of exhauſtions* is founded upon the principle in Euclid's Elements, that *thoſe quantities whoſe difference is leſſer than any aſſignable one, are equal* (40). Whence he ſhews, that the quantity called *ſomewhat* by Clavius, as conſtituting the difference between the two angles made by the tangent, and the circle with the diameter in the point of contact, is really no magnitude, at leaſt is conſidered as ſuch in geometry. In this treatiſe our author introduces the notion of inceptive quantities, which, in reſpect to the given ones, he calls *prima principia quod ſic*, ſuch a definition as perhaps it would be very hard to find a better for thoſe called *naſcent quantities* in the method of fluxions. He likewiſe takes notice in the entrance on this defence, how cautious the ancient geometricians were in ſpeaking of what we call the point of contact, which, he obſerves, is never called by the name of a point, either by Euclid or Apollonius: as if they either apprehended a difference of this contact in ſome reſpect or other from the true notion of a point, or at leaſt were careful to avoid all occaſions of being drawn into any diſpute upon ſo nice and delicate a ſubject. Sir Iſaac Newton has ſhewn, that within the angle of contact made by a right line touching the vertex of the common parabola there may be inſerted an infinite number of other angles of contact made by the ſame right line touching the vertices of other parabolas, each of which beginning from that of the common parabola, is infinitely leſs than the preceding one (41).

[U] *Matheſis Univerſalis.*] The whole title runs thus: *Matheſis univerſalis, ſive opus arithmeticum, tum philologice tum mathematice traditum; arithmeticam tum numeroſam tum ſpecioſam ſive ſymbolicam complectens.* In it he has delivered the application of arithmetic to geometry, eſpecially upon the intricate ſubject of imaginary and impoſſible roots, in ſo clear and eaſy a manner, that, what before had been generally thought too myſterious to be looked into, became neglected as too tireſomely obvious. He dedicates it to Dr Gerard Langbaine, provoſt of Queen's College, Oxford, Dr Wilkinſon, canon of Chriſt Church, and to the Doctors Wilkins and Goddard, wardens of Wadham and Merton. He likewiſe dedicated his *Conic Sections* to Rook and Ward, the two aſtronomy-profeſſors at Greſham and Oxford, and his Arithmetica Infinitorum to Mr Oughtred, *non maximo viro,* but, as he ſays, *ut oportet, maximo mathematico.* This was the ancient method, not to pick out patrons for their fortune, but for their merit:

(z) Upon this occaſion Mr Henry Stubbe (of whom we have a long article in Mr Wood's Athen. Oxon. from fol. 560 to 568) wrote his Oneirocritica, in defence of Mr Hobbes, which was printed in 1657.

(40) The Newtonian geometry, or the doctrine of prime and ultimate ratios is expreſly declared by the author to be founded in this poſtulatum.

(41) See his method of fluxions, edit. 1737.

Doctor received a challenge from Mr *Fermat* at Tholouſe, which engaged him in an epiſtolary diſpute with that Author, as well as Mr *Frenicle* at Paris [*W*]. The letters on each ſide paſſed through the hands of Sir Kenelm Digby, then in France; who had the ſatisfaction to ſee the point in diſpute yielded, the following year, to Dr Wallis, with the higheſt encomiums, by both his Antagoniſts; and the Doctor, with the conſent of Sir Kenelm, publiſhed the letters, under the title of *Commercium Epiſtolicum*, in 1658. In the mean time Dr *Gerard Langbaihe* dying, Dr Wallis was choſen to ſucceed him in the place of *Cuſtos Archivorum* [*X*] to the Univerſity, February 17, 1657-8. On the

merit: which is mentioned here, as it ſhews Dr Wallis's temper: far from being troubleſomely ambitious, he ſtuck cloſe to the buſineſs of his place. The natural bent of his humour was gratified in this ſtudy, and his deſire was to make himſelf *non vir magnus, ſed magnus mathematicus*; and he was ſo happy as to obtain his wiſh by the univerſal vote of all Europe.

[*W*] *A diſpute with Fermat and Frenicle.*] Our author received a letter from Lord Brouncker, dated March 5, 1656-7, wherein was incloſed the following paper, inſcribed, A challenge from Mr Fermat and Mr Frenicle for Dr Wallis, with the hearty commendation of the meſſenger Thomas White. The problem was, *Invenire Cubum, qui additis omnibus ſuis partibus aliquotis conficiat quadratum.* The challenge had been ſent by Mr Fermat to Mr Frenicle, and to Schooten and Huygens. Dr Wallis ſent a ſolution of it before the end of March, which being objected to both by Mr Frenicle, who had ſolved it before, and Mr Fermat, occaſioned a diſpute, which was carried on this year, and ſome part of the next: till both the French gentlemen acknowledged the ſufficiency of the doctor's ſolution, with the encomium of being the greateſt mathematician in Europe. The doctor being informed that Mr Frenicle was about printing the letters, was apprehenſive, from what he had obſerved from the conduct of that gentleman, that ſome artful practice might be uſed therein, he therefore deſired Sir Kenelm Digby, then at Paris, through whoſe hands the whole had paſſed, to give his conſent to the publiſhing of them by the doctor himſelf, which being readily granted, he publiſhed them accordingly, under the title of *Commercium Epiſtolicum*, &c. 1658. Whence it appeared, that Mr Fermat, amongſt other things, had occaſionally made ſome objections to the doctor's *Arithmetica Infinitorum*, which he diſparaged on account of its want of demonſtrations; urging, that *ſuppoſitis ſpeciebus analyſeos problemata geometrica via Euclideana & Apolloniana exequatur, ne pereat paulatim elegantia & in conſtruendis & in demonſtrandis problematibus, cui præcipue operam dederunt veteres:* intimating at the ſame time, that he could demonſtrate the doctor's propoſitions in fewer words than he made uſe of in his method of induction. To this the doctor replies, that he could eaſily have evinced the truth of his inventions by ſuch original demonſtrations and deductions *ad impoſſibile*, as are frequently made uſe of by Archimedes, had not he obſerved how juſtly the practice of the ancients, in being more ſtudious to demonſtrate the truth, than diſcover how they came at it, had been complained of by the beſt modern mathematicians; and that he rather expected thanks for his ingenuity. *Grates ſiquidem ego potius expectaſſem; quam ut eo nomine criminis inſimularer, quod aperte & ſine fuco non modo quo perveneram, ſed & quibus paſſibus indicaverim; nec (quod de aliis non pauci conqueruntur) pontem illum ipſe demolitum iverim, quo ego flumen tranſieram* (42). Sir Kenelm Digby having acquainted him with the prodigious character of his antagoniſts, who were, he ſaid, acknowledged to be the ableſt mathematicians in France; and particularly, that Mr Frenicle was moſt ſurpriſingly quick in anſwering any queſtions, the doctor, in a letter to Lord Brouncker, who ſhared with him in this diſpute, which was managed with an extraordinary affectation of pleaſantry by the two French mathematicians, deſcribes the different genius of each of theſe antagoniſts in the following manner: *Gravitatem Hiſpanorum, cum quibus eſt vicinior* (43) *magis fortaſſe ſapit alter* [Fermat], *Gallorum alter alacritatem* (44). *Acutos ambos & ſummos viros lubens agnoſco, nec tamen eſſe credo (quicquid de me ſtatuatur) cur gentem noſtram habeant deſpicatui, niſi quod minus fortaſſe ſimus jactalundi.* As to the latter part of Mr Fermat's aſſertion, that the method of induction in the *Arithmetica Infinitorum* was not ſatisfactory, and that he could give demonſtrations in leſſer room, the doctor doubted of this laſt aſſertion very much, and the juſtice of his doubt was plainly ſhewn afterwards by Mr Fermat himſelf, in a piece publiſhed by him in 1660 (45); where he gave one of thoſe boaſted demonſtrations, which proved to be a great deal longer than that proof from induction by the Doctor; who had obſerved before to Lord Brouncker, that if the *Arithmetica Infinitorum* had been executed according to Mr Fermat's ſcheme, it would have ſwelled to a large folio. The truth of this aſſertion was abundantly verified by Bublialdus's comment upon it, wrote in the demonſtrative way, which the doctor received as a preſent from the author in 1683. As to the firſt part of Mr Fermat's aſſertion, that the method of induction was not altogether ſatisfactory, the doctor in another place obſerves, that in ſome caſes it is ſo ſatisfactory, as to make any demonſtration needleſs; as where by induction we are brought to ſome obvious truths, as to the continuation of ſome ſeries (46). However, he refers him for the method of demonſtrating his propoſitions to *Cavallieri de uſu indiviſibilium in poteſtatibus coſſicis*, and Van Schooten's treatiſe in the *ſecond part of Des Cartes's Geometry*. Our author afterwards gave a ſpecimen of ſuch a demonſtrative method, in a demonſtration of the tenth propoſition of Archimedes's treatiſe *De Spiralibus*, which, with another of the eleventh propoſition, he ſent (47) to Sir Charles Scarborough, at whoſe requeſt they were done. Before this correſpondence now under conſideration was at an end, Sir Kenelm Digby ſent our author a rectification of a curve, done by Fermat, and given to Sir Kenelm as a new invention; but the doctor immediately returned an anſwer, wherein he ſhewed this curve to be the very ſame, tho' under another name, with that which had been before rectified by Mr Neil, and of which the doctor had with many others given the demonſtration, in his treatiſe *De Cycloide*, publiſhed in 1659, before Mr Fermat did this, which was not till 1660; and he had mentioned that the foundation of both was laid in his *Arithmetica Infinitorum*, which Mr Fermat (as Sir Kenelm very well knew) had ſeen; but there was ſome reaſon to doubt whether he had conſidered it, ſince he had in this treatiſe in 1660 given the ſquare of ſome infinite hyperbolic ſpaces, which he affirmed had not been conſidered in the *Arithmetica Infinitorum*, whereas the quadrature of thoſe ſpaces was actually given in the 101ſt, 102d, 103d, 104th, and 105th propoſitions of that book.

[*X*] *He ſucceeded to the place of Cuſtos Archivorum.*] The famous Mr Henry Stubbe, an inveterate enemy to our author (48), wrote upon this occaſion *The Savilian Profeſſor's caſe ſtated, together with the ſeveral reaſons urged againſt his capacity of ſtanding for the public office of Antiquary in the Univerſity of Oxford, which are enlarged and vindicated againſt the exceptions of Dr John Wallis*, London, 1658. Mr Wood tells us (49), 'that 'Dr Richard Zouch, who had been an aſſeſſor in the 'chancellor's court for thirty years or more, and well 'verſed in the ſtatutes, liberties, and privileges of the 'Univerſity, did upon great intreaties ſtand for the 'ſaid place of Antiquary, or Cuſtos Archivorum 'thereof, but he being eſteemed a Royaliſt, Dr J. 'W. was put up and ſtood againſt him; though al'together uncapable of that place, becauſe he was 'one of the Savilian Profeſſors, a Cambridge man, 'and a ſtranger to the uſages of the univerſity. At 'length by ſome corruption, or at leaſt connivance 'of the Vice-chancellor, and perjury of the Senior 'Proctor, Byfield (50), J. W. was pronounced elected. 'Whereupon our author Stubbe, who was an eye 'and ear-witneſs of all that had moſt unjuſtly paſſed, 'therefore wrote the ſame book.' We have given this account in Mr Wood's own words, as a convincing ſpecimen of his prejudice againſt Dr Wallis, which will be of uſe to help us in forming a judgment concerning the truth of another much more important fact charged upon him by that author and ſome others, as will appear preſently.

(42) Letter to Sir Kenelm Digby, No. 21. in the Commercium Epiſtolicum.

(43) Mr Fermat was prime counſellor of the parliament of Tholouſe, where he reſided during this controverſy.

(44) Viz. Mr Frenicle, who lived at Paris.

(45) The doctor received it while his *Algebra* was in the preſs.— Algebra, ch. 78.

(46) Ibid. ch. 77.

(47) In a letter dated Nov. 21, 1671.

(48) See his article in Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 560. & ſeqq.

(49) Ibid. 561, 562.

(50) Adoniram *Byfield*, who had been a brother ſecretary with Dr Wallis to the Aſſembly of Divines.

17th of July following he received a letter from Sir *Kenelm Digby*, in which was contained two prize queſtions propoſed by Mr *Paſcal*, for ſquaring and finding the gravity of ſome ſections of the cycloid [*Y*]; and though he had never before conſidered that curve, yet he ſent a ſolution to both the queſtions, Auguſt 19th following: but finding himſelf prevented in this matter by Mr *Wren*, as well as Mr *Huygens*, he ſent a copy of what he had done, then juſt performed, to the latter; who, in return, acquainting him with the rectification of the parabolic curve, as abſolutely a new invention, with ſeveral additions, containing the quadrature of that curve, by *Heurat* (*aa*); Dr Wallis preſently informed him of Mr *Neil*'s ſucceſs in that invention the year before (*bb*); ſhewing him in the *Arithmetica Infinitorum* the foundation of both the methods whereby this diſcovery was made. In 1659, the Doctor publiſhed this letter to Mr Huygens, with this title, *De Ciſſoide & Corporibus inde genetis:* to which he prefixed another tract, *De Cycloide* (*cc*) *& Corporibus inde genitis*, wherein he gave a demonſtration of Mr Neil's invention (*dd*). In the midſt of theſe mathematical ſtudies, the Doctor had never neglected ſuch opportunities as offered of exerciſing his Cryptolitical talent, and upon ſome occaſions had thereby done good ſervices to the Royal cauſe [*Z*]; and he had always ſhewn

(*aa*) Mr Huygens aſcribes the rectification to a propoſition he had before ſhewn to Heurat.

(*bb*) Viz. in July or Auguſt 1657.

(*cc*) In this piece he likewiſe printed Mr Wren's quadrature of that curve.

(*dd*) He put theſe two tracts into his book *De Motu*.

[*Y*] *Two prize queſtions propoſed by Mr Paſcal.*] This letter of Sir Kenelm Digby was dated July 17th. The rewards were forty gold doublons for the quadrature, and twenty for the center of gravity, to be given for the firſt that ſent a ſolution within the time, which was the firſt day of October following. The propoſal came from Carcavi at Paris; but he only tranſacted the affair for Mr Paſcal, who for ſome (as appeared afterwards) obvious reaſons choſe not to be ſeen at firſt in it. Our author got his ſolution on the 19th of Auguſt atteſted by a public notary, to comply (as he underſtood it) with the terms of the propoſal, and finding, upon a reviſal of his copy, ſeveral errors in his firſt ſolution, he ſent the corrections September 3d following; he likewiſe afterwards in the ſame month wrote ſome more corrections and additions to it, being ſtill, as he thought, within the propoſed terms, of which the words were, *ſalvo errore calculi.* But before he ſent this laſt letter, he found by a letter of Mr Paſcal to Mr (afterwards Sir Chriſtopher) Wren, dated the 13th of this month, that he had miſtaken the conditions of the prize. It being the propoſer's meaning, that the order of the ſeveral ſolutions ſent ſhould be reckoned according to the time that they came to the hands of Mr Carcavi. It was plain, that the French had all the advantage that could be had from the delays of the carriage, but *that* was the author's intention in favour of his own country. Whereupon Dr Wallis being informed likewiſe, that his ſolution ſent 19th Auguſt did not come to Mr Carcavi till 10th September, found it would be to no purpoſe to ſend his additions and alterations, it not being likely, that Mr Carcavi would receive them before the time limited was expired, viz. the 1ſt of October. Mr Wren alſo acquainted him with his having ſent a ſolution, which was as ſoon, or ſoon after the propoſals came to the hands of our author. At laſt came out *Hiſtoire de la Roulette*, by Mr Paſcal, under the borrowed name of *Detonvilius*, wherein nothing was ſaid of the prize-queſtions, only it was hinted, that all muſt wait, till ſentence was paſſed by Mr Carcavi. About the end of November, ſeveral copies of this hiſtory came to the hands of Dr Wallis, with a requeſt to diſperſe them among his friends. In the mean time, having put together in ſome form what he had wrote on this occaſion of the *cycloid*, he ſent a copy of it to Mr Huygens; who in his anſwer, dated June 9th, 1659, deſired the doctor's opinion of Mr Paſcal's book, which was immediately complied with by the doctor, who obſerved, that tho' the piece was indeed well enough executed, yet there was nothing extraordinary in it, conſidering the great aſſiſtance the author had received from the ſolutions of the prize-problems, which, upon recollecting the varying ſteps that had been taken in that extraordinary affair, and comparing the ſeries of the conduct with ſeveral paſſages in the courſe of the work, he could not but be of opinion, was a mere decoy to procure France the honour of the invention (51). Among other things, the author aſſerted, that Merſennus was the firſt who propoſed this curve to be conſidered by the mathematicians in 1625, and Robervallius the firſt who ſquared it in 1634; the ſame being done afterwards by Fermat and Carteſius, all Frenchmen. Thus what had been done by others was utterly paſſed over in ſilence, his deſign, as he profeſſes, being to do honour to his own country. He even goes ſo far as to charge Torricelli with having taken his demonſtration from a paper of Mr Roberval, found by him in the ſtudy of Galilæo, to whom it had been communicated by Mr Beaugrand. Dr Wallis takes notice, that this pretence of Mr Roberval's paper is a mere *ipſe dixit*, without any kind of proof to ſupport it; and that Merſennus was ſo far from being the firſt that conſidered this curve, the cycloid, that it had been not only conſidered, but ſomething very near the ſquaring of it demonſtrated, by Cardinal Cuſa in 1547.

[*Z*] *He had done ſome ſignal ſervices to the royal cauſe.*] Many letters being intercepted at the dawn of the Reſtoration, it was eaſy for our artiſt to deliver up the interpretation of ſome, and to ſuppreſs that of others, under pretence of not being able to decypher them. That he actually did ſo ſeems to be agreed on all hands, and is evident from the following paſſage in the life of Dr Berwick, where the author ſpeaking of the royaliſts, has theſe words; 'Although 'every different perſon's letter was written in a different cypher, and that contrived with great thought, 'yet they were all decyphered by the art and ingenuity of a certain very famous mathematician, who 'was hired by the rebels. Yet he had now at laſt 'this in him of a good ſubject, that at this time he 'diſcovered nothing to the rebels, which much concerned the public ſafety; tho' he ſatisfied ſome of 'the King's friends, that he could have diſcovered a 'great deal. But all thoſe whom it concerned being 'ſufficiently aſſured, that no key of any cypher had 'fallen into the enemy's hands, it was thought nothing but vain boaſting, when the rebels bragged, 'that by the help of their friends they were able to 'find out the moſt hidden ſecrets of the royaliſts; till 'Matthew Wren, ſon to the right reverend the Biſhop 'of Ely, who was intimately acquainted with this 'mathematician, obtained of him ſome copies of thoſe 'letters, as he had decyphered them, and took care 'to have them delivered ſeverally to the perſons that 'wrote the letters, who all acknowledged them for 'their own, and left no room to doubt of the decypherer's art.' What my Lord Clarendon's thoughts were upon the point of decyphering appears in his letters of February 20th, and March 8th, 1659-60. which ſhew he did not then believe it poſſible. But that he was very ſoon after thoroughly ſatisfied that the thing could be done, may be inferred from a letter of Lord Mordaunt to the Marquis of Ormond, the 23d of the ſame month of May (52): *Oblige me ſo far as to ſhew this to him whom you live with, for now he will be convinced when he ſees his own letter returned by me.* Our author himſelf did afterwards give an account of his conduct in this matter, in a letter dated April 8th, 1695. to Biſhop Fell, wherein he likewiſe atteſts his ſervices to the royal cauſe, as appears from the following extract of that letter: *It is true*, ſays he, *afterwards*, [i. e. after the battle of Naſeby] *where the King's cabinet with his letters was taken, ſome other letters of other perſons, which had been occaſionally intercepted, were brought to my hands, ſome of which I did decypher, and ſome of them I did not think fit to do, to the diſpleaſing of ſome who were then great men. And I managed myſelf in that whole buſineſs by ſuch meaſures, as your Lordſhip, I think, would not be diſpleaſed with. I did his Majeſty who then was (K. Charles I.) and his friends many good offices, as I had opportunity both before and after that King's death, and ventured further to do* *that*

(51) One of theſe ſteps was, that the ſolutions ſent by Mr Huygens and Mr Wren, were diſſembled, and afterwards a new queſtion propoſed.

(52) In Carte's collection of letters, &c. p. 317. Vol. II. 8vo.

ſhewn himſelf zealous for the honour of his country in points of mathematical learning: ſo that, notwithſtanding the high credit he had conſtantly lived in with the oppoſite party to the Crown, yet, at the Reſtoration, King Charles the Second received him very graciouſly, and he was not only confirmed in both his places, of Savilian Profeſſor and Keeper of the Archives at Oxford, but likewiſe admitted one of the King's Chaplains in ordinary *(ee)*. And, in 1661, he was one of the Divines who were appointed to review the Common Prayer Book *(ff)*. He afterwards complied with the terms of the Act of Uniformity, and continued a ſteady Conformiſt to the Church of England till his death. By the obſervations which our Author had formerly made upon ſpeech, he had been led to think it poſſible to teach a deaf man to ſpeak, by directing him ſo to apply the organs of ſpeech, as the ſound of each letter required, which he obſerved children learned by obſervation and frequent attempts, rather than by art *(gg)*. Accordingly, in the year 1660, he was importuned by ſome friends that were privy to his ſkill, to make trial of it on one Mr *Daniel Whalley*, who had been deaf and dumb from five years old. On his conſenting to it, Mr Whalley came to the Doctor, who, about January 1661-2, began to teach him; and had ſuch ſucceſs, that, in little more than a year's time *(hh)*, he taught him to pronounce diſtinctly any words ſo as he directed him [*AA*]. Soon afterwards, he likewiſe taught Mr *Alexander Popham*, ſon of the Lady *Wharton* by her former huſband, Admiral *Popham*; which gave occaſion to a diſpute betwixt our Author and Dr *Holder* [*BB*]. The Royal Society being founded in 1663, Dr Wallis became one of the firſt members

(ee) Lewis's MS life of our author, quoted in the General Dictionary, The Doctor alſo had the degree of D. D. confirmed by the univerſity, June 29. 1662. Wood's Faſti Oxon. vol. II. col. 150.

(ff) Wheatley's preface to his paraphraſe on the Common prayer book.

(gg) Letter to Dr Smith, ubi ſupra.

(hh) *Viz.* May 21, 1663.

that King-ſervice, than perhaps many of thoſe who now complain of me, would have had the courage to do, had they been in my circumſtances. And I did to his late Majeſty [K. Ch. II.] *many good ſervices both before and ſince his reſtoration, which himſelf hath been pleaſed to profeſs to me with great kindneſs; and if either my Lord Chancellor Clarendon, or Mr Secretary Nicolas, or his late Majeſty were now alive, they would give me a very different character from what it ſeeems ſome others have done. And I think his Majeſty that now is knows ſomething of it, and ſome other perſons of honour yet alive.* Here we ſee that his particular friends at this time (*i. e.* at the reſtoration of K. Ch. II.) beſides the King himſelf, were the Earl of Clarendon, and Sir Edward Nicolas, Secretary of State, who valued him for his great learning and integrity, and were ſenſible of his affection for the royal cauſe, and his loyalty to the King, and the many good ſervices he had done his Majeſty before the reſtoration (53).

[*AA*] *He could pronounce diſtinctly*, &c.] Even ſome of the moſt difficult words of the Poliſh language, which a Poliſh Lord then in Oxford could propoſe to him by way of trial of thoſe five or ſix ſelect hard words, which the people of that nation uſed to propoſe to foreigners, as not to be pronounced by any but themſelves. Mr Whalley was likewiſe taught in good meaſure to underſtand the Engliſh language, and to expreſs his mind in writing. He had alſo in that time read over to the Doctor very diſtinctly the whole or greateſt part of the Engliſh Bible, and did pretty well underſtand it, at leaſt the hiſtorical part. He had even attained ſo much ſkill, as to expreſs himſelf intelligibly in ordinary affairs, to underſtand letters written to him, and to write anſwers to them, tho' not elegantly, yet ſo as to be underſtood (54).

[*BB*] *He had a diſpute with Dr Holder.*] Mr Popham's mother, it ſeems, when ſhe was big with him, received a ſudden fright, by occaſion whereof his head and face were a little diſtorted, the whole right ſide being ſomewhat elevated, and the left depreſſed, ſo that the paſſage of his left ear was quite ſhut up, and that of the right ear proportionably diſtended, and too open. However, we are told (55), that he was not ſo deaf, but that he could hear the ſound of a lute ſtring, holding one end thereof in his teeth; and when a drum was beat faſt and loud by him, he could hear thoſe who ſtood behind him, calling him gently by his name. At the age of ten or eleven years he was recommended to the care of Dr William Holder, then Rector of Blechingdon in Oxfordſhire, and taken by him into his houſe in 1659, where he learned to ſpeak and pronounce his name and ſome other words: but being called home by his friends, he loſt what he had been taught by Dr Holder, and was ſent three years afterwards, *viz.* in 1662, to Dr Wallis, who had the like ſucceſs with him, as he had with Mr Whalley. In 1669 Dr Holder publiſhed a piece, intituled *The Elements of Speech: an eſſay of inquiry into the natural production of letters, with an Appendix concerning perſons that are deaf and dumb:* wherein he relates the caſe of Mr Popham, whom he had taught to ſpeak, ſhewing how ſoon, and by what method he did it. Hereupon a letter ſent by Dr Wallis to the Royal Society, concerning Mr Popham's caſe, was inſerted in their Tranſactions of July 1670, wherein no notice being taken of what had been done by Dr Holder, he in anſwer thereto publiſhed in 1678, in 4to, a piece, intituled *A Supplement to the Philoſophical Tranſactions of July* 1670, *with ſome reflections on Dr Wallis's Letter there inſerted*; in which he charges the Doctor home with vanity, in aſſuming to himſelf the whole glory of teaching this young gentleman. To this Dr Wallis replied the ſame year, intituling his papers, which were addreſſed to the Lord Viſcount Brouncker, Preſident of the Royal Society, *A Defence of the Royal Society, and the Philoſophical Tranſactions, particularly thoſe of July* 1670, *in anſwer to the cavils of Dr William Holder*, 1678. *4to.* with which, Dr Holder making no rejoinder, this diſpute ended between the two principals. But Mr Wood, in his Faſti Oxon. vol. II. printed in 1697, engaged as a ſecond to Dr Holder; and taking up his cauſe, gave the following account of the matter. 'He [Dr Holder] has obtained,' ſays our antiquary, 'a great name, for his wonderful art 'in making a young gentleman, Alex. Popham, who 'was born deaf and dumb, to ſpeak. This great cure 'was performed by him (whereby he is the firſt that 'is remembered ever to have ſucceeded therein in 'England, or perhaps in the world) in his houſe at 'Blechingdon *ann.* 1659. And becauſe it was a won'derful matter, many curious perſons came to ſee and 'hear the perſon ſpeak; but he being afterwards called 'home by his friends, began to loſe what he had been 'taught by Dr Holder. Afterwards a great noiſe be'ing made, that Dr John Wallis had by his art made 'another young gentleman, named Mr Whalley, who 'had loſt his ſpeech from five years of age, to ſpeak, 'the ſaid Mr Popham was by his relations ſent to the 'ſaid Dr Wallis; which he effecting, he afterwards 'very vainly aſſumed the glory of it to himſelf, with'out taking notice of what had been before done to 'him.' Mr Wood afterwards mentions, according to the plan of his work, Dr Holder's *Elements of Speech*, &c. and his Supplement to the Philoſophical Tranſactions, and then ſubjoins theſe remarkable words. *This laſt was written by him to vindicate himſelf, that he had taught Mr Popham to ſpeak, which Dr Wallis did claim to himſelf; whereupon, ſoon after, Dr Wallis, who at any time can make white black, and black white, and hath a ready knack of ſophiſtical evaſion, as the writer of this matter doth know full well, did ſoon after publiſh an anſwer*, &c. (56). Upon this, our author giving an account of ſome paſſages of his life to Dr Smith in 1696-7, ſays, that Dr Holder had indeed attempted to teach Mr Popham to ſpeak, but had given it over; which ſeems not unlikely, ſince his friends did not ſend him again to Dr Holder, but deſired Dr Wallis to teach him. However, Dr Wallis confirms the probability of Mr Wood's ſuggeſtion, that Mr Popham in three years time, for want of an inſtructor, had loſt what Dr Holder had taught him. For he obſerves, that 'both Mr Whalley and Mr 'Popham, notwithſtanding the proficiency they had 'made under him in learning to ſpeak, were apt to 'forget

(53) Hearne's Appendix, No. xi. in his preface to Langtoft's chronicle, vol. I.

(54) Letter to Dr Smith, ubi ſupra.

(55) By Dr Holder in his Elements of ſpeech, mentioned below.

(56) Wood's Faſti Oxon. vol. II. col. 139.

members of it; and Mr Whalley's cure making a great noiſe, he was brought to one of their firſt meetings, and did there, to their great ſatisfaction, pronounce diſtinctly enough ſuch words as were propoſed to him by the company; and though not altogether with *the uſual tone or accent, yet ſo as eaſily to be underſtood (ii).* The ſame year, at the *requeſt of Sir Robert Moray, our Author wrote his Cono-cunæus* [CC], or *Shipwright's circular Wedge (kk). And was very ſerviceable in eſtabliſhing the reputation of the Royal Society, not only by frequently communicating curious papers of his own writing, but alſo by giving, at their requeſt, an account of ſuch as were ſent by others upon mathe*matical ſubjects. For executing the laſt mentioned part of their deſign, eſpecially in ſome controverted points, he had ſome qualifications rarely to be met with in another [DD].

In

(ii) He did the like ſeveral times at Whitehall in the preſence of his Majeſty, Prince Rupert, and divers others of the nobility.

(kk) It was re-printed in the 2d volume of his mathematical works in 1696.

'forget after their departing from him, much of that nicety which they had before in the diſtinct pronouncing of ſome letters, which they would recover, when he had been occaſionally with them to ſet them right; they wanting the help of an ear to direct their ſpeaking, as that of the eye directs the hand in writing. For which reaſon,' continues he, 'a man that writes a good hand, would ſoon forget ſo to do, if grown blind. And therefore one who thus learns to ſpeak, will, for the continuance and improvement of it, need ſomebody continually with him, who may prompt him, when he miſtakes.' In 1698 the Doctor gave a particular account of his method of teaching, wherein he takes notice, 'That he had then taught thirty four or thirty five perſons to ſpeak plainly and diſtinctly, who did before heſitate and ſtutter very much, and others to pronounce ſuch words or letters as before they thought impoſſible for them to do, by teaching them how to rectify ſuch miſtakes in the formation, as by ſome impediments or acquired cuſtoms they had been ſubject to.' Upon the whole, it is certain, that Dr Wallis in his treatiſe *De loquela* firſt diſcovered the true theory of this art; that this tract was printed at leaſt ſix years before Dr Holder undertook to teach Mr Popham, ſo that it can hardly be ſuppoſed but that Dr Holder had ſeen it and improved by it; whereas it does not appear that Dr Wallis could have the leaſt hint from him, when he firſt taught Mr Whalley.

For the ſatisfaction of ſuch as are curious in theſe matters, it will not be amiſs to give an account of the origin of this art of reſtoring ſpeech to the dumb, lately publiſhed *. This rare ſecret, ſays my author, ſeems to have been firſt diſcovered by Peter de Ceſtro, Phyſician to the Duke of Mantua; at leaſt, it has been found among his MSS. as follows. The dumb perſon muſt be firſt purged according to his conſtitution, and afterwards in a particular manner with black hellebore, or its extract, in the form of pills, or a decoction is made of a drachm of the root of that plant, of which the author of the remedy took three ounces, wherein were infuſed during a night two drachms of agaric, adding to what was ſtrained off two ounces of ſyrup of cuſcute. The brain of the dumb perſon being ſufficiently purged by this remedy, which is to be repeated as occaſion may require, his head is ſhaved a hand's breadth on the coronal ſuture, and on that part anointed with the following liniment. ℞ Brandy three ounces; ſaltpetre, or nitre purified, two drachms; oil of bitter almonds an ounce. Boil the whole till the brandy is evaporated; then add of the water of nenuphar an ounce; and by ſtirring the mixture with a ſlice it is reduced to a liniment, with which the ſhaved part of the head muſt be rubbed, particularly at night when the patient is going to bed, and in the morning; after he has thoroughly waſhed his ears, noſtrils, and palate, has chew'd a ſmall grain of maſtic, or a bit of liquorice, or rather a paſte made of the juice of liquorice, maſtic, amber, and muſk, has combed the hind part of his head with an ivory comb, and has waſhed his face. In ſpeaking to him over the coronal ſuture, one will be greatly ſurprized to find, that tho' born deaf and dumb, he will diſtinctly hear the voice of the perſon ſpeaking to him, which he never would have done by the ears †. His tutor may then begin teaching him the letters of the alphabet, repeating often each letter till he can himſelf form the ſounds of them and pronounce them properly, which muſt be continued ſeveral days, paſſing from letters to words. He muſt alſo be ſhewn different things in common uſe, to help him to learn their names. Afterwards he may be ſpoken to in ſentences, which muſt be often repeated to him, that he may learn the manner of digeſting in order the parts of a continued diſcourſe. During the firſt fortnight he will learn ſurprizingly the denominations of abundance of things; and if he has in the beginning ſome difficulty in retaining them, he will ſoon get over it by his conſtant application to acquire a facility of ſpeaking.

* In the Univerſal Magazine for January 1762. p. 15. & ſeqq.

† As there is a free paſſage thro' a duct which runs between the ears and the mouth, it is eaſy to conceive how deaf perſons may hear ſometimes by the mouth, tho' they cannot by the ears. Dr Buſbequius gives an account of a deaf woman he was acquainted with, who putting a horn into her mouth, and making thoſe, who wanted to communicate any thing, to ſpeak thro' its broad orifice, heard diſtinctly all that was ſaid to her.

Helmont's method was this; he firſt taught the deaf the meaning of words by ſhewing them different objects, which he ordered to be brought to him, and which he called for before them with a loud voice, that they might the more eaſily obſerve the different motions of his mouth, tongue, lips, chin, and throat, which were to them as the characters and figures of letters are to thoſe who are taught to know them. He afterwards found no difficulty in teaching them to read, by placing before their eyes the ſame letters they had ſeen in ſome meaſure formed by the motion of the tongue, &c. And he pretends, that one might the ſame way with equal facility teach them to ſpeak by placing them before a looking-glaſs, to ſee and imitate themſelves thoſe different motions of the mouth, and by animating them as much as poſſible by the voice in pronouncing them. By this method, Helmont aſſures us, he had in three weeks time brought a perſon born deaf to anſwer any queſtions that could be put to him ‡. Upon the whole, the intelligent reader will be convinced, that all theſe methods ſerve only as ſo many foils to the much more compleat one of Dr Wallis.

‡ Helmont's alphabet natural colloq. where he obſerves, that the orientals would ſucceed better than the Europeans in this art, becauſe having occaſion to breathe a great quantity of air, on account of the heat of their climate, and keeping always the mouth much open, they ſpeak chiefly from their throat, ſo that it is eaſy to take notice in them of all the different motions of the tongue; whereas the inhabitants of the North open the mouth but very little in ſpeaking.

[CC] *Cono-cuneus*, &c.] This problem was propoſed at Sir Rob. Moray's houſe by Mr Pet, of his Majeſty's navy, who produced on a plain baſe which was the quadrant of a circle like that of a quadrantal cone or cylinder, an erect ſolid which was double of the radius of that quadrant, and from every point of its perimeter ſtreight lines drawn to the vertex meet there, not in a point, as in the *apex* of a cone, nor in a parallel quadrant, as in a quadrantal cylinder, but in a ſtreight line or ſharp edge like that of a wedge or *cuneus*, which was therefore called by our author *cono-cuneus*. By the various ſections of this ſolid in ſeveral poſitions, Mr Pet rightly conceived, that diverſe new lines muſt ariſe in great variety different from thoſe ariſing from the ſection of a cone, ſome of which he ſuppoſed might be of good uſe in building ſhips; in order to which it was propoſed to conſider of it. Accordingly Dr Wallis being in company, ſet about it preſently after, which produced this treatiſe, wherein he has repreſented the true nature of all ſuch lines, and ſhewn how to draw them; but which of them was moſt, or whether any was, for the purpoſe intended, he was not able to tell (57).

(57) Introduction to the cono-cuneus.

[DD] *Qualifications rarely to be met with in another.*] Beſides his acknowledged ſkill, and wide ſpread fame, ſufficient to procure a general good reception to any productions of his pen on thoſe ſubjects, he had not only impartiality and candor, qualities which are indiſpenſibly neceſſary to beget an unforced ſubmiſſion to his judgment, but he was likewiſe endued with (what is rarely found in ſuch ſuperior talents) a comprehenſive latitude of temper, which gave each party in any controverſy room enough to be eaſy in his deciſions. This moderation was extremely uſeful to the ſociety in many caſes: and that learned body never gave a clearer atteſtation to their ſenſe of it, than in remitting the account of Mr Hevelius's *Annus Climactericus* to the Doctor (58). That celebrated aſtronomer had put the iſſue of the diſpute concerning the advantage of his plain ſights in cœleſtial obſervations upon this book, which he had openly declared in the title of *Annus Climactericus*, intimating that if they ſurvived that critical year, their accuracy would be eſtabliſhed. The Doctor was well known to Mr Hevelius, and in 1673 had ſent him a method of dividing the arc in the limb of a quadrant by concentric circles

and

(58) It is inſerted in Philoſoph. Tranſ. No. 175.

In 1663, he publiſhed a treatiſe *De Proportionibus*, which he dedicated to Lord Brouncker [*EE*], with whom he lived in the moſt friendly communication of ſtudies till his Lordſhip's death. The ſame year 1663, he gave the firſt demonſtration of that moſt important and uſeful problem, concerning *the laws of motion in the colliſion of bodies* [*FF*] (*ll*). In 1666, he framed a new hypotheſis to ſolve the phænomena of the tide, of which no tolerable account had then appeared: He proſecuted the ſame ſubject the following year; and publiſhed it in 1668, under the title *De Æſtu maris hypotheſis nova* (*mm*); and the next year he produced the firſt part of his celebrated treatiſe *De motu* [*GG*]. The other two parts came out in the two ſucceeding years; and the whole was compleated in 1671, under the title of *Mechanica, ſive de motu tractatus geometricus.* In 1673, he publiſhed, in Latin, *Horoccii Opera poſthuma*, to which he ſubjoined Mr Flamſtead's *Diſcourſe of the equation of time* *. In the mean while, he employed ſome of his leiſure hours in correcting, for his own private uſe, and ſupplying the defects found in the manuſcript copies of *Archimedes's Arenarius & Dimenſio Circuli*; and the deſign of printing a collection of all the ancient mathematicians miſcarrying a few years after for want of encouragement, he readily complied with Dean Fell's propoſal to put this piece to the preſs, in order to convince the public in ſome meaſure, by this ſpecimen, of the true merit of that deſign [*HH*]. Our Author added the commentary of *Eutocius* upon the

(*ll*) See the Phil. Tranſ.

(*mm*) He accounted for this phænomenon from the continual change in the center of gravity of the earth and moon, and his calculations are very ingenious and exact; but for want of conſidering the action of the ſun in producing this effect, his hypotheſis was superſeded by that of Sir Iſaac Newton.

* See Horrox's article in the Supplement.

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and right lined diagonals (59). What deciſion he gave in this vexatious affair is ſeen in a letter to Mr Flamſtead; and tho' the reſtleſs ſpirit of Mr Hooke was not to be ſatisfied with any deciſion that croſſed his own froward ambition, yet even he choſe in his defence afterwards to point directly to what had been urged in his disfavour by another perſon, *viz.* Mr William Molyneaux (60). The Doctor's letter to Mr Flamſtead is dated Oxford, Febr. 12. 1685-6, and begins thus.

'Sir,

'Mr Caſwel hath done me the favour, by your direction, to ſhew me your letter to him of February 4th. I ſaid ſo little in the account I gave of Hevelius's book of what had paſſed between you and him, becauſe I would not have any difference remain between you, as I hope there does not. And beſides printing what letters had before paſſed to ſet forth matter of fact, I don't ſee that he does anew ſay any thing ſevere of you in his preſent narrative, but ſeems as to you to be ſatisfied: only as you think well of your way ſo doth he continue to do of his; and you muſt allow each other to follow the way he thinks beſt. But I could not do ſo as to Mr Hooke; becauſe it is the main deſign of his book, and ſo declared to be, to vindicate himſelf as to what Mr Hooke had written againſt him and made public, and to juſtify the credit of his inſtruments and obſervations againſt his exceptions, which unconcerned ſpectators think he had juſt reaſon to do. And therefore when deſired by the ſociety to give them an account of the contents of that book, I could not avoid the taking notice of what was ſaid againſt him. But I was ſo tender therein, that I am very ſure there is not one hard clauſe, ſentence, or expreſſion, for which I cannot ſhew the page and line where in the book it is to be found, and moſt of them more than once, and which, to ſatisfy any who ſhall doubt of it, I have cited in the margin of my own book (61).'

[*EE*] *Dedicated to Lord Brouncker.*] This treatiſe was written in vindication of Euclid's definition in the 5th book of his Elements. In the dedication he mentions that Lord's invention of the quadrature of the hyperbole, as a thing that he had then done; which was a year before it was publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions. But more than this, the Doctor, in the ſcholium to his 91ſt propoſition, acquaints the world, that my Lord had then ſhew'd him two methods of performing that quadrature; and, in the ſecond edition of that book, the Doctor ſays, he liked that better, which was not publiſhed by his Lordſhip.

[*FF*] *The laws of motion in the colliſion of bodies.*] The Royal Society being ſenſible of the many errors which Des Cartes had run into for want of a more accurate determination, drew up the ſtate of the problems, and ordered their Secretary Mr Oldenburg to publiſh it in the Tranſactions. This had been done in the latter end of the foregoing year; and they received three ſolutions this year, at no great diſtance of time from one another. The firſt that came was that of Dr Wallis; next, Sir Chriſtopher Wren's; and the third was by Mr Hooke. Sir Iſaac Newton found theſe laws of ſo much ſervice in writing his *Principia*, that in a ſcholium to Cor. VI. ſubjoined to Axiomata or Leges Motus of that work, he mentioned all the three; by which means their fame ſeems to be ſecured to the lateſt poſterity.

[*GG*] *His celebrated treatiſe* De motu.] This is generally eſteemed the Doctor's maſter-piece. The dignity of the mechanic philoſophy was particularly raiſed by it. It is very comprehenſive, highly laboured, and executed in ſome very intricate inſtances with the exacteſt accuracy. The Oxford editor of the *Opuſcula Mathematica* of Mr Oughtred in 1677, ſpeaking of thoſe pieces of that author upon this ſubject, concludes his remarks in this elegant Latin eulogium. *In inſtitutionibus mechanicis ſi quid deſideretur abunde ſuppleri poteſt ex accuratiſſima tractatu Cl. Walliſii; qui ſolus pro dignitate hanc partem Matheſeos tractavit, & de quo ſi cui poſteà ſcribere libuerit, ab illo mutuetur, neceſſe eſt.*

[*HH*] *To convince the world of the benefit of that deſign.*] An account of it was drawn up in Latin, and prefixed to this work, by Dean Fell, Curator of the Oxford preſs, who writes thus. *Ante tres annos jam publice teſtatum fuit, & nobis in animo fuiſſe veterum omnium mathematicorum opera hic loci adornare & typis noſtris excudere. In eam porro rem ſcriptores pro ſeculorum in quibus vixerunt & argumentorum quæ tractarunt ratione in claſſes atque ordines diſtinximus; adnotatis ſubinde Neotericorum inventis quæ aut artem promoverunt aut laboris compendium fecerunt. Quinimo Bodleianæ aliorumque noſtratium bibliothecis, quæ MSS. codicibus abundant, ſcrinia excuſſimus, cujuſque ineditorum exemplaria ibidem deſiderarentur viris idoneis in exteras partes tranſmiſſis de iiſdem procurandis ſategimus: nominatim Apolionii Pergæi tres libros poſteriores Arabice, Serenum de Sectione Cylindri Græce Lugduni & Pariſiis tranſcribendis curavimus. Inſuper conſultiſſimum videtur, ut Euclides agmen duceret.* He then gives an account what had been done by Dr Bernard (62), and concludes thus. *Sed poſt hæc omnia cum conatus noſtri tantum aberant ut Macænatem ſortirentur, ut vix laudatorem unum & alterum invenerint, conſilium hoc ceu prorſus deſperatum ultro depoſuimus. Nihilominus ut cognoſcerent ſtudioſi, quam minime ſupervacua futura eſſet illa opera quæ in veterum ſcriptis collocatur, placuit nunc temporis breves hoſce Archimedis tractatus una cum Eutocii in eorum alterum ſcholiis ex recenſione Walliſii in lucem emittere, quibus tot mendæ olim irrepſerant quot fuerunt voces; quarum pleræque non tam criticum aut grammaticum videbantur deſiderare quam Vatem aut Hariolum.* To this preface is ſubjoined the following epigram by Dr Bernard.

In Arenarium Archimedis.

Conflatum ex micis Epicurus credidit orbem
Maximaque in rebus polline creta levi
Verum atomos quot terra capit, quot Inania cœli
Dicere, ut ex numero granula nulla cadat;
Hoc opus, hec compti ſuperat Doctoris acumen,
Parque Syracuſio calculus ingenio eſt.

The account mentioned by Dean Fell of the defects in the MSS. is confirmed by Dr Wallis, whoſe judgment in ſupplying them has never I believe been called in queſtion. The great curioſity of theſe pieces induced the Doctor to publiſh them, ſince in them we ſee the ancient arithmetic, by which the great advantage of the modern invention of the Arabic numbers

is

(59) Inſerted in his Algebra, ch. vi.

(60) See Mr Hooke's article, as alſo thoſe of Mr Molyneaux and Dr Halley.

(61) The reſt of this letter may be ſeen in Dr Halley's article, Rem. [*K*].

(62) See his article.

the former of theſe tracts; and the whole came out in 1676. In the interim, the juſt mentioned diſappointment putting the Univerſity upon the deſign of publiſhing what is now called the *Oxford Almanack*, their privilege was controverted by the company of Stationers at London. Upon which occaſion, the conducting of that ſuit fell to the ſhare of Dr Wallis, then *Cuſtos Archivorum*, who managed it with extraordinary diligence as well as prudence; whereby the right of the Univerſity was confirmed. In 1680, he publiſhed from the MSS. *Claudii Ptolemæi opus harmonicum* [*II*], in Greek, with a Latin verſion, and notes; to which he afterwards added an Appendix, *de Veterum harmonica ad hodiernam comparata*; as alſo *Porphyrii in harmonica Ptolemæi Commentarius ex codd MSS. Græce & Latine editus, & Manuelis Bryennii harmonica ex codd. MSS*: In 1684, he publiſhed his *Algebra* (*nn*), in Engliſh, containing the hiſtory of that art, and the ſucceſſive improvements, from its firſt appearance in Europe to his own invention of the *Arithmetic of Infinites*; to which he afterwards added the infiniteſimal method of Mr Leibnitz, and that of Fluxions by Sir Iſaac Newton [*LL*]. A rumour, about this time, being ſpread about, and generally believed, that he had decyphered King Charles the Firſt's letters, taken by the rebels at the battle of Naſeby, he wrote a letter, in April 1685, to Biſhop Fell, in vindication of himſelf from that charge [*MM*]. The ſame year,

is made illuſtriouſly conſpicuous. For inſtance, the numbers here in line 398, ſaid by Archimedes to proceed in a decuple proportion from unity, and are written thus, α, β, γ, δ, ε, &c. are the very ſame which we now write, 1, 10, 100, 1000, &c. and thus our 1675 (the year when the doctor made this remark) was in their writing 1δ, 6γ, 7β, 5α, or rather (ſince they had not the marks 1, 2, 3, &c.) thus, $\alpha\,\Delta\ \overline{{}^{,}\varsigma\,\Gamma}\ \overline{\xi\,B}\ \overline{\varepsilon\,A}$ or in ſome ſuch way. It is further remarkable, that the numbers αβγδε are not only accommodated to a progreſſion in a decuple proportion, but to any other ſeries of continual proportionals in any ratio whatſoever. To wit, if α be put for 1, then any number whatever being put for β, the operation equally ſucceeds, and they are the ſame as what we now call unity, ſquare, cube, biquadrate, &c. whatever be the value of the root α. For altho' the names, *coſſic numbers*, *denominators*, and *algebra*, are ſuppoſed to be introduced either by the Arabs or the modern Greeks ſince the time of Euclid and Archimedes, yet the thing in effect obtained among them, as is conſpicuous from theſe numbers of Archimedes αβγδε: Nor is it any thing elſe than this which Euclid means in his definition X. lib. 5. in which he comprehends all magnitudes or quantities, as well as numbers, where he defines the duplicate, triplicate, and quadruplicate, proportion, viz. in any number of continual proportionals from unity, as αβγδε, &c. or 1, *a*, *aa*, *a*3, *a*4, &c. the duplicate of any proportion whatever expounded by 1 to a, is as a^2 to 1, the triplicate as a^3 to 1, &c. that is, let the denominator of any ratio (by Euclid called ϖηλικοτητα) be expreſſed by α, which you may call the root, then the duplicate (called by Enclid διπλαſιον) is that which is denominated by a^2 the ſquare of that root, &c. Wherefore this is not a new doctrine by the coſſic numbers (though new in name and notation) but was long ago taught by Euclid, and applied by Archimedes to theſe things. *Quæ monere* (ſays the doctor) *viſum eſt, ut doctrinæ veterum recentiorum doctrinæ, utut notatione & loquendi formulis diverſa, concordiam, quam non omnes forte pariter animadvertunt, obiter inſinuarem.*

[*II*] *Ptolemæi Harmonica*, &c.] Theſe pieces of ancient harmonics, with thoſe before publiſhed by Mydorgius, completed the whole of what they have left upon that ſubject. Reducing the ancient to the modern muſic was a very curious and uſeful performance, and made thereby what had been before hardly at all intelligible in the various modes of the ancient muſic, eaſily underſtood, ſince they are all here reduced to the reſpective notes of Guido's ſcale, with its cliffs and keys. The doctor has a diſcourſe relative to this ſubject, concerning the imperfection of organs, and the remedy applied to it. The imperfection he obſerves is this, that from every note you cannot find any interval in its juſt proportion (by intervals he means thoſe in the ſcale of ſemitones) 'and therefore,' ſays he, 'inſtead of theſe proportions, it is ſo ordered, if I miſtake not the practice, that the thirteen pipes within an octave as to their ſounds with reſpect to acute and grave ſhall be in continual proportion; whereby it comes to paſs, that each pipe does not expreſs its proper ſound, but ſomething varying from it, which is called bearing, and this is an imperfection in that noble inſtrument.' He obſerves likewiſe, that the ſemitones being all made equal, they do indifferently anſwer all poſitions of mi, i. e. of the two natural (as they were then called) ſemitones in an octave, and though not exactly to any, yet nearer to ſome than to others, whence it is that the ſame ſong ſtands better in one key than another. He likewiſe ſhews that a ſcale of degrees accurately equal, which will coincide with the terms of the natural ſcale is not poſſible. However, this was generally thought to be performed afterwards by Mr Huygens, and both Dr Pepuſch and Mr Abraham de Moivre falling into the ſame opinion, did attempt to demonſtrate the truth of it. But ſince that the defects of Mr Huygens' was firſt diſcovered by Mr Harriſon (63), and has been lately further explained by Dr Robert Smith, maſter of Trinity College in Cambridge, who has given a new ſcale ſo contrived, as to be capable of having all theſe degrees as near as poſſible in an equal diviſion *.

[*KK*] *His Algebra.*] It was put to preſs at London in 1676, and one ſheet then printed by way of ſpecimen. In this work, which he reprinted with large additions in the ſecond volume of his works in folio, he inſerted the greateſt part of thoſe papers of his, which had been at any time publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, as well as other curious things. Among the reſt, we have here an extraordinary inſtance of the ſtrength of his memory (64) in extracting the ſquare root of the following number, conſiſting of no leſs than fifty three places, 24681 3579 1012 1411 1315 16182017 1921 42242628 30232527 2931 of which he found the ſquare root to be 157103016 87148280181 7152171 fere. What increaſes the wonder is, that he performed this operation as he lay abed in ſome ſleepleſs nights, occaſioned by a quartan ague, which had held him for a twelvemonth paſt.

[*LL*] *A letter to Biſhop Fell.*] We have already given the latter part of this letter, in purſuance to our deſign of obſerving a juſt order of time. It is dated April 8, 1685, and begins thus:

'My Lord,

'I underſtand there have of late complaints been made of me, that I decyphered the late King's letters, meaning thoſe taken in the late King's cabinet at Naſeby fight, and after printed. As to this, without ſaying any thing whether it be now proper to repeat what was done above 40 years ago, the thing is quite otherwiſe. Of thoſe letters and papers, whatever they were, I never ſaw any one of them, but in print, nor did thoſe papers, as I have been told, need any decyphering at all, either by me or any body elſe, being taken in words at length, juſt as they were printed; ſave that ſome of them were, I know not by whom, tranſlated out of French into Engliſh.'——

Though the doctor's veracity in denying that he decyphered any of theſe letters ought not to be called in queſtion without very good proof, yet in regard to impartiality we muſt not omit to obſerve, that he ſeems to have been miſinformed as to the fact, that none of them were wrote in cypher, as appears from a letter of Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, where he writes thus: *Nor did I ever hear, that more of the King's letters that were found at Naſeby than thoſe they found decyphered, or found the cyphers in which they were written, were decyphered. And I very well remember,*

(*nn*) In the title page it is dated 1685, according to the practice of the bookſellers, of beginning the year at Michaelmas preceding the common æra.

(63) The inventor of the clock for finding the longitude at ſea.

* In a piece intituled, Harmonies, or the doctrine of muſical ſounds. 2d Edit. 1759.

(64) In chap. CIII.

year, he publiſhed three diſſertations, a piece upon Melchiſedeck, Job, and the titles of the Pſalms. In 1687, he publiſhed his *Inſtitutio Logica.* In 1682, he publiſhed *Ariſtarchus Samius de magnitudine Solis & Lunæ*; to which he ſubjoined *Pappi Alexandrini, Libri ſecundi, Collectionum Mathematicarum hactenus deſiderati fragmentum* [NN]; and, the ſame

member, that in the volume they publiſhed, there was much left in cypher, which could not be underſtood, and which I believe they would have explained, if it had been in their power (65).' This fact had been charged upon the doctor ſoon after his depoſiting in the Bodleian Library, in 1653, ſome letters he had then decyphered. Mr Henry Stubbe, in a piece publiſhed in 1657, tells us (66), *that the doctor decyphered (beſides others, to the ruin of many loyal perſons) the King's cabinet taken at Naſeby, and as a monument of his noble performance, depoſited the original with the decyphering in the public library at Oxford.* The ſame charge is repeated in Dr Berwick's life, the writer of which having obſerved, that our mathematician had ſurpriſingly decyphered other letters, proceeds to declare, that the ſame artiſt, too officious to gratify the rebels, decyphered his Majeſty's papers, written alſo in characters, and taken at Naſeby fight (67). And in the Oxford Catalogue of MSS. *in Hyperoo Bodleiano* (68), it is ſaid, That Doctor Wallis decyphered ſeveral of King Charles the Iſt's letters, and that they are in the book of cyphers which he gave to the univerſity-library in the year 1653. But this being declared by Dr Thomas Smith to be a great and ſcandalous ſlander, no ſuch letters being found after the Reſtauration in this collection among thoſe ſo depoſited by the doctor (69), Mr Antony Wood gave the following account of that matter, March 1660. *The latter end of this month Dr Wallis got by flattering, good words, &c. his book of decyphering the King's letters, &c. from the public librarian Dr Barlow, when he altered what he pleaſed* (70). The whole weight of the proof therefore reſts upon Mr Wood's evidence, which, from what has been already obſerved, is far from being unexceptionable in this point. The time indeed is well laid, the long parliament having diſſolved itſelf in the middle of March; ſo that a leſs ſagacious perſon than the doctor might eaſily conclude what would turn up next. But if upon that view he ſet himſelf to alter the manuſcript, how came he to let this paſſage remain, *I know that leſs ſervices than theſe are, have been often rewarded with greater recompences than I look for* (71)? He thought he had done the powers in being conſiderable ſervices by decyphering letters: if ſo, he had thereby done the royal cauſe proportionable diſſervices: and if leſs ſervices had been often rewarded with greater recompences than he looked for, leſs diſſervices might be thought to deſerve greater puniſhment than he cared for. But he ſeems to have at that time a better game to play than what Antony Wood ſpeaks of, which he accordingly purſued, as has been ſhewn already, where we ſee him not only in the character of an eminent decypherer, but of a ſubject who was diſpoſed to make ſome atonement for his former tranſgreſſion. Beſides, if he did get the book of decyphering from the public librarian, it is not likely he ſhould make uſe of any flattering words, to wheedle him into a compliance with ſuch a requeſt, ſince when he gave the book to the univerſity, he reſerved to himſelf the power of making what alterations in it, and when he pleaſed: *Reſervata ſibi in poſterum poteſtate addendi vel emendandi* are the very words in the beginning, and are not denied to be there from the beginning. Add to this, that the MS. has been carefully examined more than once with this view, from one end to the other, and no marks could be found of its being tampered with in the manner Mr Wood ſuggeſts. However Mr Thomas Hearne, in his preface to Peter Langtoft's Chronicle, having the doctor's *memorandum* above-mentioned prefixed to this collection of papers decyphered by him, tells us, that 'he rather 'takes notice of that memorandum, becauſe the be'ing acquainted with the liberty that Dr Wallis re'ſerved to himſelf, may be of ſervice to ſuch as are 'concerned to defend, as well the title of his book in 'the printed catalogue as what hath been ſaid of his 'MS. by Henry Stubbe, as abovementioned; as alſo 'by Mr Wood in the genuine edition of his Athenæ 'Oxon. who, ſays he, looked upon this buſineſs of de'cyphering as a baſe act (72). And it may be ſup'poſed, that the learned Dr Smith would have ſpared 'his note on the occaſion, had he been either aware 'of the aforeſaid memorandum, or given any credit 'to what Anthony à Wood had ſaid, of the doctor's 'being able at any time to make black white, and 'white black for his own ends; and of his having a 'ready knack of ſophiſtical evaſion, a character 'which Anthony afterwards inlarged (73), notwith'ſtanding it does not appear in the late ſpurious edi'tion of his Athen. Oxon. in which he is made to 'have written things tranſacted after his death. On 'the other hand, Dr Wallis hath been often heard to 'ſay of Mr Wood, that *he was a ſad man.*'— Thus it was thought proper to lay before the reader all the reaſoning on each ſide, tho' ſomewhat of the longeſt, upon a diſpute, in the iſſue of which Dr Wallis's reputation is ſo nearly concerned. Therefore we ſhall cloſe the whole with the determination of Mr Davys, an author eminently ſkilled in this art of decyphering, who firſt publiſhed a diſcourſe of the doctor upon the ſubject, and who, after having ſifted this matter throughly to the bottom, and having obſerved, that not one of the letters taken at Naſeby appeared in the MS. collection in the Bodleian library, gives his opinion with great candor and impartiality, in theſe words: 'Had 'the doctor decyphered thoſe letters, I know not 'whether he would have ſcrupled to inſert ſome one 'or more of them among the reſt; but I believe that 'he decyphered none of them.' He then refers to the opinion and remark of Lord Clarendon above-mentioned; 'and indeed,' continues Mr Davys, 'the thing 'ſeems to ſpeak itſelf. For if the cabinet were taken, '(as it is agreed on all hands that it was) how could 'the key of the cyphers eſcape? Where can we ima'gine the king to have lodged them, but in his ca'binet, together with the letters which were written 'by them? So that after all the clamour that has 'been raiſed, and all the credit it has obtained, it is 'moſt probable, that Dr Wallis had no hand in de'cyphering the King's cabinet taken at Naſeby. For 'the reſt, as I don't undertake to acquit this very 'great man of having done conſiderable diſſervice to 'the royal cauſe, ſo I gladly embrace the preſent op'portunity of making the beſt apology for him that 'his cauſe will bear. I obſerve then, that a little be'fore the reſtoration we meet with him again appear'ing not only under the character of an eminent de'cypherer, but of a ſubject who was diſpoſed to make 'ſome atonement for his former tranſgreſſion (74).' For proof of this he cites the paſſage from Dr Berwick's life, which has been already produced.

[NN] *Ariſtarchus Samius & Pappi fragmentum.*] The firſt of theſe the doctor ſeems to have been led to publiſh by having done the ſame for *Archimedes's Arenaria,* who quotes Ariſtarchus Samius, and takes the magnitude of the earth and its orb from him. I ſay, the earth's orbit, for the Pythagorean, *i. e.* the Copernican ſyſtem, was embraced by Ariſtarchus in this tract, which is the moſt ancient we have left where that ſyſtem is taught, and this ſeems to be another recommendation to our author to publiſh it. But the fragment of the ſecond book of Pappus was a ſtill greater curioſity; the whole book, as well as the firſt, having always before been given up for loſt. The fragment is likewiſe, as the doctor obſerves, the more acceptable, as by it we ſee, the ſubject not only of the ſecond, but of the firſt book of that author's collections, was the ancient arithmetic. Whence it is perceived, that we have no great reaſon to regret the loſs of it, ſince *that* is ſo much better taught in the modern Saracen numbers, as is evident both from what we ſee of the tedious way of working the common operations of multiplication, diviſion, and extraction of roots in Eutocius's commentary upon the Arenarius of Archimedes, and is ſtill further abundantly confirmed by this very fragment of the ſecond book of Pappus. The whole doctrine which is taught therein, though with the Latin verſion it fills ſeven pages in folio, amounts to little more than this, That if 30000 and 2000 and 10 and 4 be continually multiplied into each other, the product will be that of the ſignificant figures $3\times2\times1\times4=24$, added to the 8 cyphers, that is 2400000000; the reading of which, according to the way of the ancients, is, twenty-four myriads of myriads, or

(65) Appendix to the life of Dr John Berwick, No. 29.

(66) In a piece intituled, A ſevere Inquiry into the late Oneirocritica, p. 7. Edit. 1657, 4to.

(67) Life of Dr Berwick, p. 251.

(68) Page 170. No. 3524.

(69) Dr Smith's Collectanea, vol. 22. p. 54. cited by T. Hearne, ubi ſupra.

(70) From a memorandum in his own hand-writing in the poſſeſſion of the late Dr Rawlinſon.

(71) See Remark [*P*].

(72) The ſame has been maintained by others, vide a piece intituled, The civil warres of Great Britain and Ireland. Containing an exact hiſtory of their occaſion, originall, progreſs, and happy end. By an impartial pen. London, 1661, folio, p. 7.

(73) In vol. 1. col. 816. of the genuine edition of Wood's Ath. Oxon.

(74) An eſſay on the art of decyphering, as before.

ſame year, he wrote a letter (*oo*) to Sir Samuel Morland at Utrecht, to prove that *Des Cartes* borrowed his pretended improvements in Algebra from our countryman, Mr Harriot [*OO*]. In 1690, came out his piece intituled, *The Doctrine of the ever-bleſſed Trinity explained*; which engaged him in a diſpute with the Unitarians that and the following year; and, in 1692, he had a controverſy with Mr Thomas Bampfield, in defence of the Chriſtian Sabbath [*PP*]. About this time, the Curators of the Univerſity-preſs at Oxford began to collect the mathematical works of the Doctor, and to publiſh them in the Latin tongue. Accordingly, the firſt Volume, in folio, was put to preſs, in 1692; and the ſame year he gave a ſolution of the Florentine problem, ſent to him, as a challenge, from Italy (*pp*). There being a deſign this year on foot for changing the old ſtile of computing the year for the new one, it was thought proper to conſult the Doctor thereupon; accordingly a letter was ſent to him by Biſhop Lloyd for that purpoſe. In

twenty-four double myriads; a myriad containing four places.

The doctor makes another remark, which in juſtice to his honeſt fame muſt not be omitted, viz. that it appears from the concluſion of this fragment, that Apollonius (from whom theſe two books were tranſcribed by Pappus) in the following book proceeded to geometry, but which was analytically treated by him in ſome books, at leaſt of his *Loca*, one of theſe being called Αναλυομενος τοπος, or, *An analytical locus*. This I choſe to mention, that the reader may be able to apprehend the juſtice of a charge lately brought againſt the doctor. He had ſaid in his Algebra (75), that the ancients had an Algebra, or Art of Invention, but this they ſeem very ſtudiouſly to have concealed, contenting themſelves to demonſtrate by apogogical demonſtrations: of which Nunez or Nonius in his Algebra in Spaniſh, fol. 1146. ſpeaks thus: *How well had it been, if thoſe authors who have written in mathematics had delivered to us their inventions in the ſame way, and with the ſame diſcourſe, as they were found out! And not, as Ariſtotle ſays of artificers in mechanics, who ſhew us the engines they have made, but conceal the artifice, to make them the more admired. The method of invention in diverſe acts is very different from that of tradition, wherein they are delivered. Nor are we to think that all thoſe propoſitions in Euclid aud Archimedes were in the ſame way found out as they are now delivered to us.* This has been animadverted on, in the preface to a late treatiſe, as follows: *Nonius quidem excuſandus, quem Pappi Alexandrini collectionum mathematicarum nunquam vidiſſe veriſimile eſt; Nonii enim Algebra Antwerpiæ impreſſa fuit anno* 1567, *Pappi autem collectiones non ante annum* 1588 *edita fuerunt. Walliſius vero* [*& Schootenius* *] *viderant Pappi præfationem ad librum ſeptimum collectionum, in qua prædicti libri Veterum Analyticarum numerantur: Ex quorum argumentis in eadem præfatione plane recenſitis clariſſime liquet tantum abfuiſſe, ut veteres artem analyticam ſupprimerent & abſconderent, ut eam non ſolum multo ſtudio excoluerunt, ſed de ea tot libros conſcribendos promulgaverint. Quos quidem libros geometræ verſabant ſexcentos & plures annos, a tempore ſcilicet Apollonii Pergæi uſque ad Pappum. Adeo igitur abſurda eſt hæc Veterum accuſatio, ut ſoli Recentiorum incuriæ debeatur, & minime vera habenda ſit* (76). Now it is evident, that Dr Wallis was far from denying that theſe books of Apollonius were written in the analytical way, or demonſtrated by a geometrical analyſis, as diſtinct from the ſynthetical method. Nay, the ſuppoſition that theſe loca were made uſe of as elements by the ancients, and referred to, either tacitly or expreſsly, in ſome of their works, is very conſiſtent with what the doctor here ſays, that they concealed their logiſtical method or algebra, by which they were led to their inventions; there being a wide difference between algebra, as an art, in the full extent of the word, and the analytical method of demonſtrating geometrical propoſitions ‡. And it muſt be remembered, that this paſſage of the doctor's Algebra ought to be interpreted by what he ſo often and upon every occaſion aſſerts concerning the way in which he had delivered his inventions in his *Arithmetica Infinitorum*, ſo as not only to ſhew the thing invented, but the very way that he invented it, contrary, as he obſerves, to the general method of the ancients, who choſe (but for what reaſon they have not told us) to deliver their inventions in the ſynthetic method: or, which is the ſame thing, ſtudiouſly concealed their algebra, that is, the particular method that brought them firſt to thoſe concluſions. Neither has Mr Simſon been ſo fortunate as to diſcover that method of theirs, which Dr Wallis here calls their algebra, plainly meaning by that word ſomething of the ſame nature, though in a different way of notation, which he has ſhewn from the Arenarius of Archimedes to be the caſe in reſpect to their arithmetic.

[*OO*] *Carteſius borrowed his improvements in algebra from Harriot.*] In this letter he convicts Des Cartes of this plagiariſm in at leaſt fifty inſtances, and afterwards, when Mr Baillet pretended, that this charge was then given up, the doctor takes him to taſk ſmartly, as may be ſeen in Harriot's article. The account was inſerted by the doctor in his preface to the laſt edition of his Algebra, and for the ſpirit of it, beſides the honour of his country, well deſerves to be peruſed. He takes notice, that he was ſenſible the French were no friends of his, nor indeed had they occaſion to be ſo. This was not the firſt piece of French craft that he had expoſed. He even ſeems to think it inherent in the nature and genius of that nation. That they could not let ſlip any opportunity of exerciſing their talent in it. This will not be thought too much, when we ſee what he ſays upon this ſubject in a letter to Mr John Collins (77), after that gentleman had ſent to Paris an account of the improvements in mathematics made in England, where the doctor writes thus: 'I ſuſpect that of ſuch communications of things unpubliſhed they make but ill uſe beyond ſea, and particularly, that Comier's new method of the two mean proportionals, &c, was borrowed from thoſe papers, where you mention Mr Newton's making uſe of two moveable angles. And no doubt but many particulars therein imparted will ſhortly be printed as French Inventions.'

[*PP*] *He was engaged in a diſpute with the Unitarians and another on the chriſtian Sabbath.*] He had likewiſe ſuch another occaſion of writing his piece *De Pædobaptiſmo*: It was drawn up in anſwer to a letter which he received againſt infant-baptiſm, dated Feb. 29, 169$\frac{5}{6}$. As to that on the Sabbath, Mr Bampfield, a counſellor at law, publiſhed in 1692 a book on the Sabbath, which he thought ſhould rather be obſerved on Saturday than Sunday. In anſwer to this, Dr Wallis publiſhed his *Defence of the Chriſtian Sabbath*, which being preſently ſold off, a ſecond edition was printed the year following. Mr Bampfield wrote a reply, to which the doctor ſoon after made a rejoinder, and no more was heard of the controverſy.

He had preached his firſt ſermon on the Trinity at Oxford ſoon after the Reſtoration, and ſeems to have publiſhed his treatiſe on that ſubject at this time on occaſion of the famous diſpute about Dr Sherlock's book on the Trinity, which began then to be much talked of. We have already obſerved (78), that our author is generally thought in this diſpute, which conſiſts of eight letters, to have expreſſed himſelf ſo, as to give room to ſuſpect he was not exactly orthodox in this point of faith. The ſlip which the doctor made on this occaſion furniſhed great matter of triumph to his antagoniſts the Unitarians. One of the moſt conſiderable of theſe, animadverting upon the creed which had been drawn up by Mr Edwards, and unjuſtly imputed to them, writes thus: 'I have examined ſome of his principal references, and can ſay of them, they are either perverſions or downright falſifications of what the authors referred to did intend. Dr Wallis,' continues he, 'whoſe diſhoneſt quotations out of the Socinians have been detected by every body, is hardly more blameable in that kind, than Mr Edwards; ſaving that the doctor being, as one rightly tells him, ſomewhat more than a Socinian, did but foul his own neſt by forgeries (79).'

(*oo*) It is dated Jan. 8, 1688-9.

(*pp*) It was ſent by one Mr Bridgeman, an Italian merchant at London, to the doctor, who though he ſoon returned a true ſolution of it, yet he proved much miſtaken in the propoſer's view therein.—See Dr David Gregory's article.

(75) In his Algebra, chap. 64. p. 2. Vol. II. Algeb. Operum.

* In opere ſuo de concinnandis demonſtrationibus. Amſtelod. 1661.

(76) Apollonii Pergæi locorum planorum libri reſtituti, a Rob. Simſon, Matheſeos in academia Glaſguenſi profeſſore. Glaſguæ in ædibus academicis excuderunt Rob. & Andr. Foulis, academiæ typographi. 1749.

‡ See Analyſis Geometrica, Introductio, Sect. 1. Quid ſit analyſis, ab Antonio Hugone de Omerique Gadita. 1698. 4to.

(77) In the collection of the late W. Jones, Eſq;

(78) In Dr Sherlock's article.

(79) An account of Mr Firmin's religion, p. 9. annexed to his life, edit. 1698. 8vo.

anſwer to which the Doctor declared his opinion againſt the alteration; alledging, that it would breed great confuſion in the aſtronomical calculations, as well as in the ordinary national tranſactions; that the Gregorian or new ſtile did not exactly agree with the motions of the celeſtial bodies, and conſequently would in proceſs of time ſtand in need itſelf of a correction; and laſtly, that ſuch an adoption of a ſtile which had been made by the Pope, would greatly encourage that party, who would not fail to make uſe of it as an argument that we were coming over to the Church of Rome: and ſuch was our author's reputation, that the deſign was thereupon entirely laid aſide, tho' ſince that carried happily into execution. The two firſt volumes of his works coming out in 1696, ſome paſſages in the former were animadverted on in the *Leipſic Acts*, which occaſioned the doctor to write a defence of himſelf; wherein, againſt Mr Leibnitz, he aſſerted Sir Iſaac Newton's right to the firſt invention of the method of Fluxions *(qq)*. In the third volume of his Works, which came out in 1699, the letters written upon this occaſion, together with many more upon mathematical and other ſubjects, from the year 1671. to that time, were printed, under the title of *Commercium Epiſtolicum* [QQ]; and the collection concludes with a letter *concerning the annual parallax of the earth*, from Mr Flamſtead, whoſe opinion in that point was warmly eſpouſed by our Author [*RR*], who was, it ſeems, but

little

(qq) See the articles of Dr John Keil, and Sir Iſaac Newton.

[QQ] *Upon mathematical and other ſubjects.*] In one of theſe letters Mr Leibnitz, in order to make the moſt of the pretended improvements he had made in mathematics, had branched his *Infiniteſimal method* into a variety of particular ones, each of which he diſtinguiſhed by a peculiar high-ſounding title. In anſwer to this, the doctor ſhews how every one of theſe particulars were contained in his *Arithmetica Infinitorum*, and other inventions of his by that method, before Mr Leibnitz had produced the like. In this letter it is pleaſant enough to ſee how the doctor accommodates the manner of proof in the *Arithmetica Infinitorum* and *Conic Sections* to the method of fluxions which had been communicated to him before that time. I have already taken notice of his grafting his method of tangents into (what he calls) the method of *vaniſhing quantities*. But there is another particular which I muſt not omit, on account of the relation it has to a late controverſy about the method of fluxions. Speaking in his method of tangents, of the *vaniſhing triangle*, he ſays, *it has then no magnitude, yet it is conſidered abſtractedly, and as a ſpecies (like that of an equilateral triangle in general) and in that view the proportion of its ſides may be conſidered without ſuppoſing it to have any magnitude [in concreto]*. This conceit of conſidering the proportion in the parts of an abſtracted ſpecies after the individual quantity or ſubſtance is vaniſhed or become actually nothing, ſeems to be the ſource from whence the author of the *Analyſt* (80) derived the mirth of that arch remark upon fluxions, where he aſks, *May we not call them the ghoſts of departed quantities?*

(80) Dr Berkeley, Biſhop of Cloyne in Ireland.

The doctor is likewiſe, not without cauſe, charged with frequently making too free with infinity, eſpecially where in his Arithmetica Infinitorum and in his Algebra, ſpeaking of the quadrature of hyperbolic ſpaces infinitely extended, he talks of ſeveral ſuch as are *more than infinite*. No doubt, thoſe expreſſions were taken up by him without duly conſidering the abſurdity of the conception, and tho' they are capable of a chaſt ſenſe, and by all candid cenſurers will be excuſed to the doctor in a tranſport of joy upon the prodigious extent of his new diſcoveries, yet all are not ſo equitably diſpoſed. The juſt mentioned author ſeems to have had the doctor among others in his eye, where he ſays of the mathematicians, that they are more eager to proceed faſt and far, than careful to go upon good grounds.

[*RR*] *He eſpouſed Mr. Flamſtead's opinion.*] The following letters of the doctor to Mr Flamſtead are worth peruſing, as they diſcover his ſentiments more freely than elſewhere, upon ſome aſtronomical points. The firſt is dated Oxford, May 9, 1695.

Sir,

'I am told by Mr Caſwell, which I am very glad 'to hear, that you ſeem to have obſerved a diſcernible parallax as to the earth's annual orb in the polar ſtar, which is a noble obſervation, if you make 'it out, and therefore I earneſtly deſire you to purſue that buſineſs with great care. I have ſuggeſted 'ſomewhat to that purpoſe in my Latin Algebra, and 'ſomewhat more fully in ſome letters to Mr [Will.] 'Molyneux, which, if I do not miſremember, are 'printed in the Tranſactions. I think we may reaſonably preſume, that the fixed ſtars are not all at 'an equal diſtance from us, but ſome of them at a 'diſtance vaſtly greater than others. That ſome 'which are nearer may have a diſcernible parallax, 'though the remoter have not. And thoſe may be 'thought neareſt (though we are not ſure of it) which 'look biggeſt and brighteſt: and if we fail in ſome 'one of them, we may try ſome other, and more than 'one or two. Again, ſtars, tho' equally near, are 'not all equally fit for this purpoſe, and thoſe are 'fitteſt which are neareſt to the pole of the zodiac, 'for thoſe in or near the zodiac will have none or 'little parallax, tho' that of thoſe which are further 'from it may be diſcernible. Now in both reſpects 'the polar ſtar is very proper, as being of the ſecond 'magnitude (tho' not very bright) and not far from 'the pole of the zodiac; and therefore I am well 'pleaſed, that you pitch upon that. There is yet another in the ſhoulder of the little Bear, which is nearer 'to the pole of the zodiac, and, I think, a brighter 'ſtar; I would adviſe you therefore carefully to obſerve that alſo; and, if you think fit, ſome others, 'and ſet down carefully the times of the obſervations; 'and the meridional altitudes obſerved. And they 'are, I hope, ſuch ſtars as by your teleſcope ſights 'you may diſcern in the day-time, which will be a 'great advantage. The greateſt meridional altitude 'above the pole ſhould be at the ſummer ſolſtice, and 'the leaſt at the winter ſolſtice; and therefore moſt 'carefully to be obſerved about thoſe times; but in 'the intermediate times alſo, to ſee at what rate they 'vary and change their altitudes. But I would adviſe you alſo not to talk too freely of it, unleſs to 'truſty friends, till you have a conſiderable number 'of obſervations to juſtify it; and when you have, to 'print them, leſt others perhaps ſupplant you: and 'I would not have you loſe the reputation of it. Excuſe this freedom of

'Sir,

'Your friend and humble ſervant,

'John Wallis.

Mr Flamſtead, in anſwer to this, aſſuring him that he had great ſtore of ſuch obſervations, the doctor replied as follows:

'Sir, Marſton, near Brackley in Northamptonſhire, May 25, 1695.

'I am well pleaſed to underſtand, by yours of May '14 (which came to my hands yeſterday where I am 'at preſent) that you are ſo well ſtored with obſervations for the earth's annual parallax; and therefore 'deſire you will ſuffer them to be made public forthwith for the reaſons mentioned in my laſt, which I 'need not repeat. The briſk light of the ſtar mentioned, tho' ſmall, may argue it to be nearer perhaps than ſome which ſeem bigger; and its ſituation is very convenient. Yet I would not have you 'neglect the ſhoulder of the leſſer Bear. Perhaps, by 'darkening your room, you may gain a ſight of them 'in the day-time. I am not diſpleaſed to find you 'diſtinguiſh between the thread's touching and covering a ſtar, which ſeems to argue they have ſome 'apparent magnitude, contrary to what ſome good 'obſervers would perſuade us. Your diligence to 'perfect your catalogue of fixed ſtars, I approve likewiſe, and your reaſons for it are good: yet I would 'not have you delay that of the parallax; for the

'ob-little ſkilled either in the technical or phyſical part of Aſtronomy [*SS*]. As ſoon as theſe three Volumes were finiſhed, the Doctor bid adieu to the preſs: he was then ſome years

obſervations being already made, it will require no great time to digeſt them: and if you think that little time may not be ſpared for it, be pleaſed to furniſh us with materials, and either Mr Caſwel or I will help to digeſt them for you: and if you be excluded elſewhere, we will take care to have them printed at Oxford. You are to be careful alſo in ſo nice a point, that the motion in longitude (as it is wont to be called) of the fixed ſtars do not impoſe upon you, and that ſome very ſmall variation of the meaſuring thread may not deceive you. I could ſuggeſt ſome other things in order to this parallax, which I may hereafter do at leiſure; but I would not divert you from what is before you. I am,

‘ Sir,
‘ Your friend to ſerve you,
‘ John Wallis.’

Notwithſtanding theſe very preſſing letters of the Doctor to perſuade the royal aſtronomer to print his obſervations on this point, yet it ſeems he ſtill deferred it; ſo that above three years after, Dr Wallis having almoſt finiſhed the third volume of his works, and being very deſirous to have this important diſcovery inſerted in that volume, addreſſed to him the following letter.

‘ Sir, Oxford, Aug. 13, 1698.

‘ I have underſtood from Mr Caſwel a good while ſince, that you had very conſiderable obſervations (for divers years together) to prove a parallax of the fixed ſtars to the earth's annual orb. I have deſired Mr Caſwel to preſs you to let us have an account of them, ſo as to have them publiſhed. I do again requeſt it of you, and hope you will not refuſe it. I am now drawing towards an end of publiſhing a third volume of mathematical tracts, wherein will be a collection of letters relating to ſuch matters. If you will do me the favour to draw up thoſe obſervations in form of a letter to me (or to whom elſe you pleaſe) and to let me have it, I will (with your leave) publiſh it amongſt thoſe letters. The thing will be an honour to you and to our nation. I know your hands are full of other work; but I hope you may ſpare ſo much time as to draw up ſuch a letter in Latin, and I will take upon myſelf the trouble of ſeeing it printed here: and you ſhall command from me, the employing of as much time to ſerve you, in what way you ſhall propoſe to me. But let it be done quickly, leſt it come too late. 'Tis pity you ſhould loſe the honour of being the firſt who hath made ſuch a diſcovery, I am,

‘ Sir,
‘ Yours to ſerve you,
‘ John Wallis.’

This letter prevailed; and Mr Flamſtead promiſed to comply with the requeſt, as appears from the next letter of Dr Wallis, as follows.

‘ Sir, Oxford, Aug. 26, 1698.

‘ Yours of Auguſt 23d I received this morning. I am glad you are inclinable to draw up thoſe obſervations of yours concerning the parallax of the earth's annual orb. The time you mention will I believe be ſoon enough; for I find our printers more ſlow than I could wiſh. I ſaw your letter to Mr Caſwel, with which I was pleaſed. I think, ſo much of it as concerns the rectifying your inſtrument, may be ſpared. It will be ſufficient to give us the obſervations, as they would have appeared if the inſtrument had been rectified; and as to the rectifying of your inſtrument, we may truſt you. Nor will it be neceſſary to give a large account of the form of your inſtrument; it will be ſufficient to ſay it is a mural quadrant, or larger arch fixed to a wall in the plain of the meridian, and furniſhed with teleſcopic ſights, ſuch as to diſtinguiſh a very ſmall arch of a few ſeconds; for I think this is the caſe. And then that (the poſition and ſights of the inſtrument being duly rectified) the obſervations were ſuch as there ſet down. A more large account of particulars may afterwards be done at leiſure, with more obſervations to be henceforth made: but I am willing that at leaſt a ſhort account be given of the obſervations you have, to preſerve the memory and reputation of it to yourſelf, as the firſt who has effectually diſcovered it. The letter to Mr Caſwel (if I don't miſremember) gives but the obſervations of one year; but intimate more to have been made in confirmation of it. It is not neceſſary that the parallax of other ſtars ſhould juſtly agree to that of the polar; for we are not to preſume that they be all at an equal diſtance from us; ſome may poſſibly have a diſcernible parallax, and others not. The greater ſtars may be reaſonably thought (but we are not ſure) to be neareſt, and thoſe neareſt to the pole of the zodiac moſt liable to a parallax: But if it can be diſcerned in any, it is a demonſtration of the earth's motion. I am,

‘ Sir,
‘ Yours to ſerve you,
‘ John Wallis.’

When the Doctor's third volume was finiſhed to the Appendix, he applied again to Mr Flamſtead, as follows.

‘ Sir, Oxford, November 8, 1698.

‘ I am entering upon the printing of ſome Latin letters in an appendix to a third volume of mine, which has been now in the preſs for ſome years; amongſt which I would be glad of yours concerning the parallax of the pole-ſtar. Mr Caſwel tells me, it will contain your obſervations thereof for ſeven years. I deſire I may have it by the end of this month, that it may not come too late; for we are now drawing to an end. I need not encumber it with thoſe particulars which relate to the rectifying of your inſtrument; but give us the obſervations as they would appear, ſuppoſing the inſtrument to be rectified. It will I think be not to your diſadvantage to have it there; and it will be to the reputation of our nation to be the firſt that hath been able to make out the parallax. I am,

‘ Sir,
‘ Yours to ſerve you,
‘ John Wallis.’

Accordingly, the paper was at laſt ſent by Mr Flamſtead in Engliſh; the Doctor having fitted it for his work by a Latin tranſlation, put it to the preſs, and ſent him the two firſt ſheets printed, with the following letter.

‘ Sir, Oxford, Decemb. 10, 1698.

‘ I have finiſhed the tranſlation of your letter into Latin ſome while ſince. I find nothing of it but what is fit to be publiſhed, and therefore leave out nothing of it. I ſent you the two firſt ſheets of it by Dr Gregory, who ſaid he ſhould ſee you, and would give them to you. If you deſire I ſhould ſend you the third ſheet, it ſhall be done. I am well ſatiſfied with it; and I think it proper that the Engliſh letter be publiſhed in the Tranſactions, for it well deſerves a place there. And to that end, I ſhall return you the Engliſh letter, when you give me order ſo to do. But I would adviſe that it be printed at Oxford (as in ſuch caſes is ſometimes done) that I may ſee to its being correctly printed; for I find the correctors of the preſs in London are apt to miſtake in things mathematical. Mean while I deſire you will look carefully to the numbers that they be truly written, and then return me the two ſheets I have ſent you, particularly in the tenth collation, if I do not miſremember, where I think you ſubtract 5″ inſtead of adding it. I am,

‘ Yours to ſerve you,
‘ John Wallis.’

This laſt unlucky ſtep, of employing Dr Gregory to carry the printed ſheets, proved to be the ruin of this conceived hopeful diſcovery of the parallax of the pole-ſtar. That mathematician firſt communicated the thing to Sir Iſaac Newton, and afterwards took pains to demonſtrate that Mr Flamſtead's obſervations to prove that parallax, were deficient and inconcluſive. We have already given a ſpark of the royal aſtronomer's reſentment on this occaſion (81), which with regard to him muſt have been mortifying enough; but as to Dr Wallis, tho' he was actually miſled by that aſtronomer, yet his reputation could not ſuffer much, becauſe he never pretended to any ſkill in that ſcience, as is further ſhewn in the enſuing remark.

[*SS*] *He was not ſkilled in aſtronomy.*] His little ſkill in obſerving he ingenuouſly mentions himſelf (82); and how little he was verſed in the philoſophical part, eſpecially

(81) See Dr Halley's article, Rem. [*FF*] p 2510.

(82) In Rem. [*K*] in Dr Halley's article.

years above fourſcore; under the weight of which he ſunk into the arms of death, on the 28th of October, 1703, aged eighty-ſeven years, three months, and five days. He was interred in the Quire of St Mary's, the Univerſity-church, at Oxford, by his eldeſt ſon, *John Wallis*, Eſq, of Soundneſs, near Nettlebed, in that county [*TT*], who erected a monument for him in the body of the church. The Doctor had the happineſs of a vigorous conſtitution both of body and mind, and of enjoying ſuch a calm as was not to be ruffled. The eaſineſs of his temper will never be queſtioned by any, who, reflecting upon that merit, which made him the boaſt of his own country, as well as the envy of the reſt of Europe, ſees him ſhewing no kind of diſcontent at being neglected; tho' he ſaw his two Co-rivals, *Ward* and *Wilkins*, equally obnoxious to the government with himſelf, yet raiſed to the higheſt dignity in the church. Several conjectures have been ſtarted, to account for this coldneſs of the Court to him. Among the reſt, it had been ſaid, that the promotion of Judge *Blenco* [*UU*], who married the Doctor's eldeſt daughter *(rr)*, being

eſpecially as to comets, is diſcovered in the following letter, dated Oxford, Auguſt 13, 1681.

'Sir,

'I ſaw, by Mr Bernard's favour, a letter of yours to him concerning the laſt comet. What I had here obſerved was not much, and but with the bare eye, without inſtrument (and therefore you may be ſure it could not be exact) leaving it to younger eyes to be more accurate. That it was very low (the neareſt to us of any that I have yet ſeen) I judged by the prodigious length of the tail, and by the great angle which the tail made with a line from the ſun thro' the head of the comet, both which I take to ariſe from its nearneſs to us, and being ſo near a conjunction with the ſun. Of this (with what elſe I had obſerved) I gave an account in Trinity term laſt in a letter to Dr Marſh, of Dublin, incloſed (but unſealed) in one to Dr Gale, that he might peruſe and communicate it, if he thought fit, and then ſend it forward. Of the origin of comets I am not ſo well ſatisfied as to deliver an opinion. I can hardly think them to be permanent bodies, making, as ſome have thought, excurſions in certain periods into our ſyſtem or ſolar world. I ſhould rather think them to be made by the collection of exhalations or effluvia from the æther or ætherial bodies, and (as much as any) from the ſolar; to which I find Mr Horrox heretofore and Dr Marſh of late do incline alſo. The tail I take to be little more than the tinging of the ſun beams paſſing through the head. As to what you ſay of worlds dying as well as men (which to Ariſtotle and his followers, as to the incorruptibility of or in the celeſtial bodies, would be a paradox) it doth not ſeem ſo ſtrange to me, ſince that diverſe of the ſtars noted by the ancients are now wanting, and ſome others do now appear and diſappear uncertainly; which yet argues that the diſappearing of a ſtar is no certain argument, that ſuch a ſtar is periſhed, ſince that ſometimes it appears again. But I can hardly think ſuch diſſolutions ſo frequent as our ſight of comets. And yet if they were much more frequent, it is ſtill a great chance if any of them or their ſatellites do ſtray into our world, which is ſo inconſiderable a part of the vaſt regions they have to make ſuch incurſions into, that perhaps one of a thouſand would be more than would come to our ſhare. As to the *Feculæ ſolares*, which you ſeem to diſbelieve, I can ſay nothing, having never ſeen any, and ſcarce any of the *maculæ*. But tho' it be now rare to ſee thoſe ſpots, yet I am not prone to diſbelieve the obſervations of others heretofore; ſince the ſame perſons who formerly ſaw ſuch ſpots frequently, do themſelves agree, that of late times they have been very rare; and that till within a few years laſt paſt, wherein they have again begun to be more frequent, ſcarce any, or but very few, had been obſerved for near twenty years together; which makes me think the difference to be in the heavens, not in the glaſſes. For otherwiſe the ſame glaſſes to the ſame perſons would repreſent the ſame appearances as before. And I do not know, but that a great frequency of ſuch ſpots may preſage a comet ſoon to follow. I have time to add no more, but that I am

Yours to ſerve you,

'John Wallis.'

[*TT*] *John Wallis, Eſq*;] He was born December 26, 1760, and placed by his father in Trinity college, Oxford, whence he was removed to the Inner Temple, where he proceeded Barriſter at law in 1681; and afterwards marrying Elizabeth daughter of John and Mary Harris, of Soundneſs, near Nettlebed, in Oxfordſhire, ſhe became heireſs to her brother Taverner Harris, by which means Mr Wallis came into the poſſeſſion of a good eſtate, called Soundneſs. She died Auguſt 8th, 1693, leaving three children, who ſurvived her, *viz.* John, Mary, and Elizabeth (82).

[*UU*] *Judge Blenco.*] It has generally paſſed current, that the Doctor diſcloſed more of his art of decyphering to this gentleman than to any body elſe, by whom it was communicated to Mr (afterwards Biſhop) Wills, the King's decypherer, who ſhewed himſelf ſo great a maſter of it on the trial of Biſhop Atterbury in 1722, when he decyphered ſome letters of that prelate ſo truly, as baffled all his endeavours to invalidate the evidence founded upon them. For this purpoſe the Biſhop employed the reverend Mr John Davies, already mentioned, Rector of Caſtle-Abbey in Northamptonſhire, a friend and acquaintance. But that gentleman, who has given ſuch an illuſtrious proof of his extraordinary ſkill in the art, after the moſt careful examination, comparing the copies of the letters with thoſe in which they had been decyphered by Mr Wills, aſſured the Biſhop's Counſel, Sir Conſtantine Phipps, that he believed them in the main to be rightly decyphered, and that if he was called upon to appear before the Houſe of Lords, he ſhould be obliged to aſſert the ſame thing; which was the reaſon, as he ſuppoſes, that he never was called upon to appear there. But at the ſame time this gentleman was of opinion, that this part of the evidence againſt the Biſhop was ſo managed as to render it liable to ſome ſuſpicion. 'I agree,' ſays he, 'upon the expediency and propriety of producing decyphered letters in evidence, provided the whole evidence be produced and fairly examined, which it ſeems was not done in Biſhop Atterbury's caſe, as appears from the following paſſage in Sir Conſtantine Phipps's ſpeech. *It was very neceſſary*, ſays this Counſellor, *I think, to have printed the letters in the cyphers and characters in which they were written, and alſo as they are decyphered. Then the perſons accuſed would have an opportunity of employing men ſkilled in that way, to ſee if they were rightly decyphered. This was done in* Coleman's *caſe* (83). Again, I have ſaid, ſays this gentleman, that the letters were rightly decyphered in the main; it is fit that I ſhould add, that in the copies the words *may* and *people* were ſupplied (as I ſuppoſe) by the decypherers, and the words *write his*, *draw*, and *forward*, were dotted underneath, as if they doubted whether they were right: which particulars we could not have known, but from a ſight of the copies.' This writer, who had public leave to inſpect the copies of theſe three letters, makes ſome other remarks upon them which are worth reading, as follows. 'The cypher,' ſays he, 'made uſe of in theſe letters is in ſeveral reſpects very difficult, but the difficulty is much abated by the careleſs or the unſkilful manner in which it is uſed, as upon occaſion I could eaſily ſhew; one inſtance may ſuffice for a ſample: In the letter to Jackſon was this paſſage, 719 *had taken this reſolution before Hatfield's return, and A. M. pleaſed to find*, &c. What great ſkill is here required to gueſs at the true meaning?' Again, Britannicus is pleaſed to inform us, in anſwer to an obſervation, that it required ſome time to tranſcribe the whole letters, and to put the proper parts into cypher (84): he writes thus. 'For what reaſon this circumſtance is inſiſted on, I forbear to mention, reſolving not to concern myſelf in the argument, otherwiſe than as a decypherer. I have computed how many words, or any parts of a word whatever

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(rr) She was born June 4th, 1656, and married Decemb. 3. 1675, Mr Blenco being then a barriſter; but he was afterwards knighted, and made a puiſne baron of the exchequer, and thence promoted to be one of the Juſtices of the King's Bench.

(82) Life of Dr Wallis by Mr Lewis.

(83) See his ſpeech in State trials, vol. VI. as before.

(84) In Remarks upon the Biſhop's ſpeech by a perſon under the feigned name of Britannicus.

being done at his requeſt, was accepted by him in lieu of a biſhopric which was offered to him. However that be, it is certain he was maſter of a very dangerous ſecret in the art of decyphering [*XX*]; and the cautious and moderate uſe he conſtantly made of it to each ſide in the ſeveral changes of the government [*YY*], was laid hold of by thoſe who had more ambition than was incident to his nature, as a good handle to inſtill a jealouſy of his having no hearty affection for the Royal family, or the preſent conſtitution either in church

'(there being no nulls *) was put into cyphers throughout the three letters, and the account ſtands thus. In the letter to Chivers, 24; in the poſtſcript to the ſame, 45; in the letter to Muſgrave, 69; in the letter to Jackſon, 114; ſo that the whole number amounts very nearly to the number of words contained in the ſhorteſt of the letters. This being the exact ſtate of the caſe, how long time it would require to tranſcribe the whole letters, thus much of them being put into cypher, and that, in my opinion, very injudiciouſly, is humbly ſubmitted to the reader. But tho' thro' the unſkilfulneſs of the writer the work was rendered eaſier to the artiſts, yet ſtill ſome few words eluded their art, and their places were ſupplied by points or dotts in the printed report. Two or three of the undecyphered numbers were very high ones, and one of them named five ſeveral times; but whether none were publiſhed for either of theſe reaſons, I take not upon me to determine. Again, notwithſtanding theſe unuſual omiſſions, the very blanks furniſhed us with an objection, which would have been offered in evidence, if the copies had not been delivered up. But when theſe copies had been fully conſidered, the objection was not thought ſufficient to weigh down another, namely, that now the queſtion would be aſked, whether the letters were rightly decyphered? to which I muſt have anſwered, *that in the main I believed they were.* And this I apprehend to have been the true reaſon why I was not called. Another objection before the copies were delivered to us was this. It had been obſerved from the print, that one undiſcovered word began with G, and another with C, but by the manner of the dotting, there ſeem'd to be ſeven other vacancies, without any initial letter prefixed. Afterwards upon ſight of the written copies, it appeared to be really ſo: with this circumſtance, that five of the ſaid vacancies were to be filled with one and the ſame number. This muſt be the undecyphered number which was uſed to ſtand for two words, if I take that expreſſion right. Sir Conſtantine Phipps ſeems to have underſtood it as if one number had ſtood for two words in the ſame place (85). My interpretation is, that the ſame number had ſtood for this word in one place and for that word in another place. Upon which I obſerve, 3dly, That for the ſame number in the ſame cypher without the leaſt note of diſtinction to be thus originally intended for two words differing from each other in ſenſe and ſound and ſpelling, is what I have never known or heard of before. It was reaſonable to conclude, that an artiſt might have been in ſome diſtreſs, if he were urged to explain, how he could be aſſured of the initial letters of two or three unknown words, and yet be wholly in the dark as to the initial letters of ſeveral others: and that at laſt he would have found it convenient on this occaſion to take ſanctuary in the ſecrets of his art.' How far he might go without diſcovering that ſecret, is likewiſe conſidered by this ingenious author. 'I am now,' ſays he, 'ſeaſonably to touch the celebrated queſtion, whether by delivering up the key of a cypher, the art of decyphering is diſcovered. That it is not ſo is very clear to me both from reaſon and experience. Beſides what Dr Wallis has left of that kind in MS. he gave up in print the key of two others. I have now given up a third. By ſo doing we have enabled the readers the more readily to judge whether the letters are rightly decyphered; but have we informed him how we did it? Can any body tell me how Dr Wallis decyphered this letter from the Duke of Buckingham? if he can, it is more than I can tell him, tho' I have decyphered it myſelf (86); and I am under no manner of apprehenſion, that any body can find out, how I did it: nay, if I ſhould name a certain number which by coming but ſeldom was extremely uſeful to me in doing it, I ſhould, without further explaining myſelf, hardly be believed. If indeed I ſhould declare what were my firſt obſervations, and why I made them; which of them proved right, and which wrong; which of them I afterwards utterly laid aſide; which I altered; and which I finally proceeded to abide by; if I ſhould finally declare where the firſt glimpſe of light broke in upon me, and brought me to proceed with courage and hopes of ſucceſs; what were my next immediate ſteps, and when I began plainly to ſee the way before me; ſuch declaration might be of uſe to an induſtrious man, and help to guide him in the diſcovering other cyphers of the like kind. This I own is more than is fit to be publicly told: yet even this would be far from making a thorough diſcovery of the art; for *pro vario ferarum genere varianda eſt venatio*, different game different hunting; and there is little or no relation between the proceſſes I made in decyphering the Duke of Buckingham's letter, and that which will ſoon follow from the Earl of Clanrickarde (87). But if Dr Wallis had complied with Mr Leibnitz's large demand of the 29th of December 1698, this might have given a fatal blow to the art. That learned foreigner had ſeen ſome of the Doctor's performances in this kind, and was ſufficiently amazed at them, but wanted to know how the thing was done (88). He had before this (89) intimated his fears, that the Doctor and the art might die together; being told that there was no certain method in the art, he acknowledged it, and for that reaſon wiſhed that ſome inſtances might be preſerved of the manner in which the Doctor made his gradual advances in theſe analytical operations; and not having yet received a ſatisfactory anſwer, he again obſerved that the want of rules might be ſupplied by examples, if the traces of the procedure were always marked. Hereupon he earneſtly preſſed the Doctor, that he would be prevailed upon not to deny poſterity ſo great a benefit (90). But the Doctor remained proof againſt all his importunity, and wiſely ſhifted off the requeſt (91), well knowing how far he might go without prejudicing, and where he was to ſtop without ruining the art.'

[*XX*] *Decyphering a dangerous art.*] This talent had brought him into many difficulties, and proved a very troubleſome (though much admired) part of his ſagacity, eſpecially as he was poſſeſſed of it at a time when the world in general, not being apprehenſive of the poſſibility of ſuch an art, were therefore leſs curious in perplexing their cyphers, ſo that the Doctor ſcarce miſſed in decyphering any that fell into his hands during the civil wars, and ſeveral years afterwards. But ſome time before he died, the French, whoſe ingenuity has often appeared foremoſt in ſuch kind of crafty ſubtleties, had contrived ſome ſo intricate, that they baffled his ſkill; yet he maſtered diverſe of them lately contrived. Whether upon this account of his being baffled by new inventions inclining him to think his art would ſoon become bootleſs, or whether the ſenſe he had of its being a dangerous art indiſpoſed him for publiſhing any method of attaining it, it is certain he very ſteadily perſiſted in refuſing that favour to the repeated requeſts of Mr Leibnitz; though he went ſo far as to ſend a letter in cypher to the publiſher of the Leipſic Acts, which had been very lately wrote; and according to Mr Leibnitz's propoſal, he ſent alſo a key with it, to ſhew how it was done.

[*YY*] *The moderate uſe he made of it.*] That he did ſo has been ſufficiently ſhewn already, but that he had any eye to that part of his conduct in the following account given by himſelf to Dr Smith, both of his moderation, and the conſequences of it in reſpect to his promotion, is what I won't undertake poſitively to aſſert, but muſt leave it to the conſideration of the reader, after he has peruſed it. 'It has been my lot,' ſays the Doctor, 'to live in a time wherein have been many and great changes and alterations; and it hath been my endeavour all along to act by moderate principles between the extremities on either hand in a moderate compliance with the powers in being in thoſe places where it has been my lot to live, without the fierce and violent animoſities uſual in ſuch caſes againſt all that did not act juſt as I did; knowing that there were many worthy perſons engaged on either ſide, and willing, whatſoever ſide was uppermoſt, church or ſtate. Theſe inſinuations muſt needs alſo gain the greater credit, as it was obſerved that there was no good reaſon to think he ever changed his firſt ſentiments in regard to the hierarchy.

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* That is, non-ſignificants. Theſe are mentioned by Bacon in his Advancement of learning, l. vi. ch. 1. They had been before introduced into the art of cryptography by Trithemius, who calling them *ſpiritus nocturni*, and the ſignificants *ſpiritus diurni*, in a diſcourſe with one Bouville, this latter imagining that he ſpoke of ſo many demons, thereupon accuſed him as a magician. Moreri, ubi ſupra.

(85) His ſpeech in State trials, vol. VI. p. 401. col.

(86) It is inſerted in his Eſſay, p. 51.

(87) In his Eſſay he decyphered this, and gave ſeveral others at Mr Carte's requeſt.

(88) His letter to Dr Wallis, dated March 24, 1697-8, in Commerc. Epiſtolic. in the Doctor's works, vol. 3d.

(89) In another letter, dated March 19, 1697. Ibid.

(90) A third letter, dated Sept. 28. S. V. the ſame year. Ibid.

(91) It is ſaid, that being once queſtioned about it in a free way by Biſhop Burnet, he returned this general anſwer: My Lord, nothing is too hard for diligence and induſtry. Davies, ubi ſupra.

'moſt, to promote, as far as I was able, any good 'deſign for the true intereſt of religion or learning 'and the public good, and ready to do good offices 'as there was opportunity; and if things could not 'be juſt as I could wiſh, to make the beſt of what is, 'and hereby thro' God's gracious providence have 'been able to live eaſy and uſeful, tho' not great.' (92)

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(92) Letter to Dr Smith.

WALSYNGHAM [*A*] [Sir Francis], one of the moſt compleat and eminent Stateſmen that this or any other nation ever produced, was born at Chiſelhurſt in Kent, (*a*) [*B*] of a knightly family, originally ſprung, and denominated, from the town of Walſingham in Norfolk (*b*). He was bred at home under a private tutor, and received his univerſity-education in King's college in Cambridge [*C*]. From the univerſity he was ſent very young abroad to travel, for the reſt of his learning (*c*): and being a perſon of excellent ſenſe and uncommon capacity, he made himſelf a perfect maſter of the laws, cuſtoms, manners, languages, and polity of the ſeveral nations with whom he converſed; as his ſubſequent practice fully ſhewed. He had the happineſs of being out of England, in a kind of voluntary exile, during the cruel and perſecuting reign of Queen Mary I. [*D*], which exempted him from the troubles and dangers to which moſt gentlemen were then expoſed (*d*). At his return home in Queen Elizabeth's time, being an accompliſhed gentleman, with a quick apprehenſion, a ſolid judgment, and accounted the beſt linguiſt in his time, he was ſoon obſerved by the great Sir William Cecil, as a fit inſtrument to be one of his agents: and, under his conduct, he came to be employed in the chiefeſt affairs of ſtate. The firſt of his public employments was an embaſſy into France, where he reſided ſeveral years, in very troubleſome times, during the heat of the civil wars in that kingdom (*e*) [*E*]. In Auguſt 1570, he was ſent again Embaſſador there, to treat of a marriage between Queen Elizabeth and Francis Duke of Alençon, with other matters of the higheſt conſequence; and continued at the court of France till April 1573 (*f*) [*F*]. He acquitted himſelf in that ſtation with uncommon capacity, faithfulneſs, and diligence, ſparing neither pains nor money to promote the Queen's ſervice to the utmoſt (*g*) [*G*]. And, in order to keep her powerful, treacherous, and ambitious neighbours ſo well employed at home, that they might not be able to give England

(*a*) T. Fuller's Worthies, in Kent, p. 75.

(*b*) See Camden's Britannia, in Norfolk.

(*c*) *Fragmenta Regalia*, by Sir Robert Naunton.

(*d*) Epitaph, in Dugdale's Hiſt. of St Paul's, ed. 1716. and Stow's Survey of London, Strype's edition, vol. I. b. 3. p. 161. See alſo Strype's Eccl. Memor. vol. III. p. 241.

(*e*) Naunton, as above; and Epitaph; and Dav. Lloyd's State-worthies, edit. 1679. 8vo. p. 513.

(*f*) See the Compleat Ambaſſador, or Letters of Negotiation of Sir Francis Walſingham, &c. fol. Lond. 1655.

(*g*) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, vol. II. p. 25.

[*A*] *Walſyngham.*] So he writ his name, as appears from ſeveral letters of his in our poſſeſſion. By others it is generally written Walſingham.

[*B*] *Was born at Chiſelhurſt in Kent.*] The Walſingham family was of ſome conſideration in Kent, about that time. For, we find, that James Walſingham, Eſq; was Sheriff of that county the 12th of Henry VII. as Thomas Walſingham, Eſq; was, on the 5th of Qu. Elizabeth (1). In Sir Francis's Epitaph it is ſaid, that his family had been illuſtrious for many ages. *Ortus familia multis ſeculis illuſtri*... And by Naunton, 'that 'he was a gentleman of a good houſe.'

[*C*] *He received his univerſity education in King's college in Cambridge.*] And to the Library of that college he gave his own books; amongſt which was, a Bible that had belonged to the King of Spain (2).

[*D*] *From the univerſity he was ſent abroad very young to travel* ... and he was *in a kind of voluntary exile during the reign of Qu. Mary.*] Theſe particulars we learn from the following paſſages in his Epitaph... 'Puer, ingenuè *domi educatus,* generoſis moribus artibuſque optimis animum excoluit. Adoleſcens, peregrinatus in exteras regiones, earum inſtituta, linguas, politiam, ad civilem ſcientiam reique publicæ uſum didicit. Juvenis, exilium Maria regnante ſubiit 'voluntarium, religionis ergo.'

[*E*] *The firſt of his public employments was an embaſſy into France, where he reſided ſeveral years, in very troubleſome times.*] This alſo we learn from his epitaph... '*Sereniſſimæ Reginæ Elizabethæ*, matura jam ætate, 'Orator fuit apud Gallum, turbulentiſſimo tempore, 'annis compluribus.'

[*F*] *In Auguſt* 1570, *he was ſent again Embaſſador there,* &c.] On one hand a meſſenger of peace, and on the other an honorable ſpy, as Mr de Wicquefort obſerves (3). His negotiations and diſpatches, during that embaſſy, were collected by Sir Dudley Digges, Kt. Maſter of the Rolls, and publiſhed by A. H. in 1655. fol. with this title, 'The Compleat Ambaſſa'dor: or Two Treatiſes of the intended marriage of 'Qu. Elizabeth of glorious memory; compriſed in 'Letters of Negotiation of Sir Francis Walſingham, 'her Reſident in France. Together with the Anſwers 'of the Lord Burleigh, the Earl of Leiceſter, Sir 'Thomas Smith, and others. Wherein, as in a clear 'mirror, may be ſeen the faces of the two courts of 'England and France, as they then ſtood; with many 'remarkable paſſages of ſtate, not at all mentioned 'in any hiſtory.'... Theſe papers manifeſt our great ſtateſman's exquiſite abilities, and his fitneſs for the truſt that was repoſed in him.

[*G*] *He acquitted himſelf in that ſtation with uncommon capacity, faithfulneſs, and diligence, ſparing neither pains nor money to promote the Queen's ſervice.*] 'His 'head was ſo ſtrong, that he could look into the depth 'of men and buſineſs, and dive into the whirlpools 'of ſtate. Dexterous he was in finding a ſecret, cloſe 'in keeping it: Much he had got by ſtudy, more by 'travel; which enlarged and actuated his thoughts. 'His converſation was inſinuating and reſerved: He 'ſaw every man, and none ſaw him. His ſpirit was 'as publick as his parts; and it was his firſt maxim, '*Knowledge is never too dear:* yet as debonnair as he 'was prudent; and as obliging to the ſofter but pre'dominant parts of the world, as he was ſerviceable 'to the more ſevere: and no leſs dexterous to work 'on humours, than to convince reaſon. He would 'ſay, he muſt obſerve the joynts and flexures of af'fairs; and ſo would do more with a ſtory, than 'others could with a harangue. He always ſurprized 'buſineſs, and preferred motions in the heat of other 'diverſions; and if he muſt debate it, he would hear 'all; and with the advantage of aforegoing ſpeeches, 'that either cautioned or confirmed his reſolutions, he 'carried all before him in concluſion beyond reply... 'This Spaniſh proverb was familiar with him, "Tell 'a lye, and find a truth;" and this, "Speak no more 'than you may ſafely retreat from without danger, or 'fairly go through without oppoſition." Some are 'good only at ſome affairs in their own acquaintance; 'Walſingham was ready every where, and could make 'a party in Rome as well as England. He waited on 'mens ſouls with his eye, diſcerning their ſecret hearts 'through their tranſparent faces (4).' The judicious Mr de Wicquefort obſerves, that Mr Walſingham, who was employed in this negotiation, was one of the ableſt men that England ever produced; that the intereſt of the Reformed, wherewith he was charged, was a very nice affair; and that he had to deal with Charles IX. and his mother, the moſt ſuſpicious and treacherous of Princes; notwithſtanding which, he acquitted himſelf with great honor (5). To which it

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(1) Liſt of Sheriffs of Kent, in Fuller's Worthies, as above, p. 92, 93.

(2) Fuller's Worthies, p. 75. and Dav. Lloyd's State-worthies, p. 517.

(3) L'ambaſſadeur, &c. part ii. p. 7.

(4) D. Lloyd's State-worthies, p. 514, 515.

(5) L'ambaſſadeur & ſes fonctions. Haye, 1682. 4to. part i. p. 243. 343. part ii. p. 50. & 15, 16.

land any diſturbance; he laid the foundation of the civil wars in France; and alſo of thoſe in the Low-Countries, which put a final ſtop to the vaſt deſigns of the houſe of Auſtria. Upon which occaſion he told the Queen at his return from his embaſſy to France, ‘ That ſhe had no reaſon to fear the Spaniard; for tho’ he had a ſtrong appetite, ‘ and a good digeſtion, yet he had given him ſuch a bone to pick, as would take him ‘ up twenty years at leaſt, and break his teeth at laſt: ſo her Majeſty had no more to ‘ do, but to throw into the fire, he had kindled, ſome Engliſh fuel from time to time, ‘ to keep it burning (*h*).’ In the beginning of the year 1573, he was appointed one of the principal Secretaries of State (*i*); ſworn a Privy-Counſellor; and knighted ſome time after. Being put into that place of great truſt, he exerted himſelf in a very uncommon manner [*H*]: ‘ For he was one of the great engines of ſtate, and of the times, high in ‘ the Queen’s favour, and a watchful ſervant over the ſafety of his miſtreſs (*k*).’ As long as he lived, her crown and life were preſerved from daily attempts and conſpiracies, chiefly by his vigilance and addreſs (*l*). His conſtant method for that purpoſe, was the utmoſt ſecrecy, patience, and the beſt intelligence poſſible; he maintaining, as we are aſſured, no leſs than fifty-three agents in foreign courts, and eighteen ſpies (*m*). By theſe means he undermined all the plots of the Papiſts, Jeſuits, and other private as well as public enemies of this nation [*I*]. He was ſent on an embaſſy to the Netherlands in

1578

(*h*) Memoirs by James Welwood, M. D. ed. 1718. 8vo. p. 10. and Naunton, as above.

(*i*) Strype, ibid. p. 25. The other Secretary was Sir Thomas Smith.

(*k*) Naunton, as above.

(*l*) Memoirs, &c. by James Welwood, p. 8.

(*m*) Dav. Lloyd’s State-worthies, p. 515, 516.

can be no exception, that he did not ſuſpect the court of France’s perfidiouſneſs; being himſelf an honeſt man, he could never imagine that ſo black a villainy could enter into man’s heart, as the maſſacre of Paris, executed by order of the deſpicable Charles IX.—— From our Embaſſador’s letters, it appears, that his expences were ſo great, very probably in gaining intelligence; that, to uſe his own words, ſometimes he ‘ had neither furniture, money, nor credit (6).’

[*H*] *He exerted himſelf in a very uncommon manner.*] For he had devoted abſolutely himſelf, his life, time, and eſtate in the ſervice of his Queen and country. And to compaſs his ends, he guided himſelf by ſuch maxims as theſe. ‘ He ſaid, that an habit of ſecrecy ‘ is policy and vertue. To him mens faces ſpoke as ‘ much as their tongues, and their countenances were ‘ indexes of their hearts. He would ſo beſet men ‘ with queſtions, and draw them on, and pick it out ‘ of them by piece-meals, that they diſcovered them‘ ſelves whether they anſwered or were ſilent.——He ‘ ſerved himſelf of the factions at court, as the Queen ‘ his miſtreſs did, neither advancing the one, nor de‘ preſſing the other: Familiar with Cecil, allied to ‘ Leiceſter, and an oracle to Suſſex. He could over‘ throw any matter by undertaking it, and move it ‘ ſo as it muſt fall. He never broke any buſineſs, yet ‘ carried many: He could diſcourſe any matter with ‘ them that moſt oppoſed; ſo that they, in oppoſing ‘ it, promoted it. His fetches and compaſs to his ‘ deſigned ſpeech, were things of great patience and ‘ uſe.—So patient was this wiſe man, that his native ‘ place never ſaw him angry, the univerſity never paſ‘ ſionate, and the court never diſcompoſed. Religion ‘ was, in his judgment, the intereſt of his country, ‘ and it was the delight of his ſoul; therefore he ‘ maintained it as ſincerely as he profeſſed it: it had ‘ his head, his heart, and his purſe. He laid the ‘ great foundation of the Proteſtant conſtitution as to ‘ its policy, and the main plot againſt the Popiſh as to ‘ its ruine (7).’ His great ſervices to this nation are acknowledged in the following part of his Epitaph. ‘ Quibus in muneribus tanta cum prudentia, abſtinen‘ tia, munificentia, moderatione, pietate, induſtria & ‘ ſollicitudine verſatus eſt; ut a multis periculis Pa‘ triam liberarit, ſervarit Rempublicam, conformarit ‘ pacem, juvare cunctos ſtuduerit; imprimis quos ‘ doctrina aut bellica virtus commendarit: ſeipſum ‘ denique neglexerit, quo prodeſſet aliis, eoſque va‘ letudinis & facultatum ſuarum diſpendio ſublevaret.’ i. e. In his employments, he behaved himſelf with ſo much prudence, temperance, generoſity, moderation, piety, induſtry, and care, that he delivered his country from many dangers, ſaved the ſtate, eſtabliſhed peace, ſtudied to help all, eſpecially thoſe who were recommendable for their learning or military ſkill: and in ſhort neglected himſelf to ſerve others, and aſſiſted them at the expence of his health and eſtate.

[*I*] *By theſe means he undermined all the plots of the Papiſts, Jeſuits,* &c.] ‘ He outdid the Jeſuits in their ‘ own bow, and over-reached them in their own equi‘ vocation and mental reſervation; never ſettling a ‘ lye, but warily drawing out and diſcovering truth. ‘ So good was his intelligence, that he was Confeſſor ‘ to moſt of the Papiſts before their death, as they had ‘ been to their brethren before their treaſons.... For ‘ two piſtoles an order, he had all the private papers ‘ of Europe. Bellarmine read his Lectures at Rome ‘ one month, and Reynolds had them to confute the ‘ next. Few Letters eſcaped his hands, whoſe con‘ tents he could read and not touch the ſeals... The ‘ Queen of Scots Letters were all carried to him by ‘ her own ſervant, whom ſhe truſted, and decyphered ‘ to him by one Philips, as they were ſealed again by ‘ one Gregory; ſo that neither that Queen, or her cor‘ reſpondents, ever perceived either the ſeal defaced, ‘ or the letters delayed, to her dying day (8).’—— ‘ He had the wonderful art of weaving Plots, in ‘ which buſy people were ſo entangled that they could ‘ never eſcape, but were ſometimes ſpared upon ſub‘ miſſion, at others, hanged for example (9).’—— ‘ He would cheriſh a plot ſome years together, ad‘ mitting the conſpirators to his own and the Queen’s ‘ preſence familiarly, but dogging them out watch ‘ fully: his ſpies waited on ſome men every hour for ‘ three years; and leſt they could not keep counſel, ‘ he diſpatched them to foreign parts, taking in new ‘ ſervants (10).’ But, as Sir Robert Naunton obſerves (11), ‘ it is inconceivable why he ſuffered Dr ‘ Parry to play ſo long on the hook, before he hoyſed ‘ him up.... That Parry, intending to kill the Queen, ‘ made the way of his acceſs by betraying of others, ‘ and impeaching of the Prieſts of his own correſpon‘ dency, and thereby had acceſs and conference with ‘ the Queen, and alſo oftentimes familiar and private ‘ conference with *Walſingham*, will not be the quære ‘ of the myſtery; for the Secretary might have had ‘ his end of diſcovery on a future maturity of the ‘ treaſon. But, that after the Queen knew Parry’s ‘ intent, why ſhe ſhould then admit him to private ‘ diſcourſe, and Walſingham to ſuffer it, conſidering ‘ the condition of all aſſailings, and permit him to go ‘ where and whither he liſted, and only on the ſecu‘ rity of a dark ſentinel ſet over him, was a piece of ‘ reach and hazard beyond my apprehenſion.’—— Dr Welwood gives a remarkable inſtance of Sir Francis’s dexterity, in employing and inſtructing his ſpies how to get him intelligence of the moſt ſecret affairs of Princes. ‘ The court of Queen Elizabeth (ſaith ‘ he) had reaſon to have an eye upon the King of ‘ Scots, as being the next heir to the crown, and who ‘ they knew was courted with all poſſible inſinuations ‘ into the French intereſt. In order to fathom King ‘ James’s intentions, there was one Wigmore ſent to ‘ Scotland, who, pretending to be diſobliged in Eng‘ land, fled thither for protection. Sir Francis Wal‘ ſingham gives him above ten ſheets of paper of in‘ ſtructions, all writ with his own hand, which I have ‘ read in the Cotton library, ſo diſtinct and ſo digeſted, ‘ as a man of far inferior parts to Wigmore could ‘ hardly fail to be a maſter in his trade. In theſe ‘ papers he inſtructs him *how to find out King* James’s ‘ *natural temper*; *his morals*; *his religion*; *his opinion* ‘ *of marriage*; *his inclinations to Queen* Elizabeth, *to* ‘ France, *to* Spain, *to the* Hollanders, *and in ſhort to* ‘ *all his neighbours*. He likewiſe directs him how to ‘ behave himſelf towards the King, *at table*; *when a* ‘ *hunting*; *upon his receiving good or bad news*; *at his* ‘ *going to bed*; and indeed in all the publick and pri‘ vate ſcenes of his life. Walſingham was not miſ‘ taken in this man; for tho’ there paſt a conſtant

‘ correſpondence

(6) See the Compleat Ambaſſador, p. 327. 213.

(7) Lloyd, as above, p. 515, 516.

(8) Lloyd, as above, p. 514, &c.

(9) Life of Lord Bolingbroke, p. 53. ed. 1753. 8vo.

(10) Lloyd, p. 516.

(11) Fragmenta Regalia, as above. See Camden’s Annals of Q. Elizabeth, under the year 1585.

1578 (*n*). And in the year 1581, he went a third time Embaſſador into France; to treat of a marriage between Qu. Elizabeth and Francis late Duke of Alençon, now become Duke of Anjou, upon his brother Henry the Third's obtaining the royal dignity; and alſo to conclude a league offenſive and defenſive between both kingdoms. He reſided in France from about the middle of July till the end of the year (*o*). Upon the young King of Scotland's putting himſelf into the hands of James Steuart Earl of Arran, a perſon odious to the Engliſh court, our wiſe Miniſter was diſpatched by Qu. Elizabeth, in 1583, to that unexperienced Prince, out of her great care, leſt now in his flexible years he ſhould by bad counſellors be alienated from the amity of the Engliſh, to the damage of both kingdoms [*K*]. But, through the Earl of Arran's influence, Sir Francis's negotiation was fruitleſs (*p*). We may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that a perſon of ſo public a ſpirit as our worthy Secretary, was an encourager of all attempts and endeavours to promote the trade and navigation of England, which began then to ſpread itſelf with more vigour and ſucceſs in all parts of the world, than it had ever done before. Accordingly, he not only encouraged the moſt valuable and induſtrious Mr R. Hakluyt in his ſtudies for the diſcovery of foreign parts [*L*]; but alſo forwarded Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyage for the ſettling of Newfoundland, by procuring him a ſum of money, and two ſhips, from the merchants of Briſtol (*q*). And, undoubtedly, he promoted all other diſcoveries and ſettlements of the like nature, tho' there is no mention of it upon record. In 1586, he founded a Divinity Lecture at Oxford (*r*) [*M*]. The ſame year, he diſplay'd his uſual diligence

(*n*) Camden's Annals, under that year, and Epitaph.

(*o*) See the Compleat Ambaſſador, p. 349——441. & Camden's Annals, under the year 1581.

(*p*) Camden, under the year 1583, and Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, edit. 1683. p. 148.

(*q*) See Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. III. p. 181.

(*r*) Wood, Hiſt. and Ant. Univ. Ox. l. i. p. 301.

'correſpondence betwixt them, Wigmore lived in the greateſt familiarity with King James for nine or ten years together, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of his being a ſpy (12).' To conclude this note; our vigilant Stateſman's abilities were commemorated, in a tablet hanging near his tomb, on which were painted theſe verſes, among others.

A famous Knight doth here interred lye,
Noble by Birth, Renown'd for Pollicie.
Confounding Foes, which wrought our jeopardie.
In foreign countreys their intents he knew;
Such was his zeal to doe his countrie good,
When dangers would by Enemies enſue,
As well as They themſelves He underſtood (13).

[*K*] *Our wiſe Miniſter was diſpatched by Qu. Elizabeth, in* 1583, *to that unexperienced Prince, &c.*] As he was then ſickly, and not able to bear riding poſt, he was long by the way, being carried in a chariot; but he had a noble retinue of ſeven ſcore horſe. When K. James gave him audience, their firſt reaſoning was upon his Majeſty's liberty [from his confinement in Ruthven-caſtle], and wherefore he had left the company [the Earls of Marr, Angus, Goury, &c.] who were about him, being the beſt and moſt religious ſort of the nobility, and of his Majeſty's beſt acquaintance, and by whom Queen Elizabeth would deal in her affairs more friendly, than ſhe could do with others, whom ſhe could not ſo well credit (14). The King anſwered readily to this purpoſe. 'That he, being a free Prince, was not to be reduced to ſuch ſtreights that others muſt impoſe Counſellors upon him, whom he did not like. That he had done nothing but what ſtood with his honor, and was for his ſecurity. That he had long ſince vowed the firſt-fruits of his friendſhip to his deareſt ſiſter the Queen of England, and now offered them gladly and deſervedly.' Sir Francis, afterwards, wiſhed him not to impute to Qu. Elizabeth thoſe things which had lately fallen out in Scotland: then he ſhewed him, how advantageous to him and to both kingdoms a friendſhip with England had been heretofore, and might be hereafter, if it were not neglected; and which, he ſaid, would be firmly eſtabliſhed, if the differences betwixt the nobility of Scotland were by authority of parliament buried in oblivion, if thoſe noblemen that were removed from court might be received again into favor, religion maintain'd inviolate, and a firm league betwixt both kingdoms eſtabliſhed The King anſwered, 'That he would maintain amity with England: That he would be wanting in no good offices towards the Queen, and conſtantly defend the received religion (15).' Sir James Melvil adds, that the next day his Majeſty appointed four of the council, and himſelf, to reaſon with Sir Francis, and to ſound what he would be at. But he refuſed to deal with any, but with his Majeſty, who heard him again. He diſcourſed long with his Majeſty, and when he came out, he told Sir James Melvil, that he was the beſt content man that could be, for he had ſpoken with a notable young Prince, ignorant of nothing, and of ſo great expectation, that he thought his travel well beſtowed. The Earl of Arran deſired to enter into familiar conference with him, but he refuſed to ſpeak with him; and much lamented, that this Earl was again in court, and in ſuch credit with his Majeſty; which, he ſaid, if he had underſtood before he took his journey, he would have ſhifted the ſame, and ſuffered ſome other to have been ſent: for he could ſee no ſure courſe could be taken between their Majeſties, ſo long as ſuch inſtruments had ſuch credit about him. For he eſteemed the ſaid Earl a ſcorner of religion, a ſower of diſcord, and a deſpiſer of true and honeſt men: He was himſelf of a contrary nature, religious, true, and a lover of all honeſt men; therefore he refuſed to enter into acquaintance with the Earl... K. James marvelled, that the chief Secretary of England, burthened with ſo many great affairs, ſickly, and aged, ſhould have enterpriſed ſo painful a voyage without any purpoſe; for it could not yet be perceived, what was his errand, ſave only that he gave his Majeſty good counſel. (16) Sir James Melvil is miſtaken, when he ſays in the ſame place, that Sir Francis 'ſhortly after his return to court, took ſickneſs, and died:' For he lived about ſeven years after.

[*L*] *He not only encouraged the moſt valuable and induſtrious Mr R. Hakluyt in his ſtudies for the diſcovery of foreign parts.*] That he did by a letter written to him, which is as follows. 'I underſtand aſwel by a letter I long ſince received from the Maior of Briſtoll, as by conference with Sir George Pekham, that you have endevoured, and given much light for the diſcovery of the Weſterne partes yet unknowen: as your ſtudie in theſe things is very commendable, ſo I thanke you much for the ſame; wiſhing you do continue your travell in theſe and like matters, which are like to turne not only to your owne good in private, but to the publike benefite of this Realme. And ſo I bid you farewell. From the Court the 11 of March 1582.

'Your loving Friend,
'Francis Walsingham.'

[*M*] *In* 1586, *he founded a Divinity Lecture at Oxford.*] The reader was to diſcourſe upon the fundamentals of religion and the text of the holy ſcriptures, by way of common place; in order that the controverſies ariſing from thence might be more particularly diſcuſſed. This lecture, we are told by A. Wood (17), was ſet up on purpoſe to widen the breach, and enflame the difference between the churches of Rome and England. However, the lecture was much commended and thronged by the young ſtudents; but ſome people maliciouſly cenſured the foundation, as a colour to convey the ſacrilege of the founder out of ſight, under a pretence of propagating the true religion. 'The cenſure was uncharitable and impertinent; and there are never wanting men of malignity enough, tho' it is a diabolical diſpoſition, to put the worſt conſtruction upon the beſt and moſt uſeful actions. The Queen had granted her Secretary ſome of the lands of the vacant biſhoprick [of Oxford], and if he founded a lecture in divinity out of them,

(12) Welwood, p. 9, 10.

(13) See Dugdale, and Stow, as above.

(14) Melvil's Memoirs, p. 147. fol.

(15) Camden's Annals, under the year 1583.

(16) Melvil's Memoirs, p. 147, 148.

(17) As above.

diligence and ſagacity, in finding out and defeating a conſpiracy *(s)*, in which Maud, one of his ſpies, was a pretended accomplice *(t)* [*N*]. His earneſt zeal and affection for the Queen his miſtreſs, rendered him of courſe an enemy to all her enemies, and conſequently to Mary Queen of Scots. Nay ſome pretend, that he ſcrupled not to order her to be privately deſtroyed [*O*]. In October 1586, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners

to

(s) Uſually known by the name of Gifford's, or, Babington's, conſpiracy.

(t) Camden's Annals, under the year 1586.

‘ when knowledge of that kind was become extremely
‘ ſcarce, he ſhewed a generoſity which he was not
‘ obliged to from any other motive but the propriety
‘ of it (18).’

(18) Dr F. Warner's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. vol. II. p. 460.

[*N*] *In* 1586, *he diſplay'd his uſual diligence and ſagacity, in finding out and defeating a conſpiracy*, &c.] The chief of the conſpirators were, J. Savage, J. Ballard, Maud, Antony Babington, Windſore, Saliſbury, Tilney, and others; eſpecially one Polly, a cunning diſſembler, perfectly acquainted with the Queen of Scots affairs, who is thought to have revealed all their conſultations from day to day to Secretary Walſingham, and to have encouraged the reſt in this deſperate undertaking. Their deſign was, to kill Qu. Elizabeth, invade England with foreign troops, and releaſe the Queen of Scots from her impriſonment. In order to ſecure and haſten theſe foreign troops, Babington reſolved to go over to France; and, that there might be no ſuſpicion of him, he inſinuated himſelf into Sir Francis Walſingham by means of Polly, and earneſtly beſought him to procure him a licence from the Queen to travel into France, promiſing to do her extraordinary good ſervice, in pumping out and diſcovering the ſecret deſigns of the fugitives in behalf of the Queen of Scots. Walſingham commended the young gentleman's purpoſe, and promiſed him not only a licence to travel, but alſo many and great matters, if he performed what he undertook. Yet did he linger and delay him, ſifting out, in the mean time, by his own and other mens cunning and diligence, the whole plot, when they thought that the very ſun was a ſtranger to it. One Gilbert Gifford, a prieſt, was a great inſtrument in finding it out. He was employed privately to lurk in England, as a meſſenger to convey letters betwixt the fugitives and the Queen of Scots: But diſcovering himſelf and his employment to Walſingham, promiſed to impart unto him all the letters he ſhould receive either from the Queen of Scots, or the fugitives. Walſingham entertaining Gifford kindly, ſent him into Staffordſhire, where the Queen was then confined; requeſting Sir Amias Poulet, who was her keeper, to connive at the corrupting of one of his men by Gifford. Sir Amias deſired to be excuſed, yet permitted him to corrupt a brewer, or ſome ſuch man, that dwelt hard by. Gifford with a few pieces of gold ſoon bribed the brewer, who privately put in the letters, and received anſwers to them, privately through an hole in the wall, which was ſtopped with a looſe ſtone; and the letters forthwith came to Walſingham's hands by meſſengers ready to carry them. Walſingham opened them, wrote them out, found out the cyphers through the ſingular art and ſkill of Thomas Philips, and by the direction of Arthur Gregory ſealed them up again ſo cunningly, that no man could ever judge they had been opened; and then cauſed them to be ſent to thoſe whom they were directed to. Thus were intercepted the letters of the Queen of Scots to Babington, and his in anſwer to her, and another of hers in anſwer to him; wherein was cunningly added (after opening) a poſtſcript in the ſame characters, deſiring him to ſet down the names of the ſix gentlemen, alſo the letters which were written the ſame day and date to Mendoza the Spaniſh Embaſſador, to Charles Paget, the Lord Paget, the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and Sir Francis Inglefield; all which were firſt copied out, and then ſent over ſea. Queen Elizabeth, as ſoon as ſhe underſtood by theſe letters what imminent danger ſhe was in, ordered Ballard to be apprehended. Accordingly Ballard was ſeized in Babington's own houſe. Alarmed at this, Babington preſſed Walſingham by letters and earneſt intreaties, that he might now at length have his licence granted to travel into France, and withal ſollicited him for the releaſe of Ballard, who would be of ſpecial uſe and ſervice to him in the buſineſs he had undertaken. Walſingham fed him with fair promiſes from day to day; laid the blame of his apprehenſion upon the purſuivants; and, as it were out of friendſhip, warned him to beware of that kind of men. And now he adviſes the young man to lodge in his houſe at London, till the Queen had ſigned his licence, and till himſelf could return to London (for he was with the court in the country), that they might have the more ſecret and ſecure conference about matters of ſuch moment and conſequence, and that no ſuſpicion of him might ariſe amongſt the fugitives when he ſhould come into France, upon account of his frequent repair to his houſe. In the mean time Scudamore, Walſingham's man, was commanded to have a diligent and watchful eye over him, and to keep him company in all places, under pretence of ſecuring him from purſuivants. Thus far Sir Francis Walſingham had ſpun this thread alone, without acquainting the reſt of the Queen's council; and longer he would have drawn it, but ſhe interpoſed, ‘ Leſt (as ſhe ſaid
‘ herſelf) by not heeding and preventing the danger
‘ while ſhe might, ſhe ſhould ſeem rather to tempt
‘ God, than to truſt in him.’ A note, therefore, was ſent from the court from Walſingham to his man, that he ſhould more ſtrictly obſerve Babington. This note being unſealed, was delivered ſo to him, that Babington, ſitting at table next him, read it along with him. Hereupon his conſcience accuſing him, and ſuſpecting that all was come to light; the next night, when he and Scudamore and one or two more of Walſingham's men had ſupped plentifully in a tavern, he roſe from the table as if he intended to pay the reckoning, and leaving his cloak and ſword behind him, made his eſcape. But he, and the reſt of the conſpirators, were ſoon apprehended, and executed ſhortly after (19). We have related ſo much of that affair, in order to diſplay Sir Francis's addreſs in unravelling a plot, and keeping the conſpirators playing upon the hook till he had ſecured them all, and could ſafely draw them up.

(19) Camden's Annals, under the year 1586.

[*O*] *Nay ſome pretend, that he ſcrupled not to order her to be privately deſtroyed.*] That injurious opinion is grounded upon a joint letter of Sir Francis, and Secretary *Daviſon*, to Sir Amias Poulet, ſaid to be ‘ *found* amongſt Sir Amias Poulet's writings:’ but it is not mentioned when, and by whom; though now it is lodged in the Harleian Library, with Sir Amias's anſwer. As far as we can find, it was firſt inſerted by one W. Freebairne, in the Romance of the Queen of Scots, tranſlated from the French, and publiſhed by him (20), and ſince tranſmitted into the Hiſtory of Mary Queen of Scots by Dr Jebb (21). However, the letter is as follows. ‘ After our hearty commen-
‘ dations, we find by ſpeech lately uttered by her
‘ Majeſty, that ſhe doth note in you both (22) a lack
‘ of that care and zeal for her ſervice that ſhe looketh
‘ for at your hands, in that you have not in all this
‘ time (of yourſelves without other provocation)
‘ found out ſome way to ſhorten * the that Queen,
‘ conſidering the great peril ſhe is hourly ſubject to ſo
‘ long as the ſaid Queen ſhall live. Wherein beſides
‘ a kind of lack of love towards her, ſhe noteth greatly
‘ that you have not that care of your own particular
‘ ſafeties, or rather of the preſervation of religion, and
‘ the publick good and proſperity of your country,
‘ that reaſon and policy commandeth; eſpecially
‘ having ſo good a warrant and ground for the ſatiſ-
‘ faction of your conſciences towards God, and the
‘ diſcharge of your credit and reputation towards the
‘ world, as the oath of the Aſſociation, which you
‘ both have ſo ſolemnly taken and vowed: eſpecially,
‘ the matter wherewith ſhe ſtandeth charged, being ſo
‘ clearly and manifeſtly proved againſt her. And
‘ therefore ſhe taketh it moſt unkindly that men pro-
‘ feſſing that love towards her that you do, ſhould in
‘ a kind of ſort for lack of the diſcharge of your
‘ duty caſt the burthen upon her, knowing as you do
‘ her indiſpoſition to ſhed blood, eſpecially of one of
‘ that ſex and quality, and ſo near to her in blood as
‘ the ſaid Queen is. Theſe reſpects we find do greatly
‘ trouble her Majeſty, who we aſſure you hath ſundry
‘ times proteſted, that if the regard of the danger of
‘ her good ſubjects and faithful ſervants did not more
‘ move her than her own peril, ſhe would never be
‘ drawn to aſſent to the ſhedding of her blood. We
‘ thought it very meet to acquaint you with theſe
‘ ſpeeches lately paſſed from her Majeſty, referring

‘ the

(20) Edinburgh, 1725. 8vo.

(21) Lond. 1725. 8vo. p. 407.

(22) Viz. Sir Amias Poulet, and Sir Drue Drury.

* So in the MS.

to try that Queen, for compaſſing and imagining, among others, divers things to the hurt of Qu. Elizabeth (u). At her tryal, ſhe indirectly charged Sir Francis with counterfeiting her cyphers and characters; and with practiſing both againſt her life and her ſon's: of which imputations he vindicated himſelf (w) [P]. Soon after, he was made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter (x). About this time, when preparations were making in Spain for invading and conquering England, Sir Francis, by a refined piece of policy, defeated for a whole year together the meaſures Spain had taken for fitting out their Armada; of which we have this particular account. The vaſt preparations that were making for a conſiderable time in Spain, kept all Europe in ſuſpence, and it was not certain againſt whom they were deſigned; tho' it was the general opinion they were to ſubdue the Netherlands all at once; which Spain was ſenſible could not be done without a greater force by ſea as well as land, than had been hitherto employed for that ſervice. Queen Elizabeth thought fit to be upon her guard, and had ſome jealouſies that ſhe might be aim'd at; but how to find it out was the difficulty, which at length Walſingham overcame. He had intelligence from Madrid, That K. Philip had told his council, he had diſpatched an expreſs to Rome with a letter writ with his own hand to the Pope, acquainting him with the true deſign of his preparations, and aſking his bleſſing upon it; which for ſome reaſons he would not yet diſcloſe to them, till the return of the courier. The ſecret being thus lodged with the Pope, Walſingham by the means of a Venetian Prieſt retained at Rome as his ſpy, got a copy of the original letter, which was ſtolen out of the Pope's cabinet by a gentleman of the bed-chamber, who took the keys out of the Pope's pocket while he ſlept. Upon this intelligence, Sir Francis Walſingham found a way to retard the Spaniſh invaſion for a whole year, by getting the Spaniſh bills proteſted at Genoa, which ſhould have ſupplied them with money to carry on their preparations (y). After this great event, we hear very little of our wiſe Miniſter, only that in 1589 he entertained Queen Elizabeth at his houſe at Barn-Elms (z). Probably he was now worn out with age, as well as with infirmities, occaſioned by his too intenſe application in the ſervice of his country. Beſides his other dignities and employments, we find that he was a Knight of the Garter (aa), and Recorder of the Burgh of [Q] Colcheſter.

(u) See Camden's Annals, under the year 1586.

(w) Ibid.

(x) Epitaph.

(y) Welwood's Memoirs, p. 8, 9. There is a tradition at the Charter-houſe, that T. Sutton was the great Engliſh merchant employed to manage that affair. See Dr Bearcroft's account of T. Sutton, p. 11.

(z) From ſome original letters of his, in our poſſeſſion.

(aa) Camden's Annals, under the year 1590.

'the ſame to your good judgment. And ſo we com'mit you to the protection of the Almighty.

'Your moſt aſſured Friends,

At London, 1 Feb. 1586.

'Fra. Walsingham.

'William Davison.'

Secretary Daviſon, in a letter of the ſame date, is ſaid to have this paſſage. 'I pray you let both this and 'the incloſed be committed to the fire, which meaſure 'ſhall be likewiſe met to your anſwer, after it hath been 'communicated to her Majeſty for her ſatisfaction.

In a letter from Mr Secretary Daviſon, of the 3d of February 1586, we are told there is this poſtſcript. 'I intreated you in my laſt letters to burn both the 'letters ſent unto you for the Arguments ſake; which 'by your anſwer to Mr Secretary (which I have ſeen) 'appeareth not to be done. I pray you let me in'treat you to make Hereticks both of th'one and th'o'ther, as I mean to uſe yours after her Majeſty hath 'ſeen it.'

And in the end of the poſtſcript... 'I pray you let 'me know what you have done with my letters, be'cauſe they are not fit to be kept, that I may ſatisfy 'her Majeſty therein, who might otherwiſe take of'fence thereat, and if you intreat this poſtſcript in 'the ſame kind, you ſhall not err a whit.

A. Poulet. D. Drury (23).'

A few animadverſions upon theſe poſtſcripts are neceſſary.—Secretary Daviſon's capacity makes no very great figure in hiſtory. But we are ſure it is quite inconſiſtent with Sir Francis Walſingham's known cautiouſneſs, cunning, or call it what you pleaſe, to truſt a dangerous letter out of his hands, and ſtand to the chance of having it burnt or otherwiſe deſtroyed by thoſe whom it was ſent to: when he might as effectually have conveyed his orders or directions by a written meſſage, which ſhould have been brought back to him by the meſſenger. This latter part is more conſiſtent with his character.—However, the moſt effectual way of determining this point, is to examine the pretended original letter, and ſee whether it is ſigned by Sir Francis Walſingham's own hand, which is well known, there being ſo many letters of his about in different places.——It is certain, that Sir Francis was not ſo ready to order the Queen of Scots to be clandeſtinely deſtroyed. For, when the Earl of Leiceſter was for taking her off by poiſon, and ſent 'a Divine privately to Walſingham, to ſatisfy him 'that it was lawful, Walſingham proteſted he was ſo 'far from conſenting that any violence ſhould be 'done to her, that he had of late croſſed Morton's 'counſel, who adviſed that ſhe ſhould be ſent back 'into Scotland, and put to death in the very frontiers 'and borders of both kingdoms (24).' From the collection of pieces relating to Mary Queen of Scots, publiſhed by Dr Jebb, it is manifeſt, that Sir Amias Poulet had not that extreme tenderneſs and civility for the Queen of Scots, which his *Anſwer* to the letter above (inſerted after that letter, by Dr Jebb, in the Appendix to his Hiſtory of Mary Queen of Scots) ſeems to imply. See particularly, in Tome Second, *Martyre de Marie Stuart* (25).

[P] *At her trial, ſhe indirectly charged Sir Francis with counterfeiting her cyphers and characters,* &c.] For, when one of her letters was produced, wherein Babington's plot was commended and approved; her Majeſty ſaid, That it was an eaſy matter to counterfeit the cyphers and characters of others; as a young man did very lately in France, who gave himſelf out to be her ſon's baſe brother (26). That ſhe was alſo afraid this was done by Walſingham, to bring her to her end, who (as ſhe heard) had practiſed both againſt her life and her ſon's. She proteſted, that ſhe never ſo much as thought of the deſtruction of the Queen.—Whereupon, Sir Francis proteſted, that his heart was free from all malice. 'I call God, ſaid he, to witneſs, 'that as a private perſon I have done nothing unbe'ſeeming an honeſt man; neither in my publick con'dition and quality have I done any thing unworthy 'of my place. I confeſs that, out of my great care 'for the ſafety of the Queen and realm, I have cu'riouſly endeavoured to ſearch and ſift out all plots 'and deſigns againſt the ſame. If Ballard had of'fered me his aſſiſtance, I ſhould not have refuſed it, 'yea I would have rewarded him for his pains and 'ſervice. If I have tampered any thing with him, 'why did he not diſcover it to ſave his life?'... With this anſwer the Queen ſaid ſhe was ſatisfied. She prayed him 'not to be angry that ſhe had ſpoken 'ſo freely what ſhe had heard reported, and that he 'would give no more credit to thoſe that ſlandered her, 'than ſhe did to ſuch as accuſed him. Spies (ſhe ſaid) 'were men of doubtful and little credit, who make ſhew 'of one thing and ſpeak another; and deſired him, That 'he would not in the leaſt believe that ever ſhe had 'conſented to the Queen's deſtruction (27)!

[Q] *And Recorder of the Burgh of Colcheſter.*] He chiefly conducted the affairs of that Burgh, and directed in particular, or nominated (28), what perſons they ſhould chuſe for their Repreſentatives in Parliament: ſo that it is no new Court practice, but what was done even in the admired reign of Qu. Elizabeth. All that is manifeſt from the following letters of Sir

Francis

(23) To what end are theſe two names put here? are they not a viſible miſtake?

(24) Camden's Annals, under the year 1586. See alſo Spotiſwood's Church-Hiſtory, p. 351.

(25) P. 282, 283. 298.

(26) See Martyre de Marie Stuart, p. 282.

(27) Camden's Annals, under the year 1586.

(28) Books of Aſſemblies of that town.

Colcheſter. He died April 6, 1590 (*bb*) [*R*]; and, after all the ſervices he had performed for his Queen and country, he gave a remarkable proof at his death how far he had preferred the public intereſt to his own; for he died ſo poor, that his friends were obliged to bury him privately in the night, for fear his body ſhould be arreſted for debt. A fault which few ſtateſmen ſince his time have been guilty of! as Dr Welwood obſerves (*cc*). He was a perſon of great prudence and induſtry; a moſt ſteady aſſerter of the Reformed Religion; a ſtudious and temperate man; ſo public-ſpirited, that he ſpent his eſtate to ſerve the kingdom; ſo faithful, that he beſtowed his years on his Queen; ſo learned, that he provided a library for King's college. Finally, he equalled all the ſtateſmen former ages diſcourſe of, is a pattern to all, and hardly hath been equalled by any (*dd*). What further character Mr Camden gives of him, is ſet down below [*S*]. By his Lady, which was of the family of St Barbe (*ee*), he left only one daughter, that was married thrice: firſt to Sir Philip Sydney; ſecondly to Robert Devereux, Earl of Eſſex; and thirdly to Richard Bourk, Earl of Clanrickard, in Ireland. By the firſt, ſhe had one daughter, married to Roger Earl of Rutland; by the ſecond, a ſon, and two daughters; and by the laſt a ſon and a daughter (*ff*). There is aſcribed to him a book, intituled, ‘ *Arcana Aulica*: or Walſingham's Manual of Prudential Maxims, for the

(*bb*) Epitaph.

(*cc*) Memoirs, &c. p. 10, 11.

(*dd*) Welwood, p. 8. D. Lloyd, as above; and Camden's Annals under the year 1590.

(*ee*) Epitaph.

(*ff*) Camden's Annals, under the year 1590. Dugdale's Baronage, vol. II. p. 181. and Iriſh Compendium, ed. 1735. p. 69.

Francis to the Magiſtrates of Colcheſter, of which the originals are in our poſſeſſion.

‘ After my harty commendations. I have receaved your letter and underſtande by the ſame that before myne cam unto you the election for the Burgeſſes of your towne was already paſſed with Mr James Moryce and Mr Frances Harvye: which choiſe I do veary well like and allowe of bothe for that it was ſo ordered by her Majeſtie if thoſe gentlemen were extante, as alſo in reſpect of theire ſufficiency for that place. I hartely thanke you that at my commendation you wold ſo gladly have choſen Mr Gorge: which I wold not have deſired, if I had knowne of your good choiſe already made. And ſo I byd you hartely farewell. From Baronelmes the vith of October 1586.

‘ Your very lovinge frende,
‘ FRA. WALSYNGHAM.’

‘ After my harty comendations. Whereas you are according to the writte directed unto you to chuſe two Burgeſſes of the Parlement I am to recommend unto you Mr Arthur Throckmorton a Gent. of very good creditt and abillity to be choſen for one of them who as he is a Gent. to whom I beare ſpeciall good will ſo I doubt‡ but he will diſcharge himſelfe to your contentment. And ſo byd you hartely farewell. From the Court at St James the viiith of October 1588.

‘ Your very loving frend
‘ FRA. WALSYNGHAM.’

‡ *Not* is wanting.

‘ After my hartie commendacions. Whereas I underſtande that the Scholemaſter of your Towne hath a determynation to geve over his place mynding to retourne backe againe to the univerſitie: Foraſmuch as I am earneſtlie moved on the behalf of this bearer Marke Sadlington to recomend him unto you to be preferred to the ſame place, a man of whom both for his ſinceritie in relligion and ſufficiencie of learning I do heare a verie good reporte, as being a maſter of arte of fower yeares ſtanding, and a fellowe of Peterhouſe in Cambridge, where he hath ben choſen to be the hedd lecturer, which cannot but argue extraordinarie ſufficiencie in him, I am therefore to praie you moſt earneſtlie that you wil be content for my ſake to graunte him the preferrement of the ſaid place, which I doe not thincke that you can furniſhe of a perſon more meete and fitt for the ſame, and therefore I hope that you will not refuſe to gratifie me in ſo reaſonable a ſuite, for whom I will thincke my ſelf much behoulding unto you, and be readie to requite this frendſhippe towardes you. And ſo I comitt you to God. From the Court the ſecond of October 1588.

‘ Your verie loving frend
‘ FRA. WALSYNGHAM.’

‘ After my harty commendations. Wheras certein of the Straungers reſident in your towne have as I am informed by them a ſuite depending before you againſt one William Allen one of your towneſmen who about a yere paſt being hired by them to cary certain bayes in a ſmall bark of his owne to Middleborough in Zeelande did contrary to his bargaine take his courſe with the ſaied bayes directly to Dunkircke, where the goods were immediately confiſcate and loſt to the great hindraunce and dammage of the proprietaries and owners of the ſame: Foraſmuch as by divers preſumptions the ſaied Allen is very vehemently ſuſpected to have don this of purpoſe and for his owne private lucre, being otherwiſe founde to be but of a badde diſpoſition, and for that the Dutchmen do rather deſire to ſubmitt themſelves to your order in this mater then to proceede to triall by a partie queſt wherin the ſaid Allen will peradventure take exceptions againſt the ſufficienteſt men of the Straungers as parties in the cauſe: I have therefore thought it the moſt indifferent way, in reſpect the Straungers are generally unſkilfull of our maner of proceeding by a Jury, that you upon hearing the allegations, proofs, and anſweres of both ſides ſhould take the full determination of the cauſe into your owne handes, and ſet downe ſuch final order therin as you ſhall ſynde to be moſt agreable with equitie and conſcience, wherin I pray you to deale effectually and with as much expedition as you can certifieng me of your proceedings in this behalf: And ſo I committ you to God. From the Savoy the firſt of Novemb. 1588.

‘ Your loving frende
‘ FRA. WALSYNGHAM.’

‘ After my hartie comendacions. I have receaved your letter together with th'examination of the Scottiſheman, and cannot but comend the great care you ſhewe for th'execution of her Majeſtie's ſervice. I would be gladd to underſtand from you, for that the partie pretendeth to have had a meaning before his apprehenſion to have come unto me, to have revealed the thinge, whether he did utter anie ſuch ſpeaches unto you. And ſo I comitt you to God. From London the 17th of Februarie 1588.

‘ Your verie loving frend
‘ FRA. WALSYNGHAM.’

[*R*] *He dyed April* 6. 1590.] *Ex carne dura intra teſtium tunicas increſcente, aut potius medicamentorum violentia*; as Mr Camden's own words are (29): i. e. of a fleſhy excreſcence about his privities, or rather by taking too violent medicines.

(29) Annales, ad annum 1590.

[*S*] *What further character Mr Camden gives of him, &c.*] It is as follows. — ‘ He had been concerned in ſeveral honorable embaſſies; underſtood well the intrigues of government, and as well how to gain and improve the good affections of the people, ſo as to ſerve his own turn; inſomuch that his quickneſs and diſpatch of buſineſs made him conſidered by the Queen, as a man that even out-did himſelf; and the Papiſts found him, to their great mortification, a perſon of that intelligence and penetration, and ſo dextrous at finding out their tricks and deſigns againſt religion, his Prince, and country, that they complained of him as a very ſubtle and inſidious man. Indeed he watched the practices of theſe men with ſo great an expence, that he leſſened his eſtate by that means, and brought himſelf ſo far in debt, that he was buried privately by night in St Paul's church, without any manner of funeral ſolemnity (30).

The Lord Henry Howard gives alſo this further character of him, That the ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition, the frankneſs of his mind, the credit of his place, the level

(30) Camden's Annals, as above.

‘ the Stateſman and Courtier;’ printed ſeveral times; but it may juſtly be queſtioned whether it was of his own compoſition.

level of his long experience, and the depth of his judgment, were means ſufficient and ſtrong enough, to draw the minds of perſons well diſpoſed both to love and honour him (31).’ And Dr David Powell ſtyles him, ‘ a man, for his zeal of God’s glory, and ‘ love towards them that feared God unfainedly, well ‘ known to the world (32).’ Finally, an excellent Poet gives him the well choſen titles of Frugal and Wiſe.

Frugal and wiſe a Walſingham is thine (33).

C

(31) Defenſative againſt the poiſon of ſuppoſed Prophecies. Lond. 1583. Dedicat.

(32) Cambria, or Hiſt. of Wales, in Dedicat.

(33) Thomſon’s Seaſons, Summer. v. 1493.

WALTON, [Brian] the moſt learned and diligent editor of the *Engliſh Polyglot Bible*, and Biſhop of Cheſter in the laſt century. This worthy man deſerves to be mentioned with particular reſpect, his great work being an honour to this nation. He was born, in the year 1600, in that part of the North Riding of Yorkſhire, called Cliveland. After a proper ſchool-education, he was admitted in Magdalen College in Cambridge, in 1615; and thence removing, on the 4th of December, 1616, to Peter-houſe (a), he took there the degree of Batchelor of Arts in 1619; as he did that of Maſter in 1623 (b). About this time he was a Curate, and maſter of a ſchool in Suffolk. Thence removing to London, he became aſſiſtant to Mr Richard Stock, rector of Alhallows, Breadſtreet. After whoſe death, in 1626 (c), he was made rector of St Martin’s-Orgar in that city (d); where he became noted for a man of ſtrong parts, great activity and diligence; an extraordinary reach and prudence, whereby he could command any learning, tho’ he had not much ſtudied it; very judicious in laying, and indefatigable in purſuing, any deſign. Of which he gave ſufficient evidence, in his proſecution of the affair of the Tythes of the London clergy (e) [A]. On the 15th of January 1635-6, he was inſtituted to both the rectories, of St Giles’s-in-the-fields, London, and Sandon in Eſſex; being preſented to them by King Charles I. whoſe chaplain he is then ſuppoſed to have been (f): but quitted St Giles’s again ſoon after (g). He is alſo ſaid to have been collated to the Prebend of Twiford in St Paul’s Cathedral (h). In 1639, he commenced Doctor in Divinity (i); being highly valued both for his learning and piety, and his ſtrenuous vindication of his brethren’s rights. But theſe valuable qualities ſerved only to expoſe him to the reſentment of the diſaffected vulgar. For, upon the breaking out of the rebellion, he was ſent for by the Houſe of Commons as a delinquent, aſſaulted, ſequeſtered from his living of St Martin’s, plundered and forced to fly (k): but, whether directly to Oxford, where he reſided afterwards for ſome time, or elſe to his other living of Sandon, we cannot learn with any certainty. At what time ſoever it happened, he was moſt barbarouſly uſed at that living likewiſe, being grievouſly harraſſed there; and once when he was ſought for by a party of horſe, he was forced to ſhelter himſelf in a broom field. And the manner of his being ſequeſtered from this living is very remarkable: For Sir Henry Mildmay and Mr Aſh, two members of parliament, firſt drew up articles againſt him themſelves, tho’ no way at all concerned in the pariſh, and then ſent them to Sandon to have them witneſſed and ſubſcribed (l). After he was thus diſpoſſeſſed of both his livings, being in danger of being murdered (m), he fled for refuge to Oxford. Whilſt he was

(a) Wood Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. Faſti, col. 47.

(b) From the Univerſity Regiſters.

(c) Newcourt, Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 418. and Wood, Faſti, as above.

(d) See Fuller’s Worthies, in Yorkſhire, p. 231.

(e) Dav. Lloyd Memoirs of Perſons that ſuffered in our inteſtine Wars. Folio, Lond. 1668, p. 513.

(f) Newcourt, Vol. I. p. 613. and Vol. II. p. 518.

(g) See Newcourt, Vol. I. p. 613. note *f*. admiſſion of Heywood in 1636.

(h) Walker, Sufferings of the Clergy, Part II. p. 53. London 1714. fol. and Wood Ath. Vol. II. Faſti, col. 47.

(i) From the Univerſity Regiſters.

(k) A brief Martyrology, or general Bill of Mortality of the Clergy of London, &c. 8vo.—The articles and charge proved in parliament againſt him were printed at London in 1641, 4to.

(l) Walker’s Sufferings, &c. as above, Part II. p. 53, 54. and Perſecutio Undecima, p. 22.

(m) Dav. Lloyd, as above, p. 513.

[*A*] *In his proſecution of the affair of the Tythes of the London clergy.*] The revenues of the London clergy accrued, anciently, from offerings made to them by their pariſhioners, upon certain days and occaſions. At length, conteſts ariſing about them, it was ſettled by Roger Niger, Biſhop of London in the 13th century, ‘ That, according to the yearly rent the inhabitants paid for their dwelling houſes, ſo their offerings ſhould be; that is, after the rate of a *farthing* ‘ for a houſe rented at 10s. a year, and a *halfpenny* ‘ for a houſe rented at 20s. a year, and ſo proportionably.’ And the times of payment were ſettled, afterwards, to every Sunday in the year, and twenty two holidays beſides, that is 74 in all; or three ſhillings and a penny in the pound: which, in proceſs of time, came to be uſually ſettled to 3s. 6d. in the pound. So they continued till Statute 37 Henry VIII. which altered, and ſettled them at 2s. 9d. in the pound, to the great diſadvantage of the London clergy: the citizens alſo contending to pay after the old rents, not according to later improvements. And, to defraud the clergy, and conceal the advancement of their rents, they invented ſeveral means; as yearly and quarterly fines, annuities, new years gifts, intereſt of money for improvement, or houſhold ſtuff. Some reſerved it by ſeveral bonds; ſome by double leaſes, wherein was mentioned a ſmall rent, by which the parſon muſt have his tithe; another, wherein was reſerved the full rent, according to which they paid their landlord. To remedy this grievance, a bill was brought into the firſt parliament of King James I. anno 1604, but did not paſs into a law. The miniſters in London, next, petitioned that King in 1615; without any effect. At laſt the London clergy, in the year 1634, preſented another petition to King Charles I. wherein they ſet forth, how the benefices of London, an hundred years before, were very great, but that they were then very ſmall and mean; many of them not worth 40 l. per annum, the moſt not 100l. ſhewing at the ſame time the cauſes thereof. This petition the King referred to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Lord Keeper, the Earl Marſhal, the Lord Biſhop of London, and others. Upon this, ſix citizens, ſuch as were moſt faulty by double leaſes and other frauds, were warned to appear before the privy-council, January the 9th. And the lords of the council did expreſs themſelves againſt the practices of the city, as mere frauds. Afterwards committees met on each ſide to treat of ſome accommodation: three aldermen being appointed for the city, and three clergymen nominated by the Biſhop of London, for the clergy; viz. Sir Chriſtopher Clithero, Sir Edward Bromfield, Mr Abdy, aldermen; Dr Holdſworth, Dr Brough, Dr Walton, parſons. Some time after the King declared he would hear the cauſe himſelf. This buſineſs was in hand, and tranſacting ſeveral years, namely till the year 1638, and nothing brought to any concluſion. And then the national troubles coming on, put an abſolute ſtop thereto (1). Upon this occaſion, Mr Walton, with great labour and induſtry, drew up a learned and exact Collection of Cuſtoms, Preſcriptions, Laws, Orders, Proclamations, Compoſitions, &c. about the above-mentioned tythes, for many hundred years together: and was ſo ſtrenuous an advocate for them, that the judges declared, there was no dealing with the London miniſters, if Mr Walton pleaded for them. His MS. Collections came into the hands of Mr Spence of Sion-college, and an abſtract of them was printed (2).

(1) Stow’s Survey of London, with Strype’s additions, Vol. II. ed. 1720, book V. p. 22—28.

(2) Dav. Lloyd, as above, p. 513.

there,

there, he formed the moſt noble and glorious deſign of publiſhing the Polyglot Bible, in a more complete and convenient manner than it had been before [B]. And returning afterwards to London (at the houſe of his father-in-law, Dr William Fuller, Vicar of St Giles's Cripplegate) he earneſtly ſet about, and began, that great work in the year 1653 (n) [C]. And though he had infinite diſturbances for his loyalty, and met with many other diſcouragements and difficulties; ſo little ſenſe had thoſe who then prevailed of any thing that was noble, or for the common good of learning, or rather indeed of Religion and Chriſtianity itſelf; yet, with diligence and application almoſt incredible, he ſurmounted them all, and got that moſt incomparable edition of the Bible compleated and publiſhed [D] in

(n) See the inſcription under his picture, prefixed to the firſt volume of the Polyglot.

[B] *Of publiſhing the Polyglot Bible, in a more complete and convenient manner than it had been before.*] There had been, before this time, three conſiderable editions of the Polyglot Bible. 1. The firſt, commonly known by the name of the *Complutenſian*, was undertaken by Francis de Ximenes, cardinal and archbiſhop of Toledo, and printed at his own charge: The compilers were the divines of his univerſity of *Complutum*, or Alcala, which he had newly founded. It was printed in the year 1514, &c. in ſix tomes, fol. It contains the Hebrew Text, with the Latin vulgate; the Greek Septuagint, with a Latin tranſlation; Onkelos's Chaldee Paraphraſe on the Pentateuch, with a Latin tranſlation, the New Teſtament in Greek, without accents, but with a Latin tranſlation. 2. The *Antwerp* Polyglot, was printed at Antwerp in 1571, in 8 tomes, fol. and it being at the expence of Philip II. King of Spain, it is upon that account ſtiled The Royal Polyglot. It contains the following articles; the Hebrew Text, with St Jerom's verſion: and theſe improvements above the former, the Chaldee paraphraſe, entire; the paraphraſe of Jonathan on the Prophets; and of Joſeph Cæcus, or others, on the Hagiographa. In the New Teſtament, the ancient Syriac verſion, both in Syrian and Hebrew characters, with a Latin verſion. An Apparatus, in 3 tomes. It is a very beautiful edition, by ſome ſtiled *orbis miraculum*, the world's wonder. The editor was Arias Montanus, a learned and moderate perſon. Though his work was approved of by the Pope himſelf, to whom it was preſented; and though he did nothing without the advice of the univerſity of Lovaine, and of ſeveral other learned men; yet all could not protect the publiſher from the jealouſies and calumnies of malignant ſpirits of his own brethren, againſt whom he was fain to write apologies, and hardly eſcaped the Inquiſition (3). 3. The third Polyglot was the *Paris* Polyglot, or rather Heptaglot, as being in ſeven languages, printed at Paris, 1645, in ten volumes, fol. on royal paper, at the expence of Michael le Jay. This is the ſame as the laſt, except the interlinear verſion and Apparatus: but there are added in it, the Samaritan Pentateuch in the ancient Hebrew character, uſed, as is ſuppoſed, by the Jews before the Babyloniſh captivity; with a Samaritan and Latin verſion; a Syriac tranſlation; and an Arabic tranſlation both of the Old and New Teſtament. The editors were, Gabriel Sionita, John Morin, and Abraham Echellenſis. This is a ſplendid edition, but imperfect in ſome reſpects, as wanting an Apparatus, Plates, various readings, indexes, &c. It was ſeverely criticized upon by Simeon de Muis, Regius Profeſſor of the Hebrew tongue at Paris.—— To theſe Polyglots we may add that of *Elias Hutter*, publiſhed at Hamburgh in 1597, in four languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German; to which he afterwards added the Italian, French, Sclavonian, and Saxon. His New Teſtament was printed in the year 1600, in twelve languages, viz. Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, Bohemian, Italian, Spaniſh, French, Engliſh, Daniſh, and Poliſh. But in the edition of 1603, he reduced it to theſe four, Hebrew, Greek, Latin and German. (4)

(3) Dr Walton's Conſiderator conſidered, 8vo. 1659, p. 4.

(4) Bayle's Dictionary under the article HVTTERVS.

[C] *And began that great work in the year* 1653.] About that time, he wrote the following letter to the Lord Primate Uſher; which we ſhall preſent the reader with, as it gives a right notion of our author's great care and induſtry.

‘ May it pleaſe your Grace,

‘ I made account to have waited upon your Grace before you went out of town, but was prevented by your early departure from Lincoln's-Inn, where I was about an hour after you were gone. I have been with my Lord of Ardah (5), and have left with him the copy of the LXX, which he is to follow. I perceive he will be engaged in work of his own for this half year; yet I hope he will not neglect this, but take ſome care of it himſelf, becauſe we cannot rely upon Mr Huiſh. I would gladly know whether Mr Young's executor will let us have his notes, or upon what terms; they will be of very great uſe, if they may be had: if your Grace pleaſe to give me order to write, or call to Mr Atwood (6) about them, and to make uſe of your name, I will ſee what may be done. If your Syriack copy be come out of France, Mr Thornedike would gladly have it to collate, both with the Paris, and your other manuſcript, for all may be done with the ſame labour. If yours cannot be had as yet, I will borrow ſome part of Mr Pocock's, till the other come over. Mr Whelock hath ſent me a ſpecimen of what he hath done about the Samaritane verſion; where it differs from the Heb. Samaritane I have ſent your Grace a copy of it. Dr Lightfoot, as I hear from a friend, is willing, if it be deſired, to undertake the ſame taſk, or part of it: and becauſe of Mr Wheelock's infirm body, I would gladly have ſome ſubſidiary help. He accounts it a thing eaſy (the Samar. being a dialect of the Chaldee) and I would gladly have ſomething done in it, both to ſatisfy the deſires and expectations of many that write about it; as alſo, that we may have ſomewhat more than is in the Paris Bibles, if your Grace thinks fit. Mr Whelock propounds another thing concerning the whole work, which I look upon as a thing hardly practicable, or which will at leaſt require a great deal of time, viz. to have all the homogeneal languages together, and one Latin tranſlation of them all, as the Hebrew Chald. Samar. and our Latin tranſlation for all. So the Roman LXX. with the Complutenſe, and that of Tecla's, and our Latin tranſlation, &c. This I look upon as a fancy, yet I promiſed to acquaint your Grace, and others, with it, and to deſire your opinions. I hope we ſhall ſhortly begin the work, yet I doubt the founders will make us ſtay a week longer than we expected: as ſoon as the firſt ſheet is printed, I ſhall make bold to ſend one to your Grace. In the mean time, with my prayers for your Grace's health and happineſs, I take leave, and reſt

‘ Your Grace's moſt humble ſervant,

From Dr Fuller's in St Giles
Cripplegate Church-yard,
July 18, 1653.

BRIAN WALTON.

‘ We have reſolved to have better paper
‘ than that of 11 s. a ream, viz. of
‘ 15 s. a ream (7).’

(5) John Richardſon.

(6) He had married Mr Patrick Young's daughter, and was his executor. He lived at Bromfield in Eſſex.

(7) Letters at the end of Archbiſhop Uſher's Life by R. Parr, p. 590.

[D] *Publiſhed in 1657, in ſix volumes folio.* What this valuable edition contains, will beſt appear from the title page, which is in theſe words. *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta, complectentia Textus Originales, Hebraicum, cum Pentateucho Samaritano; Chaldaicum; Græcum: Verſionumque antiquarum, Samaritanæ, Græcæ LXXII. Interp. Chaldaicæ, Syriacæ, Arabicæ, Æthiopicæ, Perſicæ, Vulg. Lat. quicquid comparari poterat. Cum Textuum & Verſionum Orientalium Tranſlationibus Latinis.* Ex vetuſtiſſimis MSS. undique conquiſitis, optimiſque Exemplaribus impreſſis, ſumma fide collatis. Quæ in prioribus Editionibus deerant ſuppleta. Multa antehac inedita de novo adjecta. Omnia ea ordine diſpoſita, ut Textus cum Verſionibus uno intuitu conferri poſſint. *i. e.* “ The holy Polyglot Bible, comprehending the original Texts, viz. the Hebrew, with the Samaritan Pentateuch; the Chaldee; and the Greek. And of the ancient Verſions, namely, the Samaritan, Greek Septuagint, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopian, Perſian and Latin Vulgate, all that could be procured. With Latin Tranſlations of the Texts, and Oriental Verſions. Publiſhed from the ancienteſt MSS. any where extant, and beſt printed copies very faithfully collated. What was wanting in the in 1657, in ſix volumes folio (o). The aſſiſtants in that great undertaking [E], and the chief encouragers of it [F] are ſet down below. About the year 1656, he was one of the committee, appointed by the then parliament, to conſider of the tranſlations and impreſſions of the Bible (p) [G]. As the beſt deſigns are apt to be miſunderſtood or miſrepreſented by weak and contentious perſons; ſo it fared with our learned editor; and his Polyglot. For J. Owen publiſhed Conſiderations againſt it [H]; which were refuted by our

the former editions is ſupplied. And many things now newly added. The whole being diſpoſed in ſuch order, that the original texts may at one view be compared with the tranſlations."

The ſhare Dr Walton had in this great Work was as follows. I. He diſpoſed the whole into that excellent order it is placed in. II. He prefixed to it An Apparatus, in Latin; containing, 1. *Chronologia ſacra*; or, The Sacred Chronology, from the Creation of the World to the Birth of Chriſt, and thence to the Jewiſh captivity; ſent him by Lewis Cappell, Hebrew Profeſſor in the univerſity of Saumur. 2. Edw. Brerewood, of the weight and value of ancient Coins. 3. Dr Walton's Supplement, concerning the form and inſcriptions of the Sicles, or Shekels, with an explanation of them. 4. A treatiſe of the ancient Weights, Money, and Meaſures of the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans, collected from ſeveral authors. 5. An explication of the Hebrew and Greek Idioms, occurring often in the Scriptures. 6. A deſcription of the Holy Land, from Adrichomius. 7. The notes of James Bonfrere on the ſame. 8. Dr John Lightfoot's Obſervations on the Maps of the Holy Land. 9. Τρισαγιον, or a threefold Deſcription of the Temple of Jeruſalem: the firſt, from the Scriptures, according to Villalpandus; the ſecond, from Joſephus; and the third, from the Jews in their Talmud, according to the deſcription and meaſures there given. Drawn up by Lewis Cappell. III. Then follow Dr Walton's learned *Prolegomena*, under theſe ſixteen heads. 1. Of the nature, origin, diviſion, number, changes, and uſe of Languages. 2. Of Letters or Characters, their wonderful uſe, origin and firſt invention, and their diverſity in the chief languages. 3. Of the Hebrew Tongue, its antiquity, preſervation, change, excellency and uſe, ancient characters, vowel points, and accents. 4. Of the principal Editions of the Bible. 5. Of the Tranſlations of the Bible. 6. Of the various Readings in the Holy Scripture. 7. Of the integrity and authority of the Original Texts. 8. Of the Maſora, Keri, and Ketib, various readings of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Jews, Ben Aſcher and Ben Nepthali; and of the Cabala. 9. Of the Septuagint, and other Greek tranſlations. 10. Of the Latin Vulgate. 11. Of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Verſions of the ſame. 12. Of the Chaldee language, and Verſions. 13. Of the Syriac tongue, and verſions. 14. Of the Arabic language, and verſions. 15. Of the Ethiopic tongue, and verſions. 16. And of the Perſian language, and Verſions.

[E] *The aſſiſtants in that great undertaking.*] The adviſers and directors of that great work, jointly with Dr Walton, were, James Uſher, Archbiſhop of Armagh, Dr William Fuller, Dr Gilbert Sheldon, Dr Bruno Ryves, Dr Robert Sanderſon, Dr Richard Sterne, Dr Samuel Baker, Dr Henry Hammond, Dr Henry Fearne, Mr Herbert Thorndike, Richard Johnſon, Richard Drake, D. D. Abraham Wheeloc, Arabic Profeſſor at Cambridge, Edward Pococke, Hebrew and Arabic Profeſſor at Oxford, Thomas Greaves, formerly Arabic Profeſſor at Oxford, and Thomas Smith, B. D. Fellow of Chriſt's College, Cambridge, Meric Caſaubon, &c

Thoſe that collated MSS. and corrected the preſs, were *Edmund Caſtell*, or Caſtle, B. D. a man in whom were united the moſt conſummate learning and the greateſt modeſty, *virum in quo eruditio ſumma, magnaque animi modeſtia convenere*, as Dr Walton acknowledges in his Preface. He was at the pains of carefully reviſing the Samaritan, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopian; tranſlated from the latter into Latin the Pſalms and Canticles, where they differ from the verſion of the LXX; and the Syriac Verſion of Job, where it differs from the Arabic, with Annotations. And tranſlated ſome of the books of the New Teſtament from the Ethiopic. This learned man alſo compiled, afterwards, that laborious work of the Lexicon in ſeven languages, 2 vol. fol. for the better underſtanding of the Polyglot Bible, and commonly ſold with it. After all, he was but ſlenderly rewarded for his pains; having, at firſt, but the poor vicarage of Hatfield-Peverell, then Wodeham-walter rectory, in Eſſex: In 1666, he was made Regius Profeſſor of Arabic in Cambridge; ſome time after, Rector of Higham Gobyon in Bedfordſhire; and in 1685, a few months before his deceaſe, Prebendary of Canterbury. He was born at Hatley in Cambridge-ſhire, educated at Emanuel College, where he was admitted in 1621: and buried at Higham Gobyon (8).—— The other Aſſiſtants in the edition of the Polyglot, were, *Alexander Huiſh*, of Wadham College, B. D. who took ſome pains about the Septuagint, the Greek Text of the New Teſtament, and the Latin Vulgate; and collated the Alexandrian MS. with the other editions.— *Samuel Clerk*, M. A. of Merton College, Architypographus of the univerſity of Oxford, beſtowed ſome labour upon the Hebrew Text, the Chaldee Paraphraſe, and the Perſian verſion of the Goſpels, part of which he rendered into Latin.——*Thomas Hyde*, a young man of great hopes, who had made a progreſs in the oriental languages beyond his years, *ſummæ ſpei juvenis, qui in Linguis Orientalibus ſupra ætatem magnos progreſſus fecerat*, as Dr Walton characterizes him, aſſiſted in correcting the Syriac and Perſian, and in writing the Pentateuch in Perſian characters, which before was only in the Hebrew letters; and making a Latin tranſlation (9).—— *Dudley Loftus*, I. U. D. of Dublin, tranſlated the Ethiopic Verſion of the New Teſtament into Latin.—— *Claude Hardy* communicated, from Paris, a more complete copy of the Ethiopic verſion, which helped to ſupply ſome imperfections that were in the others (10).—— Dr *David Stokes*, once Fellow of Eton College, was alſo an aſſiſtant in the work.

[F] *And the chief encouragers of it.*] Theſe were, Charles Elector Palatine, William Marquis of Hertford, William Earl of Bedford, William Earl of Strafford, Montague Earl of Lindeſey, George Earl of Rutland, Mildmay Earl of Weſtmoreland, John Earl of Exeter; William Lord Petre, William Lord Maynard, Arthur Lord Capel, Thomas Lord Fairfax, Baptiſt Viſcount Campden; Sir Robert Shirley, Sir William Courtney, Sir Antony Cheſter, Sir William Farmer, Baronets; Sir Norton Knatchbull, Knight and Baronet; Sir Francis Burdett, Knight; John Aſhburnham, John Selden, John Sadler, John Hele, Tho. Wendy, Eſquires; John Wall, D. D. William Lenthall, Maſter of the Rolls.——— William Humble, Eſq; was Treaſurer of the Subſcriptions.—— And the Council of State, and the Protector Oliver Cromwell, permitted the paper to be imported duty-free (11).

[G] *About the year* 1656, *he was one of the committee appointed*, &c.] This we learn from Mr Whitelock. —" 1656. January 16th. At the grand Com'mittee for Religion. Ordered, That it be referred 'to a ſub-committee to ſend for and adviſe with Dr '*Walton*, Mr Hughes, Mr Caſtle, Mr Clark, Mr 'Poulk, Dr Cudworth and ſuch others as they ſhall 'think fit, and to conſider of the tranſlations and im'preſſions of the Bible, and to offer their opinions 'therein to this committee; and that it be eſpecially 'commended to the Lord Commiſſioner Whitelocke 'to take care of this buſineſs.——'This committee' (adds Mr Whitelock) 'often met at my houſe, and 'had the moſt learned men in the oriental tongues to 'conſult with in this great buſineſs, and divers ex'cellent and learned obſervations of ſome miſtakes 'in the Tranſlations of the Bible in Engliſh; which 'yet was agreed to be the beſt tranſlation in the world; 'I took pains in it, but it became fruitleſs by the par'liament's diſſolution.' (11)

[H] *For J. Owen publiſhed Conſiderations againſt it.*] The title of this piece of Dr Owen, was, 'Conſidera'tions on the *Prolegomena*, and Appendix of the late '*Biblia Polyglotta*.' And it was annexed to theſe two tracts of his, 1. 'Of the divine Original, Authority, 'ſelf-evidencing Light and Power of the Scripture, '&c.' 2. 'Vindication of the Integrity and Purity 'of the Hebrew and Greek Text of the Scripture.' Oxford 1659. 8vo. (12)——— Dr Owen aſſigns the follow-our author, in a book intituled, The Conſiderator conſidered [*I*]. Soon after the reſtoration of King Charles II. namely Auguſt 12, 1660, he was incorporated Doctor in Divinity

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(o) Wood Ath. as above, col. 47. 48. and J. Walker, as above, p. 54.

(p) Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732. p. 654.

(8) Newcourt, Repertorium, Vol. II. p. 318, 685. J. le Neve's Faſti, p. 17.— Appendix to Thomas de Elmham, edit. Tho. Hearne, p. 356. 427.

(9) See above the article HYDE [THOMAS].

(10) This account is taken from Dr Walton's Preface.

(11) From the ſame Preface, and Dav. Lloyd, as above, p. 516.

(11) Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 654.

(12) Wood, Ath. as above, col. 743.

following cauſe or motive for publiſhing his Conſiderations, viz. That he had ‘ written a treatiſe of the ‘ divine Original of the Scriptures, their authority ‘ and ſelf-evidencing light, and of the Providence of ‘ God in their preſervation, which being ready for ‘ the preſſe, the *Prolegomena* and *Appendix* came to his ‘ hands, wherein the great bulk of various readings, ‘ and ſome opinions maintained in the *Prolegomena*, ‘ did in his apprehenſion much weaken the arguments ‘ by him inſiſted upon in that treatiſe, and therefore ‘ a neceſſity was incumbent upon him, either to deſiſt ‘ from publiſhing it, or elſe of giving an accompt of ‘ theſe things in the *Prolegomena* and *Appendix*, which ‘ tended to the diſadvantage of that great truth which ‘ he had pleaded for (13).’ The two main faults he finds with the Polyglot Bible, and the *Prolegomena*, are, 1. The *Various Readings* therein mentioned, and ſet down; which, according to him, imply, That the original texts, or copies of ſcripture are corrupted, yea have groſs corruptions in them: and this voluminous bulk of various lections, as nakedly exhibited, ſeems ſufficient to beget ſcruples and doubts about the preſervation of the Scripture by the care and providence of God; ſo that they are no ground for faith to reſt upon. 2. The learned editor, Dr. Walton's, embracing the opinion of Cappell, and others, That the Hebrew Points are not coæval with the text or language itſelf, and affixed either by Moſes or Ezra; but were invented by the Maſorites about five or ſix hundred years after Chriſt (14). . . . Theſe two points Dr Owen repreſents as a plot, or deſign, among Proteſtants, after they are come out of Rome. And in ſeveral places drops theſe odious inſinuations. ‘ The ‘ leproſie of Papiſts, crying down the original texts is ‘ broken forth among Proteſtants, with what deſign, ‘ to what end or purpoſe he knows not; God knows, ‘ and the day will manifeſt. That this deſign is owned ‘ in the *Prolegomena* to the Bible, and in the *Appendix*; ‘ That they print the original and defame it, gathering up tranſlations of all ſorts, and ſetting them up ‘ in competition with it. That they take away all ‘ certainty in and about all ſacred truth. That there ‘ is nothing left unto men, but to chooſe whether they ‘ will turn Papiſts or Atheiſts. That there are groſs ‘ corruptions befallen the originalls, which by the help ‘ of old tranſlations, and by conjectures may be found ‘ out and corrected: as pernitious a principle as ever ‘ was fixed upon ſince the foundation of the Church ‘ of Chriſt. That it is the foundation of Mahumetaniſme, the chiefeſt and principall prop of Popery, ‘ the only pretenſe of phanaticall Antiſcripturiſts, and ‘ the root of much hidden Atheiſme in the world; ‘ enough to frighten unſtable ſouls into the arms of an ‘ infallible guide. That theſe various tranſlations, as ‘ upon triall they will be found to be, are ſuch, as ‘ many will be ready to queſtion the foundation of all; ‘ and therefore he had rather all tranſlations ſhould ‘ be conſumed out of the earth, than ſuch a figment ‘ ſhould be admitted.'—— All this he unfairly repreſents as a ‘ dreadfull diſtemper, which may well ‘ prove mortall to the truth of the Scripture;’ as a ‘ horrible and outragious violence offered to the ſacred verity;’ and as ‘ mens taking upon them to ‘ correct the Scripture, the word of God (15).’ . . . . . Mr Arnold Boate found alſo great fault with this edition of the Polyglot Bible, as appears by theſe extracts from two Letters of his.

He thought it ‘ very ſuperfluous to give the Perſian Pentateuch, as being tranſlated not out of the ‘ original, but out of the Chaldee and the Hebrew Samaritan; whereof it were ſufficient to give the diſcrepancies from our Hebrew Pentateuch.—And the ‘ Syriack and Arabick being that which chiefly muſt ‘ make that edition to be conſiderable (for every body hath the Hebrew, and the Vulgar Latin, and ‘ moſt men the Greek and the Chaldee) they ought ‘ to give us thoſe two texts as authentical as may be; ‘ whereas if they take them only out of the Paris-Bible, they will not be worth a ruſh, Gabriel Sionita having interpolated them in innumerable places, and ſo utterly ſpoiled the authenticalneſs of ‘ them; there beſides, the Hebrew character is a very ‘ ſcurvy one, and ſuch as will greatly diſgrace the ‘ work.’ . . . . .

He likewiſe expreſſes his ſurprize at ‘ that honourable and moſt notoriouſly falſe character they give ‘ to that adulterine Samaritan Pentateuch, the Morinian and Capellian, calling of the true Hebrew text ‘ by the name of Modern; and at their making ſo ‘ great an account of *Critica Capelli*; and of the *Variæ Lectiones* to be collected out of the ſame; whereas of *Veræ Variæ Lectiones*, there is not one to be ‘ found there, but what he hath borrowed from others, ‘ being vulgarly known (16).’

In another letter he ſays. ‘ I would think it much ‘ more commendable, and of much more utility for ‘ the public, and for themſelves too (in regard of the ‘ ready venting of the impreſſion) to print nothing ‘ elſe but the Syriac, Chaldee, Arabick, Ethiopick, ‘ and the Pentateuch in the Samaritan language, with ‘ the Latin tranſlations. And that edition too will ‘ not be worth a ruſh, if it be not done with the ſelf ‘ ſame exactneſs as the Biblia Regia was; whereas ‘ thoſe of Le Jay are baſely defaced with innumerable faults, and therefore fit for nothing but to be ‘ burnt (17).

[*I*] *Which were refuted by our Author*, &c.] He intituled his book, ‘ The Conſiderator conſidered: or, ‘ A brief View of certain Conſiderations upon the *Biblia Polyglotta*, the *Prolegomena* and Appendix thereof. Wherein, amongſt other things, the certainty, ‘ integrity, and Divine Authority of the Original ‘ Texts, is defended, againſt the Conſequences of ‘ Atheiſts, Papiſts, Antiſcripturiſts, &c. inferred from ‘ the Various Readings, and Novelty of the Hebrew ‘ Points, by the Author of the ſaid Conſiderations. ‘ The *Biblia Polyglotta*, and Tranſlations therein exhibited, with the various Readings, *Prolegomena*, and ‘ Appendix, vindicated from his Aſperſions and Calumnies. And the queſtions about the punctation ‘ of the Hebrew Text, the various Readings, and ‘ the ancient Hebrew Character briefly handled.’ London 1659. 8vo. In the beginning he obſerves, that, ‘ Whereas he had laboured to aſſert the *purity*, ‘ *integrity*, and *ſupream authority* of the *Originall Texts*, ‘ againſt thoſe of Rome on the one ſide, rejecting ‘ ſome *Jewiſh* opinions, unwarily ſwallowed by ſome ‘ amongſt ourſelves on the other, he had incurred the ‘ diſpleaſure of both; the one complaining that too ‘ much is aſcribed to the *Originall Texts*, the other, ‘ too little: which is a good argument that he hath ‘ kept cloſe to the truth, from which thoſe that do *extrema ſectari* [run into extremes] do uſually ſwerve ‘ (18).’ Then, after taking notice of the diſingenuous means uſed by his adverſary, to prejudice the world againſt that great and good work (19), he ſhews, That the *Various Readings* are no proof of groſſe corruptions having befallen the Originals of the Bible, or any impeachment of the care and providence of God in the preſervation of the holy Scriptures, as the other had invidiouſly ſuggeſted (20). But he repeats, as his ſettled opinion, what he had more fully made out in his Prolegomena, namely, ‘ 1. That the Hebrew ‘ Text is not corrupted by the Jews, either before or ‘ after Chriſt. 2. That neither the Hebrew nor Greek ‘ Texts of the Old and New Teſtament are corrupted ‘ by Hereticks or others, but that they remain pure ‘ and entire, and that they always were, and ſtill are, ‘ the authentick rule in all matters of faith and religion, and that by them all tranſlations are to be ‘ tried and examined. 3. That though by the negligence or inadvertency of Tranſcribers ſome caſual miſtakes or involuntary errors may creep into ‘ the text, from whence various readings have riſen ‘ both in the Old and New Teſtament, yet the original text remains pure and authentick, becauſe thoſe ‘ varieties are not in matters of any moment, whereby ‘ any point of faith or ſalvation is prejudiced in the ‘ leaſt, nor are there means wanting, whereby ſuch ‘ errors may be amended, and the true reading eſtabliſhed (21). That there have been caſual miſtakes ‘ by tranſcribers in matters of no concernment, or ‘ that there are various Readings in the Hebrew and ‘ Greek Texts,’ he ſhews to have been the opinion of Abp. Uſher, J. Buxtorf, and other the greateſt *Patrons* of the Hebrew Text (22).— And then as to the *Multitude*, or great Bulk of various readings, collected in the laſt volume of the Polyglot, which Owen was greatly offended at, our learned Author ſays, that ‘ whereas the whole volume conſiſts of above two ‘ hundred vinity at Oxford: two days after, he was collated by the Biſhop of London to the prebend of Wenlakeſbarn, in the church of St Paul, London (*q*). And having preſented his Polyglot Bible to his Majeſty, it was ſo well accepted, that he was not only made Chaplain in ordinary to the King; but alſo, for his great virtues, learning, loyalty, ſufferings, and indefatigable induſtry for the public benefit of the world, nominated Biſhop of Cheſter, and conſecrated in Weſtminſter-abbey, December 2, 1660 (*r*). In 1661, he was one of the commiſſioners at the Savoy-conference, and attended once or twice (*s*) [*K*]. The 3d of September he ſet out from London, to go and viſit his cathedral church and city; and on the way was met by great numbers of people of the beſt faſhion, who received him with great civilities and applauſe (*t*) [*L*]. But, how ſhort are all human enjoyments! after he had continued ſome time at Cheſter, returning to London, he fell ſick, and died the 29th of November at his houſe in Alderſgate-ſtreet. The 5th of December following he was buried on the ſouth ſide of the cathedral church of St Paul; and ſoon after, a noble monument was put over his grave, with a large inſcription (*u*) [*M*]. Beſides the

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(13) Conſiderations, &c. ch. 1. § 1, &c.

(14) Ibid. p. 147. 158, 159. 206. 314. 345, &c.

(15) Ibid. p. 9. 14. 21. 25. 147. 161. 196. 180. 205. 207. 314, 315. 318, 344.

(16) Letters at the end of Archbiſhop Uſher's Life by R. Parr, D. D. p. 588, 589.

(17) Ib. p. 605.

(18) Conſiderator conſidered, p. 2.

(19) P. 10—45.

(20) P. 40. 46.

(21) P. 48, 49.

(22) P. 51, &c.

(*q*) Wood, Faſti, as above. Newcourt Repertor. Vol. I. p. 223.

(*r*) Biſhop Kennett's Regiſter, &c. p. 323.

(*s*) Proceedings of the Commiſſioners for the Review of the CommonPrayer, Lond. 1661. 4to. p. 1. and Rich. Baxter's Life, fol. part 2.

(*t*) Publick Intelligence, No. 38.

(*u*) Wood, Faſti, as above.

‘ hundred ſheets, there are not above two ſheets of the *Hebrew various Readings*, viz. only the Keri and Ketib, with thoſe of Ben Aſcher and Ben Naphtali; the Oriental and Occidental Jews (which are in divers other editions of the Hebrew Bibles) reckoning in alſo the Annotations about the Keri and Ketib, yea, the bare readings themſelves might be reduced into almoſt one ſheet. And as for thoſe of the *New Teſtament*, gathered out of above fourty old Greek MSS. they are all contained in *nine Sheets*, of which the very names of ſo many MSS. ſo often repeated upon neceſſity upon every difference, with the preſent reading of the text, and the noting down the chapter and verſe at every various reading, takes up the moſt of thoſe ſheets; ſo that I durſt undertake (ſays he) that all theſe differences noted out of thoſe MSS. if they were printed by themſelves, (without any thing elſe added) might be reduced into *one* or *two ſheets*, ſo that here this great voluminous bulk is ſhrunk from two hundred ſheets, to two or three.’ (23)

As to the other capital fault, alledged by Dr Owen againſt the learned editor of the Polyglot Bible, namely, his believing that the *Hebrew Points* were not of the ſame antiquity as the original Text, but deviſed and fixed by the Maſorites about five hundred years after Chriſt; Dr Walton obſerves, that by the outcry made againſt that opinion by his adverſary, ‘ one would think the *Prolegomena* had delivered ſome ſtrange and dangerous opinion, never heard of before, which overthrows all *Certainty*, and by conſequence all *Authority* of Scripture, whereas it is there proved [and he makes it appear] that the ſame doctrine of the *Originall of Points* was delivered by the greateſt reformers, the moſt *eminent Proteſtant Divines*, both at the beginning of the Reformation, and ſince, and the beſt ſkilled in the Eaſtern learning, and the greateſt patrons of the integrity of the Hebrew text, That as the ſame is by the *Prolegomena* maintained, there is no prejudice at all ariſing to the certainty of the Hebrew text. For we neither affirm (ſaith he) that the *vowels* and *accents* were invented by the Maſorites, but that the Hebrew tongue did always conſiſt of *vowels* and *conſonants*. *Aleph*, *Vau*, and *Jod* were the vowels before the points were invented, as they were alſo in the Syriack, Arabick, and other Eaſtern tongues: nor that theſe points which are now uſed for vowels and accents, were the arbitrary invention of the Maſorites, but that they pointed the text according to the true and received reading, and not as they pleaſed; nor that it is lawful for any to reject their reading at pleaſure, but that all are tyed to it, unleſſe ſome error, or better reading can be clearly proved; nor that the authority of the reading depends upon the Maſorites, but that they pointed it according to the received reading, which expreſſed the true ſence of the Holy Ghoſt (24).’ And in this opinion, he proceeds to ſhew, he had the concurrent judgment of the learnedſt Proteſtant Divines, and ableſt Linguiſts, namely, Luther, Zuinglius, Brentius, Pellican, Oecolampadius, Calvin, Beza, Muſculus, Paulus Fagius, Mercer, Cameron, Chamier, Piſcator, Scaliger, Caſaubon, De Dieu, Erpenius, Sixtinus Amama, Grotius, Jac. and Ludov. Capellus, Druſius, Schindler, Martinius, Salmaſius, Schickard, Rivet, Spanhemius, Feſt. Hommius, Mayer, Bootius; and, amongſt ourſelves. Archbiſhop Uſher, Biſhop Prideaux, Mr Selden, Mr Mede, Mr Eyre, and innumerable others. (25)

(23) P. 119—121.

(24) P. 196—200.

(25) P. 12. 201. 221. 231, &c.

[*K*] *And attended once or twice.*] At one of thoſe meetings, when R. Baxter alledged, that he ‘ had been in judgment for caſting out the utterly inſufficient and notoriouſly ſcandalous, indifferently, of what opinion or ſide ſoever; but had publickly written againſt the ſilencing or diſplacing any worthy man for being againſt the Parliament:’ Biſhop Walton ſaid, upon that, “ Indeed, Mr Baxter did write againſt the caſting of us out. But, Mr Baxter, did not you ſay, That if our churches had no more than bare liberty, as others had, without the compulſion of the ſword, none but drunkards would join in them?” R. Baxter anſwered, ‘ No, my Lord, I did not. I only ſaid, That as they had been ordered, if they had but equal liberty for volunteers, they would be like ale-houſes, where many honeſt men may come, but the number of worſe comers is ſo great, as maketh it diſhonourable (26).’

(26) Life of R. Baxter, written by himſelf.

[*L*] *Who received him with great civilities and applauſe.*] The 7th of September, when he came within ſix miles of Litchfield, ſome perſons of very good worth met him, who came purpoſely from Cheſter, above 50 miles.—— The 9th between Litchfield and Stone, he was met by more perſons of quality, who alſo came from Cheſter: and, the next day, almoſt all the gentry of the whole county, and the militia both of the county and city went out to meet him. Five troops of horſe met him at Nantwich the 10th at night: and, the next day, the clergy came alſo to him on the road. The militia of the city received him at the confines of their liberties with much gladneſs, and, with many of the aldermen, conducted him into the town, which he had no ſooner entered, but many thouſands of the people, bleſſing God for ſo happy a ſight, made many and loud acclamations (27).

(27) Publick Intelligence, No. 38, and Wood, Faſti, as above.

[*M*] *With a large inſcription.*] It begins thus (28):

“ Manet heic noviſſimam reſuſcitantis angeli tubam,
“ BRIANVS WALTONVS, olim Ceſtrienſis
“ Epiſcopus.

“ Epitaphium aliud ne quæras, Viator, cui
“ Datum eſt vel ipſum nomen Epitaphium,
“ Quod ſi explicatius velis,
“ Famam conſule, non tumulum,” &c.

(28) It is very incorrectly printed in the General Dictionary, in Dr Browne Willis, and elſewhere.

i. e. Here awaiteth the laſt trump of the angel, at the reſurrection, Brian Walton, late Biſhop of Cheſter. Reader, look for no other Epitaph on him, whoſe very name is a ſufficient Epitaph. If you would have a larger one, conſult his Fame, not this marble. Nevertheleſs (if you can be ignorant of it) let me inform you, This was that excellent Doctor, who, with the firſt, brought aſſiſtance to this Church, groaning under the late Tyranny: He took off the ſcandalous aſperſions caſt upon the Clergy, whilſt they were trampled upon by the rebellious and profane rabble: He brought Honor to the Reformed Religion profeſſed among us; when, with uncommon application and fortitude (notwithſtanding all helliſh oppoſition) he carried on, and publiſhed the fine edition of the Polyglot Bible. So that the Old and New Teſtament are his own monument, which he erected at a great expence. *He* therefore little needs the pride of a long pageantry of Titles, whoſe name is already written in the Book of Life. He died on the eve of St Andrew, in the 62d year of his age, the firſt of his conſecration, and of our Lord 1661.

Polyglot Bible, and Conſiderator conſidered, he publiſhed a few other pieces [*N*], of which an account is given below. He was twice married [*O*].

[*N*] *He publiſhed a few other pieces.*] I find only theſe two mentioned any where; 1. Anſwer to an ungodly Pamphlet, in defence of the Church of England, &c. written at Oxford (29). 2. *Introductio ad Lectionem Linguarum Orientalium.* An Introduction to the reading of the Oriental Languages. Lond. 1655, 8vo.

(29) Publick Intelligence, and Biſhop Kennett's Regiſter, p. 323.

[*O*] *He was twice married.*] His firſt wife was Anne, of the Claxton family of Suffolk. She dyed 25 May 1640, aged 43, and was buried in the chancel of Sandon church, where a handſome monument is erected to her memory (30). His ſecond wife was ———, daughter of Dr William Fuller, Vicar of St Giles's Cripplegate, London.

(30) Hiſtory of Eſſex, in Chelmsford Hundred, p. 27.

WARD [Seth], a learned Philoſopher and Mathematician, ſucceſſively Biſhop of Exeter and Saliſbury, in the laſt century, was the ſecond ſon of Mr John Ward, attorney at law, of Buntingford in Hertfordſhire [*A*]; a man of good reputation for his fair practice, but not rich. His mother's maiden name was Martha Dalton (*a*). He was baptized there the 15th of April 1617 (*b*) [*B*]. His father taught him common arithmetic, and the reſt of his education he received at Buntingford-ſchool; having at the ſame time the advantage of his mother's inſtructions, who appears to have been a very accompliſhed woman. When fit for the univerſity, in 1632, he was ſent to Sidney college in Cambridge; the maſter of which, Dr Samuel Ward, being pleaſed with his ingenuity and induſtry, and the ſweetneſs of his temper, ſoon made him a Scholar of that houſe (*c*): and ſome time after he was choſen Fellow. His genius naturally inclining him to the mathematics, he cloſely applied himſelf, among other parts of learning, to that ſtudy, which requires a clear head, and unwearied attention; in both which he was extremely happy. Very few helps he could then find in the univerſity to forward him in thoſe ſciences, except his own diligence, and a lucky acquaintance he happened to contract with ſome bright young ſtudents, particularly with Mr Charles Scarborough (*d*) [*C*]. When he kept his act for his Bachelor of Arts degree, he did not fetch his queſtions from the old Ariſtotelian Philoſophy, but they treated of the old and new ſtyle, or of the Julian and Gregorian account of the year (*e*). After the breaking out of the civil wars, Mr Ward felt, among many others in the univerſity, the direful effects of them: And his friend and patron Dr Samuel Ward being impriſoned in St John's college, he attended him there voluntarily; as he did afterwards on his death-bed, and till the time of his deceaſe, which happened September 7, 1643 (*f*). In the Spring following, he refuſed to take the Covenant, and other oaths tendered to him; and joined with Mr Peter Gunning, Iſaac Barrow, afterwards Biſhop of St Aſaph, John Barwick, and others, in drawing up a well-written treatiſe againſt the Covenant [*D*], which was then publiſhed. Neglecting, upon ſummons, to take the Covenant, he was deprived of his Fellowſhip in Auguſt 1644. His ſupport thus failing him in Cambridge, he ſpent ſome time with Dr Samuel Ward's relations in and about London, and with Mr Oughtred at Albury, where he continued to improve himſelf in the mathematics. Invitations he received from the Earl of Carliſle, and other perſons of quality, with offers of large and honorable penſions, to come and reſide in their families; but he preferred that of his friend and countryman Ralph Freeman, of Aſpenden-hall, Eſq; (*g*) whoſe ſons he inſtructed, and reſided there moſtly till the year 1649. Then he went and was Chaplain to Thomas Lord Wenman, of Tame-park in Oxfordſhire (*h*). About that time, the learned John Greaves, Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy (*i*), being turned out of this office, went to London, to adviſe with ſome of his friends, particularly with Dr Scarborough, how he could procure an able and worthy perſon to ſucceed him in his Profeſſorſhip. They recommended Mr Ward to him; who, through Sir John Trevor's intereſt, was admitted (*k*). But he was ſoon after forced to take the engagement [*E*]. At his coming to Oxford, he entered himſelf a gentleman-commoner in Wadham-college, for the ſake of the excellent Dr John Wilkins, then Warden of that houſe;

(*a*) The Life of Seth Biſhop of Saliſbury, by Dr W. Pope, Lond. 1697. 8vo. p. 4.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. ed. 1721. vol. II. col. 826.

(*c*) Wood, ibid. and Pope, p. 7. He and Dr Sam. Ward were not related, though their ſurname was the ſame. See our Author's Preface to Dr Samuel Ward's Lectures.

(*d*) Pope, p. 9.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 11. In 1640 he was appointed Prævaricator by Dr Coſin, then Vice-chancellor.

(*f*) Pope, p. 12—14.

(*g*) Buntingford is within the pariſh of Aſpenden, and three other adjoining pariſhes. See Chauncy's Hertfordſhire, p. 131.

(*h*) Pope, p. 16, 17. and Wood, col. 827.

(*i*) See the article GREAVES [John].

(*k*) Pope, p. 18—21.

[*A*] *Was the ſecond ſon of Mr John Ward, attorney at law, of Buntingford.*] Our Biſhop's grandfather lived near Ipſwich in Suffolk, and had the misfortune to loſe a conſiderable hereditary eſtate; though we are not told how. Whereupon John, the Biſhop's father, ſettled himſelf at Buntingford, where he was buried January 17, 1655, and his wife March 7, 1645 (1). Dr Pope ſays, he never heard the Biſhop ſpeak of his father; but he often heard him commend his mother extraordinarily, for her virtue, piety, and wiſdom, to whoſe good inſtructions and counſels, he uſed to ſay, he owed whatever was good in him. They had three ſons; John, who died a bachelor; *Seth*; and Clement, who left three ſons, and ſeveral daughters, which were provided for, afterwards, by the Biſhop (2).

[*B*] *He was baptized the 15th of April* 1617.] Dr Pope ſays, he was born in 1618 (3). But the account, as above, from A. Wood, is more agreeable to truth, as well as to his Epitaph, wherein it is ſaid, that he was at the time of his death, January 6, 1688-9, in the 72d year of his age: *Anno ætatis* LXXII. See alſo Sir Henry Chauncy, as above.

(1) Sir Henry Chauncy's Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, p. 126.

(2) Pope, as above, p. 4, 5.

(3) P. 6.

[*C*] *With Mr Charles Scarborough.*] This ingenious perſon was then Fellow of Caius college in Cambridge. See a further account of him under his article in the Supplement to this work.

[*D*] *A well written treatiſe againſt the Covenant.*] The title of it was, *Certain Diſquiſitions and Conſiderations, repreſenting to the Conſcience the Unlawfulneſs of the Oath entituled,* A ſolemn League and Covenant for Reformation, &c. *as alſo the Inſufficiency of the Arguments uſed in the Exhortation for taking the ſaid Covenant.* Publiſhed by command. Oxford, 1644. 4to. (4)

[*E*] *But he was ſoon after forced to take the ſaid Engagement.*] Dr Pope indeed affirms, 'that Sir John 'preſerved him in his Profeſſorſhip, without taking 'the Covenant, or Engagement (5).' But Ant. Wood (6), and Dr Thomas Wood (7), aſſert, that in October 1649, he took the Independent Oath, called the Engagement, the effect of which was, 'to be 'faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as it 'was then eſtabliſhed without a King or Houſe of 'Lords:' as it appeared in the Regiſtry belonging to the

(4) See the article BARWICK [John] in vol. I. p. 524, note [*E*].

(5) P. 21.

(6) Athenæ, vol. II. vol. 827.

(7) Appendix to the Life of Seth Lord Biſhop of Saliſbury, written by Dr W. Pope, F. R. S. in a Letter to the Author. London 1697. 8vo. p. 9.

houſe; and, October 23, 1649, was incorporated Maſter of Arts in this univerſity (*l*). His firſt care was to procure Mr Greaves the full arrears of his ſalary, amounting to five hundred pounds; for the lands allotted for the payment of the Savilian Profeſſors lying chiefly in Kent, the rents of them had been ſeized and detained by the Parliamentarians. Next, he took ſome pains to bring the Aſtronomy-Lectures into reputation, which had been for a conſiderable time diſuſed, and entirely neglected (*m*) [*F*]. May 31, 1654, he proceeded Doctor in Divinity, with the learned John Wallis, Savilian Profeſſor of Geometry (*n*). In 1656 Dr Ward was collated by Biſhop Brounrig, whoſe Chaplain he was, to the Precentorſhip of Exeter [*G*]. He could indeed have no preſent enjoyment of it, but he was inſtalled September 15, 1660, after the Reſtoration (*o*), and it proved a very advantageous preferment to him (*p*). He was one of thoſe learned Philoſophers, that had their ſtated meetings at the apartments of Dr Wilkins in Wadham college; which meetings gave afterwards riſe to the Royal Society: And of this Dr Ward was nominated Fellow in 1661; as he was ſeveral years the Second Preſident of the ſame (*q*) [*H*]. In 1657, upon Michael Roberts's reſignation, he was elected Principal of Jeſus college, by the direction of Dr Francis Manſell, the former Head of that houſe, ejected in 1648; but Oliver Cromwell put in one Fr. Howell, with a promiſe however of 80*l.* a year to Dr Ward, which was never paid. Sept. 14, 1659, he was more ſucceſsfully choſen Preſident of Trinity college, and enjoyed it till Auguſt 1660, when he was forced to make room for the legal owner, Dr Hannibal Potter, who had been unjuſtly diſpoſſeſſed in 1647 (*r*). Dr Ward loſing this, and reſigning his Savilian Profeſſor's place about the ſame time, was preſented by K. Charles II. to the Vicarage of St Laurence-Jewry in London, to which he was admitted January 19, 1660-1 (*s*). The 26th of December following, he was elected Dean of Exeter (*t*) [*I*]. For he now had the art of making a merit of his former ſufferings, and of his ejection from the univerſity of Cambridge (*u*): And, by his genteel behaviour, he ſo ingratiated himſelf with the gentry of Devonſhire, many of them members of the Houſe of Commons, and with George Monk Duke of Albemarle, the Earl of Clarendon [*K*], and others, that they procured for him the Biſhopric of Exeter (*w*). He was elected July 8, 1662, confirmed the 19th, and conſecrated the next day (*x*). Immediately he ſet about repairing the Epiſcopal palace; augmented the poor Vicarages; encreaſed the Prebends, from four to twenty pounds a year; procured the Deanry of Burien to be annexed to the Biſhopric of Exeter: and by theſe acts of munificence, with many inſtances of his capacity for buſineſs, became the moſt conſiderable man on the Biſhops bench (*y*). In

1667

(*l*) Wood, Ath. col. 827. and Faſti, col. 72.

(*m*) Pope, p. 21—23. He reſigned his Profeſſorſhip in 1660. J. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 477.

(*n*) Wood, Ath. col. 827. and Faſti, col. 106. and Pope, p. 31.

(*o*) J. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 88.

(*p*) Pope, p. 28, 29.

(*q*) Hiſtory of the Royal Society.

(*r*) Wood, col. 827. Pope, p. 45, &c. J. Le Neve, p. 496. 498.

(*s*) Newcourt, Repertor. vol. I. p. 387.

(*t*) J. Le Neve, p. 86.

(*u*) Temporibus mutatis obſequio facile ſe accommodavit.

(*w*) Wood, Ath. col. 827. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own time, vol. I. p. 269. Pope, p. 54.

(*x*) J. Le Neve, p. 84. He was inthronized Dec. 21.

(*y*) Pope, p. 57, &c. Burnet, as above.

the Committee for the Reformation of the Univerſity, and as the Clerk belonging to that Committee informed Mr Ant. Wood and others.—— Biſhop Burnet alſo ſays, that ' he complied during the late times, ' and held in by taking the Covenant (8).' However, this compliance of Mr Ward was common to him with many other great and worthy men, his contemporaries. And he was, as Dr Richardſon obſerves (9), *temporibus ſervire doctus, ſuique memor.*

[*F*] *Which had been for a conſiderable time diſuſed, and entirely neglected.*] Mr Ward read his Lecture very conſtantly, and that being known, he never failed of a good auditory. He told Dr Pope, that in all the time he enjoyed the Aſtronomy Profeſſor's place, he never miſſed one reading day. Beſides this, he taught the Mathematics *gratis* to as many of the univerſity, or foreigners, as deſired that favour of him.—And he preached frequently, though he was not obliged to it; for Sir Henry Savile had exempted his Profeſſors from all univerſity exerciſes, that they might have the more leiſure to mind the employment he deſigned them for. (10)

[*G*] *In 1656 Dr Ward was collated by Biſhop Brounrig, whoſe Chaplain he was, to the Precentorſhip of Exeter.*] The Biſhop having been deprived of his Biſhopric in the beginning of the troubles, reſided moſtly at Sunning in Berkſhire (11), where Mr Ward uſed frequently to wait upon him. On the former Præcentor's death, the Biſhop ſent for Dr Ward, and collated him to that office, telling him at the ſame time, ' That he was confident the King would be ' reſtored, and you may live, ſaid he, to ſee that ' happy day, though I believe I ſhall not; and then ' this, which ſeems now δῶρον ἄδορον [a gift, and no ' gift] may be of ſome emolument to you.' It fell out as the Biſhop foretold; for he died in the dawn of the Reſtoration, and Dr Ward lived to enjoy this benefice, which was worth to him ſeveral thouſand pounds.—This was the firſt fair flower that ever grew in his garden, and the foundation of his future riches and preferment (12).—With his Precentorſhip he was alſo inſtalled to a Canonry and Prebend (13).

[*H*] *As he was ſeveral years the Second Preſident of the ſame.*] He gave the Royal Society, in memory of his friend the learned Laurence Rooke, a large pendulum-clock, made by Fromantel, and then eſteemed a great rarity; on which is engraved the following inſcription. ' Societati Regali ad Scientiam Naturalem promovendam inſtitutæ dono dedit Reverendus ' in Chriſto Pater Sethus Epiſcopus Exon' ejuſdem ' Societatis ſodalis, in memoriam Laurentii Rooke ' viri in omni literarum genere inſtructiſſimi, Collegii ' Greſhamenſis primum Aſtronomiæ deinde Geometriæ Profeſſoris dictæque Societatis nuper ſodalis, qui ' obiit Junii 26. Anno Dom. 1662.'

[*I*] *He was elected Dean of Exeter.*] At his entering on this office, he found, that a partition had been drawn acroſs the cathedral; which by that traverſe was divided between the Preſbyterians and Independents, for their reſpective uſes. And ſuch was their confidence, that they petitioned the King, after the Reſtoration, to have that partition ſtand, and to enjoy half the church; being content, that the other part ſhould be allowed for the uſe of the epiſcopal party. But their deſign was prevented, by the Dean's early application to the King and Council, from whom he procured an order to reſtore the church to its ancient form, and remove the innovations. Accordingly, he cauſed the partition to be pulled down, and repaired and beautified the Cathedral, at the expence of twenty-five thouſand pounds. He alſo bought a new Organ, which coſt two thouſand pounds. All this was not indeed paid out of the Dean's private purſe, but from the fines which came in, upon renewing the Leaſes of this Church's revenues (14).

[*K*] *The Earl of Clarendon,* &c.] Biſhop Burnet informs us upon this occaſion (15), that Biſhop Ward, on account of his having complied with the late times, and taken the Covenant, ' was hated by the high men ' as a time-ſerver. But the Lord Clarendon ſaw, that ' moſt of the Biſhops were men of merit by their ſufferings, but of no great capacity for buſineſs. He ' brought Ward in, as a man fit to govern the Church: ' for Ward, to get his former errors to be forgot, ' went into the high notions of conformity.'

Dr Pope relates the following ſtory, which having relation to Dr Ward's being made Biſhop, we ſhall ſet down here.—He uſed to viſit a Lady near Oxford,

who

(8) Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1753. 8vo. vol. I. p. 269.

(9) Continuatio Fr. Godwini de Præſulibus, ed. 1743. p. 360.

(10) Pope, p. 23, &c.

(11) See the article BROUNRIG [Ralph].

(12) Pope, p. 29, 30.

(13) J. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, part ii. p. 159.

(14) Pope, p. 55, 56.

(15) Hiſt. of his own time, as above, p. 269.

1667 he was tranſlated to the Biſhopric of Saliſbury, being elected the 5th, and confirmed the 12th of September (*z*). He was very acceptable to the chief perſons in that dioceſe, and obtained great reſpect and eſteem by his extenſive charity, and cheerful hoſpitality. As he had done at Exeter, he cauſed here the Cathedral, and his own palace, to be thoroughly repaired; the latter at the expence of above two thouſand pounds. And contributed largely towards making the river Avon navigable to Saliſbury, not only with his money, but advice, and intereſt, and his application to thoſe in power. To his own ſee he was a great benefactor, by cauſing the honorable office of Chancellor of the Order of the Garter to be reſtored and annexed to it for ever, after it had been withheld from his predeceſſors a hundred and thirty two years (*aa*) [*L*]. But the nobleſt monument of his beneficence, was the College of Matrons in Saliſbury [*M*], founded by him in 1682, for the reception and maintenance of Ten Women, the widows of orthodox Miniſters of the Dioceſe of Saliſbury. Two years after, he erected a fair building at Buntingford [*N*], his native place, conſiſting of eight manſions, and each manſion of four rooms, two above ſtairs, and two below, for the reception and maintenance of four poor men, and four poor women, who had lived handſomely, and by misfortune were reduced to poverty: the allowance to each is ten pounds a year. He alſo augmented the ſtipend of the miniſter and of the ſchoolmaſter in that town. And gave ſix hundred pounds to be laid out in land, and the rent employed in putting out three poor children apprentices yearly out of Aſpenden and Layſton (*bb*) [*O*]. To place his other public benefactions together; he founded four ſcholarſhips, of 12l. a year each, in Chriſt's College in Cambridge, for ſcholars from Buntingford-ſchool; but through a flaw in the purchaſe, they are deficient. And, in 1679, he gave a thouſand pounds to Sidney College in the ſame univerſity (*cc*) [*P*]. He alſo gave two hundred and ſixty pounds towards the rebuilding St Paul's cathedral. In order to qualify himſelf the better for diſcharging the office of a biſhop, he took a kind of ſurvey of his reſpective dioceſes at his firſt entering upon them; with the names and qualifications of the clergy under his government [*Q*]. And he took great care to ſettle able miniſters in the great market and borough-

(*z*) J. le Neve, p. 261.

(*aa*) Pope, p. 61—78.

(*bb*) Pope, p. 81, 82. and Sir Henry Chauncy's Hiſtory of Hertfordſhire, p. 132, 127.

(*cc*) Pope, p. 82. Chauncy, p. 126. and Wood Ath. col. 828.

who was afterwards married to a peer of this realm. This lady once drolling with him, uſed theſe words. 'Dr Ward, I am confident you believe the King will 'come in, and that you ſhall be a Biſhop.' 'Madam,' replied he, 'I think neither the one nor the other im'poſſible.' 'But I eſteem it ſo improbable,' ſaid ſhe, 'that if it happens in my life-time, I promiſe 'before theſe witneſſes, to preſent you with a pair of 'lawn-ſleeves of my own handy-work, which would 'be no ſmall mortification to one of our perſuaſion,' ſaid ſhe laughing, for ſhe was a Preſbyterian. Dr Ward returned her his humble thanks, adding, 'If 'there ſhould be an occaſion, he would give her La'dyſhip timely notice.'—— And he was as good as his word, giving her advice of his nomination to the Biſhopric of Exeter. She alſo was no worſe than hers, preſenting him with the firſt lawn-ſleeves he ever wore (16).

(16) Pope, p. 32, 33.

[*L*] *The honourable office of Chancellor of the Order of the Garter.*] The firſt chancellor of the garter was biſhop Beauchamp, Anno Dom 1450. and that honour was enjoyed by his ſucceſſors the biſhops of Saliſbury, till the time of cardinal Campeggio, who having incurred the diſpleaſure of King Henry VIII. for differing from him in the matter of the divorce, retired to Rome, and dyed there A. D. 1539. Then had the biſhops of Saliſbury enjoyed that honour 89 years. Since which time it was in the hands of laymen, till it pleaſed King Charles II. upon the humble petition and claim of Dr Ward, to reſtore it to him and his ſucceſſors the biſhops of Saliſbury for ever, after the death of Sir Henry de Vic, the laſt lay chancellor, and after it had been out of the ſee one hundred and thirty two years. The letters-patent bear date November 25, 1671. (17)

(17) Pope, p. 78. 92.

[*M*] *The College of Matrons*, &c.] This college is a ſtrong regular building, within the cloſe of Saliſbury-cathedral. It is fitted for the reception of ten widows of orthodox miniſters of the dioceſe of Saliſbury: and in caſe there ſhould not be found ſo many therein, their vacancy is to be ſupplied out of the biſhopric of Exeter. They have each two rooms and a little garden peculiar to themſelves. For their maintenance the biſhop ſettled more than two hundred pounds in free land, which lies in the neighbourhood. During his life he put in the widows himſelf, and at his death he left a catalogue of the names of others whom he knew, or by the recommendation of others believed, to be fit objects of his charity, theſe were next in ſucceſſion; and afterwards the election was to be in the dean and chapter, and the biſhop of Saliſbury, by turns. Over the gate is this inſcription, in letters of gold:

D. O. M.
Collegium hoc Matronarum
Humillime Dedicavit
Sethus Epiſcopus Sarum
Anno Domini
MDCLXXXII.

i. e. To the Honour of Almighty God—This College of Matrons—Was moſt *humbly* dedicated—*By* Seth Biſhop of Saliſbury—*In the year of* our Lord 1682.

[*N*] *He erected a fair building at Buntingford.*] It ſtands near the chapel in that town. The beneficent founder conſtituted Ralph Freeman, Eſq; Sir William Fitch, Knight, Seth Ward, Chancellor of Saliſbury, William Freeman, Peter Soame, Charles Crowch, Thomas Stone, Eſqrs. and their heirs, Truſtees, to put in thoſe poor perſons from time to time, out of the pariſhes of Aſpenden and Layſton. On the front of the Hoſpital is this inſcription.

Anno Domini 1684.
This Hoſpital was erected and endowed
By Seth Ward, Doctor of Divinity,
Lord Biſhop of Saliſbury, and
Chancellor of the moſt noble Order
Of the Garter.
Who was born in this Town, within the
Pariſh of Aſpenden, and educated
In the free School of Buntingford. (18)

(18) Pope, p. 81, 82. and Chauncy, as above, p. 132.

[*O*] *And gave* 600l. *for putting out three poor children apprentices*.] This ſum he gave in his will; and directed, that two of the children ſhould be taken out of Aſpenden, and one out of Layſton, one year; and two out of Layſton, and one out of Aſpenden, another year; and ſo on, by turns (19).

(19) Chauncy, as above, p. 127.

[*P*] *Gave* 1000l. *to Sidney College.*] He once deſigned to have founded the four ſcholarſhips in this college; but, upon ſome diſguſt, altered his intention. (20)

(20) Pope, p. 82.

[*Q*] *With the names and qualifications of the Clergy under his government.*] At his firſt coming both to Exeter and Saliſbury, he drew up *Notitiæ* of thoſe dioceſes, wherein were particularized all the rectories and vicarages, the patrons names, with their undoubted and diſputable titles; as alſo the names of all the incumbents, with their ſeveral qualifications, as to conformity or non-conformity, learning or ignorance, peaceable or contentious converſation, orthodox or heretical opinion, good or ſcandalous lives; for all which he had framed particular marks. He found by

daily

borough-towns, ſuch as Abingdon, Reading, &c. and becauſe they are for the moſt part vicarages of ſmall value, as prebends in his church became void, he beſtowed them on the miniſters of theſe towns *(dd)*. A method worthily purſued by his ſucceſſor Biſhop Burnet, but which he was forced to relinquiſh, on account of ſome abuſes this good deſign was found liable to [*R*]. Though he was not of a perſecuting ſpirit, he uſed his endeavours to ſuppreſs conventicles [*S*], chiefly in obedience to orders he received from time to time from the court *(ee)*. Upon the death of Dr John Coſin, Biſhop of Durham, in 1672, Dr Ward was offered that rich biſhopric: but he declined it, becauſe he did not like the conditions *(ff)*. In the year 1660, he had a violent fever, which through miſmanagement brought him into a bad habit of body *(gg)*; which however he cured by conſtant exerciſe, eſpecially riding on horſeback, preſcribed to him by the learned Dr Sydenham. But he diſuſing it as he advanced in years, the conſequence was, a fatal decay not only in his body, but in his intellectual faculties. For, to the great mortification of all human ſufficiency and wiſdom, this great maſter of reaſon ſo entirely loſt the uſe of his underſtanding, as to become an object of compaſſion, an uneaſineſs to himſelf, and a burden to his friends and attendants *(hh)*. His infirmities were encreaſed by a vexatious conteſt he had in 1683, with the Dean of his church, Dr Thomas Pierce, becauſe he would not, or rather could not, give his ſon a prebend, which he had promiſed to another *(ii)* [*T*]. After ſome years dragged on in this helpleſs and melancholy ſtate, he departed this life January 6th, 1688-9, in the 72d year of his age. He was buried in his cathedral at Saliſbury, where a monument was erected to his memory [*U*] by his nephew Seth Ward, treaſurer of that church. He died unmarried. Of what works he publiſhed there is an account in the note [*W*]. Mr Oughtred gives him the character of a prudent

(dd) Pope, p. 64, 6–.

(ee) Pope, p. 67, &c.

(ff) Idem, p. 90, 91.—The penſion demanded out of it was too large, or too many were to be quartered upon it.

(gg) A ſcorbutic atrophy, and a looſeneſs.

(hh) Pope, p. 178, 180, &c.

(ii) Idem, p. 171, 182, and Wood Ath. col. 829.

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daily experience, that this ſtood him in great ſtead, and did him eminent ſervice. For when any clergyman of his dioceſe came to him, as ſoon as he heard his name, he knew his character, and could give a ſhrewd gueſs at his buſineſs, and ſo was out of danger of being ſurprized (22). J. Walker ſays, that he had ſeen a tranſcript of that for Exeter (23).

[*R*] *On account of ſome abuſes this good deſign was found liable to.*] The abuſes were, That when the clergy who were collated to thoſe prebends happened to get afterwards good preferment, and removed from thoſe towns, they would not reſign their prebends, as they had promiſed at their admiſſion. And the Biſhop could not legally oblige them to give bonds of reſignation, nor to quit thoſe prebends.

[*S*] *He uſed his endeavours to ſuppreſs Conventicles.*] ‘ But this ſo angered the diſſenters, (24) that in 1669, ‘ they forged a petition againſt him, under the hands ‘ of ſome chief clothiers, pretending that they were ‘ moleſted, and their trade ruined; and that ſome of ‘ them employed 1000 men, others 800, and that this ‘ perſecution took away the livelihood of 8000 men, ‘ women, and children. But it was made appear at ‘ the council-table, that this petition was a notorious ‘ libel, and that none of theſe there mentioned to be ‘ perſecuted and ruined, were ſo much as ſummoned ‘ into the eccleſiaſtical court; as alſo, that many whoſe ‘ names were ſubſcribed to that petition, knew nothing ‘ of it: So that inſtead of leſſening the biſhop's fa- ‘ vour with the King, they augmented it. Let this ‘ be ſaid once for all (adds Dr Pope) he was no vio- ‘ lent man, nor of a perſecuting ſpirit, as theſe peti- ‘ tioners repreſented him; but if at any time he was ‘ more active than ordinary againſt the diſſenters, it ‘ was by expreſs command from the court, ſometimes ‘ by letters, and ſometimes given in charges by the ‘ Judges of the Aſſizes, which councils altered fre- ‘ quently; now in favour of the diſſenters, and then ‘ again in oppoſition to them. 'Tis true, he was for ‘ the act againſt conventicles, and laboured much to ‘ get it to paſs, not without the order and direction of ‘ the greateſt authority, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, ‘ not out of enmity to the diſſenters perſons, as they ‘ unjuſtly ſuggeſted, but of love to the repoſe and ‘ welfare of the government; for he believed if the ‘ growth of them were not timely ſuppreſſed, it would ‘ either cauſe a neceſſity of a ſtanding army to preſerve ‘ the peace, or a general toleration.'— But the event hath ſhewn that he was miſtaken.—— Dr Pope informs us further, ‘ That, upon a proper execution of ‘ the Conventicle-act, there was not one conventicle ‘ left in Saliſbury, and but a few in the ſkirts of Wilt- ‘ ſhire, where the diſſenters met ſometimes in woods; ‘ but, upon complaint, their meetings were ſuppreſſed, ‘ and his Majeſty was pleaſed to own and accept this ‘ as good ſervice to the public, and to encourage the ‘ biſhop in it. But a little after, the weather-cock of ‘ the court-council turning to the contrary point, ‘ Bloud, that notorious villain, who had ſtolen the ‘ crown, and was now unaccountably become a great ‘ favourite at court, and the chief agent of the diſſent- ‘ ers, brought the biſhop of Saliſbury a verbal meſ- ‘ ſage from the King, not to moleſt the diſſenters, ‘ eſpecially two that were moſt particularly trouble- ‘ ſome (25).

[*T*] *Which he had promiſed to another.*] Upon this refuſal, Dr Pierce raiſed a controverſy, maintaining, that the diſpoſal of the dignities in the church of Saliſbury was in the King, and not in the biſhop. Which controverſy being laid before his Majeſty's commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical promotions, they ordered Dr Pierce to write a narrative of that matter: which Biſhop Ward anſwered; and Pierce replied, in a ‘ Vin- ‘ dication of the King's ſovereign Right, &c.' printed at London in 1683, twelve ſheets fol. (26) This controverſy being carried on with great violence, it did ſo much diſcompoſe the poor old Biſhop, eſpecially by ſeveral journeys he was forced to take to London in unſeaſonable time and weather, that by degrees his ſpirits were exhauſted, his memory gone, and totally unfit for buſineſs. However in the end Dr Pierce was caſt, and forced to aſk the Biſhop's pardon (27).

[*U*] *Where a monument was erected to his memory.*] There is upon it a long epitaph in Latin, wherein what is ſaid of him by way of character, is, that he was remarkable for prudence, piety, knowledge of the world, and eſpecially for moderation—— an eloquent and powerful preacher; an unblameable example to his flock.——Ready to do good offices to all men, of whatſoever condition and degree; very obſervant of juſtice and decency——lived in inviolable union with his brethren the biſhops——and treated his clergy as brothers and beloved children——was munificent and liberal—But his chief care was that of the poor (28), to whom his charity was without bounds. . . . . ‘ Pru- ‘ dentia, pietate, uſu rerum, & præcipue moderato ‘ animo ſpectabilis . . . . concionator facundus & po- ‘ tens, inculpabile gregis exemplar——in officiis erga ‘ omnes, cujuſcunque ſortis & ordinis homines exe- ‘ quendis, æqui & decori obſervantiſſimus, &c. . . . . ‘ Sed præcipue & palmaria illi fuit Pauperum cura, in ‘ hac neque metas neque terminos aut vivens aut mo- ‘ riens pietati ſuæ præſcripſit.'

[*W*] *The works he publiſhed*, &c.] They were, I. Epiſtle ‘ to the Reader,' at the beginning of Thomas Hobbes's *Humane Nature*, ſigned F. B. being written in the name of Francis Bowman the bookſeller (29). II. ‘ A philoſophical Eſſay towards an eviction of the ‘ Being and Attributes of God, the Immortality of the ‘ Souls of Men, and the Truth and Authority of ‘ Scripture.' Oxford 1652, 8vo. III. A treatiſe of Comets. The title of which is, ‘ De Cometis, ubi de ‘ Cometarum natura diſſeritur. Nova Cometarum ‘ Theoria, & noviſſimæ Cometæ hiſtoria proponitur. ‘ Prælectio Oxonii habita, & Inquiſitio in Iſmaelis ‘ Bullialdi Aſtronomiæ philolaicæ fundamenta.' Ox-

(22) Pope, p. 64, 65.

(23) Sufferings of the Clergy, part II. p. 159.

(24) Upon this account Dr Samuel Chandler ſtiles our prelate, a bitter Perſecutor.—Hiſtory of Perſecution, 8vo. p. 384.

(25) Pope, p. 67—69.

(26) See Wood Ath. col. 829, 861.

(27) Pope, p. 182.

(28) Beſides what was given at his gate, and to his weekly penſioners, he enquired after thoſe who wanted, and were aſhamed to beg, and ſent them money to their own houſes. Pope, p. 72.

(29) Wood Ath. Vol. II. col. 643.

a prudent, pious, and ingenuous perſon, well ſkilled not only in the mathematics, but alſo in all kinds of polite literature. (*kk*) His ſucceſſor Biſhop Burnet ſays, He ‘ was ‘ in many reſpects one of the greateſt men of his age.’ (*ll*) But elſewhere, (*mm*) according to his cuſtom, he caſts a ſhade over this character, in theſe words: ‘ Ward was a ‘ man of great reach, went deep in mathematical ſtudies, and was a very dextrous man, if ‘ not too dextrous; for his ſincerity was much queſtioned. . . . . . He was a profound ‘ ſtateſman, but a very indifferent clergyman.’— What hath been further ſaid of him by way of character, is ſet down below [*X*].

(*kk*) Vir prudens, pius, ingenuus, nec matheſi ſolum, ſed & omni politioris literaturæ genere cultiſſimus. Præfatio ad Clavem Mathematicam.

(*ll*) Letter to the Biſhop of Coventry and Lichfield, about Anthony Harmer's Specimen, &c. London, 1693, 4to. p. 10.

(*mm*) Hiſtory of his own Time, p. 269.

on. 1653, 4to. IV. Trigonometry. ‘ Idea Trigonometriæ demonſtratæ, in uſum juventutis Oxon.’ Oxon. 1654, 4to. The method of this, mentioned in the Preface, Mr Oughtred challenged for his. V. ‘ Vindiciæ ‘ Academiarum. Containing ſome brief animadverſions upon Mr John Webſter's book, ſtiled, *The Examination of Academies*.’ With an ‘ Appendix concerning what Mr Hobbes and Mr Will. Dell have publiſhed on the ſame argnments.’ At the beginning is an epiſtle written to the author, by one who ſubſcribes himſelf N. S. i. e. John Wilkins, being the two laſt letters of his name and ſurname. VI. ‘ In Thomæ ‘ Hobbii Philoſophiam Exercitatio epiſtolica, ad D. ‘ Joh. Wilkinſium Guardianum Coll. Wadhami. Appendicula ad calumnias ab eodem Hobbio (in ſex documentis nuperrime editis) in authorem congeſtas reſponſoria.’ Oxon. 1656, 4to. VII. ‘ Aſtronomia ‘ Geometrica: ubi Methodus proponitur qua primariorum Planetarum Aſtronomia, ſive Elliptica ſive ‘ Circularis poſſit geometricè abſolvi ‡.’ Lond. 1656, 8vo. It is dedicated to Sir Paul Neil, John Hevelius, Peter Gaſſendus, Iſmael Bullialdus, and John Baptiſt Riccioli And in the dedication he ſays, that he had invented almoſt this whole work in the courſe of one night. . . . . ‘ noctis unius vigiliis fere integrum opus ‘ hoc quod inpræſentiarum exhibeo, excogitavi.’—— VIII. He alſo publiſhed the following Sermons; 1. Againſt Reſiſtance of lawful Powers. Preached November 5, 1661, on Rom. xiii. 2.—2. Againſt the Antiſcripturiſts, preached Feb. 20. 16'9. on 2 Tim. iii. 16.—3. Concerning the Sinfulneſs, Danger, and Remedies of Infidelity, preached Feb. 16, 1667, on Heb. iii. 12. Lond. 1670. 8vo.—4. Sermon preached before the Peers, in the Abbey-church at Weſtminſter, October 10, 1666, [the faſt day for the fire of London] on Eccleſ. ii. 9. 4to.—5. Sermon concerning the ſtrangeneſs, frequency, and deſperate conſequence of Impenitency. Preached April 1, 1666, ſoon after the great plague, on Rev. ix. 20.—6. Sermon againſt Ingratitude, on Deut. xxxii. 6.—7. An Apology for the Myſteries of the Goſpel, preached Feb. 16. 1672. on Rom. i, 16. Some of which Sermons having been publiſhed ſingly at ſeveral times, they were all printed in one volume, in 1673 and 1674. London 8vo. and then ſaid to have been all preached at Whitehall, except the 4th.—8. The Chriſtian's Victory over Death, preached at the funeral of George [Monk] Duke of Albemarle, &c. in the Collegiate Church of St Peter's Weſtminſter, April 30, 1670, on 1 Cor. xv. 7. Lond. 1670. 4to.—9. The Caſe of Joram, preached before the Houſe of Peers, Jan. 30, 1673. on 2 Kings vi. laſt verſe. Lond. 1674. 4to.

He alſo collected and reviſed Dr Samuel Ward's Works, which he publiſhed under this title, ‘ Determinationes Theologicæ, Tractatus de Juſtificatione, ‘ & Prælectiones de Peccato Originali.’ Lond. (30)

[*X*] *What hath been ſaid further of him, by way of character.*] A. Wood repreſents him in an unfavourable light in the *Vindication* of himſelf *and his works* (31) *from the Reproaches of the Biſhop of Saliſbury, in his Letter to the Biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield*, referred to above.—— The words of A. Wood are, . . . ‘ The next matter that his Lordſhip of Saliſbury takes ‘ notice of, is, his [i. e. Wood's] barbarous attacking ‘ the memory of his predeceſſor Biſhop Ward, who was ‘ in ſo many reſpects one of the greateſt men of his ‘ age.

‘ Had his lordſhip known Dr Ward before his Majeſty's Reſtoration, he would have been of another mind; but his knowledge of him was not, I preſume, till after he was biſhop, when then, and to the time of his death, he was eſteemed a good and excellent man. The truth is, he was a man of parts, and a great Royaliſt for a time; but when he ſaw that King Charles the Firſt was beheaded, and monarchy never in a poſſibility of returning again, then did he change his orthodox principles, ſubmit to the men then in power, and eat the bread of two Royaliſts (32) (that had been ejected) ſucceſſively. And tho' his friends ſay, that he never took the oath called the Engagement, yet it appears that he did ſo, in the regiſter belonging to the Committee for the Reformation of the Univerſity of Oxon, as I was many years ſince informed by the clerk belonging to that committee. What his life and converſation was, while he lived in Oxon, the poor remnant of the Royaliſts that then remained there, would have told you, who uſually ſaid, ‘ That had not Dr Ward degenerated from his principles of loyalty, he would not have launched out into ‘ ſeveral immoralities, &c.’ for the doing of which he alſo loſt the opinion that the then ſaints in the Univerſity had of him.’

‘ Biſhop Ward [ſays Dr Thomas Wood (33)] *was a* ‘ noted mathematician and aſtronomer, a good divine, ‘ a profound reaſoner, of an affable, courtly, gentlemanlike temper, a publick ſpirit, and a good friend. ‘ But before he was advanced to the Epiſcopal See, he ‘ was ſuſpected to waver in his opinions about Government, and his good nature *formerly* betrayed him ‘ into ſome irregularities; inſomuch that I cannot ſee ‘ the neceſſity why he ſhould be ſet in the calendar ‘ for a Saint, or canonized. But for all that, to the ‘ honour of the Church of England, I wiſh all his ‘ ſucceſſors may deſerve as good a character, and have ‘ a better *hiſtorian*.’——— The hiſtorian he means in this laſt word, is Dr Walter Pope, upon whom he makes the following reflections. (34) . . . . ‘ Your narration is dreſt up in a comical and bantering ſtile, ‘ full of dry ſcraps of Latin, puns, proverbs, ſenſeleſs ‘ digreſſions, long tedious unedifying tales, and not ‘ without an inſipid * bawdy jeſt, and an impious † ‘ ridicule of the morality of the fourth commandment. ‘ ——You have borrowed your method, tranſitions, ‘ and the arguments of your chapters from the ridiculing Hiſtory of Don Quixote;’——as he ſhews in many inſtances.

‡ See an account of this piece under Dr Halley's article, Remark [*B*].

(30) Wood Ath. col. 828.

(31) Prefixed to Vol. I. of his Athenæ.

(32) Dr Manſell and Dr Potter.

(33) Appendix to the Life of Seth, Biſhop of Saliſbury, as above, p. 32.

(34) Page 4. 6.

* P. 165.

† P. 26.

WARE [Sir James] the very learned, and beſt writer on the affairs of Ireland, was the eldeſt ſon of Sir James Ware, Knight, deſcended from a noble and ancient family in Yorkſhire. [*A*] He was born in Caſtle-ſtreet in Dublin, November 26th, 1594 (*a*). His

(*a*) The Works of Sir James Ware, of Walter Harris's edition, vol. III. Dublin 1746. p. 146. and Wood Faſti, vol. II. col. 42.

[*A*] *Deſcended from a noble and ancient family in Yorkſhire.*] This family flouriſhed there in the reign of Edward I. when Roger le Ware, Lord of Iſefield, (1) otherwiſe named Roger la Warr, Roger la Warre, Roger de la Warre, (2) was ſummoned to the parliaments of that king. And ſo was John la Warre or de la Ware, and Roger la Warre, to thoſe of King Edward II. (3) And John de la Warre, or le Warre, in the 1ſt and 16th of Edward III. (4) and in the five laſt years of that King; and during the reign of K. Richard II. (5) as had alſo Roger le Warre, in part of King Edward III. (6) And Thomas la Warre, in the reigns of King Henry IV. and King Henry V. and in the beginning of King Henry VI. (7)——But that family is now extinct in Yorkſhire. Chriſtopher Ware was an early convert to the Proteſtant Religion, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, by means of the famous John Fox, the martyrologiſt. He had two ſons: of the elder we have no account. *James*, the younger ſon, and father to our author, was liberally

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(1) Works of Sir James Ware, by Walter Harris, Eſq; Vol. III. p. 146.

(2) See Summons of the nobility to parliament, publiſhed by Sir William Dugdale, London, 1685, fol. p. 7, 21, 22. 25. 28, 31, 32. 37. 39, 40. 42. 44. 47. 51. 53.

(3) Ib. p. 57. 61. 63. 65. 70. 73, &c. 79, 81—114.

(4) Ibid. p. 140. 219.

(5) Id. p. 278, &c.

(6) Ib. p. 268.

(7) Ibid. paſſim.

His father took more than ordinary care of his education: and finding he anſwered his moſt hopeful expectations, by the great and early advances he made in learning, ſpared nothing for his encouragement. He cauſed him to be well grounded in the Latin and Greek languages; and when he found him fitly qualified for academical ſtudies, which was in 1610, and the 16th year of his age, he entered him a Fellow-Commoner of Trinity-college near Dublin; where he was put under the immediate tuition of Dr Antony Martin, then Fellow, afterwards Provoſt of the College, and Biſhop of Meath: but Dr Joſhua Hoyle, another of the Fellows, was his private Tutor and chamber-fellow. The college was then under the government of Mr William Temple, the Provoſt, knighted May 4, 1622. and grandfather of the late eminent Sir William Temple (b). Under a provoſt of ſuch worth, and tutors of ſuch abilities, a perſon of Mr Ware's talents could not fail of improving exceedingly; and the fruits thereof ſoon appeared, in that he was admitted to his Maſter of Arts degree before the uſual time. After having continued ſix years at the univerſity, he left it, and proſecuted his ſtudies at his father's houſe with the utmoſt diligence. Here he fell under the notice of Dr James Uſher, then Biſhop of Meath, who diſcovering in him a great propenſity to the ſtudy of Antiquities and Records, encouraged him to that ſort of learning, in which he ſo much delighted himſelf: and from that time a cloſe and intimate friendſhip remained between them. His father thinking it convenient he ſhould marry, procured him a match to both their ſatisfactions. It was Mary, the daughter of Jacob Newman of Dublin, Eſq; But this alteration in his condition did not take him off in the leaſt from his beloved ſtudies. He had begun to gather manuſcripts, and make collections from the libraries of Iriſh Antiquaries and genealogiſts, and from the regiſters and cartularies of cathedrals and monaſteries, in which he ſpared no expence. He had recourſe, when he pleaſed, to the choice collections made by Biſhop Uſher, as well as thoſe of Daniel Molyneux, Ulſter king at arms, a very curious perſon, between whom the ſimilitude of their ſtudies had cemented a ſtrict friendſhip. When he had gleaned all he could for his purpoſe at home, he reſolved to take a journey to England, not doubting but he ſhould reap a plentiful harveſt by conſulting the libraries both publick and private there. He arrived at London in the beginning of April 1626, where he had the ſatisfaction to find his dear friend Dr Uſher, then Archbiſhop of Armagh, who introduced him to the acquaintance of Sir Robert Cotton, and obtained for him a ready acceſs to his curious and valuable library. Sir Robert entertained him with much friendſhip, and kept up a conſtant correſpondence with him the five remaining years of his life. Having furniſhed himſelf with many materials from Sir Robert's vaſt treaſure, and from many other places, particularly from the Records in the Tower of London, great collections from all which places, in his own hand-writing, are now in Dublin College-library, he returned to Ireland, in company with the Primate of Armagh. In the latter end of the year 1628 he paſſed again into England, and carried with him ſome manuſcripts, which he knew would be acceptable to Sir Robert Cotton, particularly a fair cartulary formerly belonging to St Mary's Abbey near Dublin. In this journey he added conſiderably to his collections, and having been made acquainted with Mr Selden and other learned and curious men, he returned home about the end of the ſummer 1629. Soon after, he received the honour of Knighthood from the Lords Juſtices, Sir Adam Loftus, Lord Chancellor, and Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, Lord Treaſurer (c) [*B*]. His father was ſtill living; ſo that there were two knights of the ſame name and ſurname reſiding together in one houſe at the ſame time, they always living together. In 1632 his father dying ſuddenly, he ſucceeded him both

(b) See the article TEMPLE [Sir WILLIAM]

(c) Harris, as above, p. 148. and Wood, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 42.

rally educated, and when he came to maturity, was ſent to puſh his fortune in the court of Queen Elizabeth, where he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſuch a manner, as to obtain the favour of the great men then at the head of affairs. In 1588 Sir William Fitz William being for the laſt time ſent over Lord Deputy of Ireland, James Ware found credit enough with that governor, to attend him as his Secretary, which was the firſt appearance of any of our author's family in Ireland. He had not been long in that employment before he was advanced, firſt to the office of Clerk of the Common-Pleas in the Exchequer, by patent dated 9th September 1595, as long as he behaved well, with a clauſe, that he ſhould not be removed for any default in his office, until the ſame was heard and approved before the government and council of Ireland, and by them tranſmitted for the conſideration of the Queen and council of England. He afterwards obtained a reverſionary patent for the office of Auditor-general, to commence on the death, forfeiture, or ſurrender of the then preſent officer, Chriſtopher Peyton, dated 28 July, 1602. This laſt was an employment of good reputation and conſiderable profit, which continued the beſt part of a century in his family, except for a ſhort interval during the uſurpation of Oliver Cromwell, and the ſeveral ſucceeding governments till the Reſtoration. The benefit and income of this office enabled him to make ſeveral conſiderable purchaſes in the county and city of Dublin, and elſewhere. In a journey to England, he was honoured with knighthood by King James I. who, as a mark of his favour, granted a reverſionary patent of his office of Auditor-general to his eldeſt ſon [our author] which he enjoyed after his father's deceaſe. He alſo ſerved as a member of the parliament aſſembled at Dublin on the 18th of May 1613, for the borough of Mallow, in the county of Cork. At length having lived a very ſtrict and truly religious life, he died ſuddenly, which was his conſtant wiſh for many years before, as he was walking home through Fiſhamble-ſtreet, to his houſe in Caſtle-ſtreet, in 1632. He married Mary, ſiſter of Sir Ambroſe Briden of Maidſtone in Kent, by which he had five ſons, and as many daughters. Of the daughters, Mary was married to Chriſtopher Conway, Eſq; Anne to Emanuel Downing, Eſq; Ruſſel to Humphrey Reynolds, Eſq; Martha to Sir William Piers; and Cæcilia to Sir Dudley Loftus. Of the ſons, three were married; but none of them left any iſſue-male behind them, but our author Sir James Ware (8).

[*B*] *And Richard Boyle Earl of Cork, Lord Treaſurer.*] This noble lord had a great friendſhip for him, and by his laſt will, 'as a teſtimony of his affection and 'love, bequeathed to his worthy friend Sir James 'Ware a gelding of his own breed.' (9)

(8) Harris, p. 145, 146.

(9) Harris, p. 148.

in his eſtate, and office of auditor-general [C]. Though he was now placed in a ſtation which interrupted his beloved ſtudies, yet he applied himſelf cloſely to public buſineſs; eſpecially after the arrival of the Lord Deputy Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, in 1633; who perceiving his great abilities, took him into his particular confidence, and conſulted him upon all occaſions. To make him more uſeful in the King's ſervice, he called him into the Privy Council; becauſe he took him to be a very honeſt and able officer (d). It was not the Lord Deputy only that placed great confidence in him, but the biſhops, and the whole body of the clergy held him in the higheſt eſteem, and made uſe of his advice in all things relating to their public concerns. And he was not wanting on his ſide to cultivate this good opinion conceived of him, not only by his ſervices to them upon all occaſions, but alſo in the affairs of his office of Auditor-general, by remitting the fees due therein to clergymen and clergymen's widows, which he never would receive. In 1639, he was choſen a member of the Houſe of Commons for the univerſity of Dublin, in the parliament of Ireland, which met the 16th of March, that year. From his attachment therein to the Lord Deputy, the Earl of Strafford, and his unſhaken loyalty to his Prince, proceeded the many hardſhips he endured in the enſuing troubleſome times; while others, who were more complying, ſat eaſy in their fortunes. The parliament having granted four ſubſidies, and paſſed other acts, was, April 1ſt, 1640. prorogued to the 1ſt of June following, and on the 16th of that month to the 1ſt of October. They met again, according to their Prorogation, but with a temper quite different from what they ſhewed in the former ſeſſion: for a high ferment was raiſed in both houſes againſt the Earl of Strafford. Our author exerted his utmoſt zeal in his defence upon all occaſions, and vigorouſly oppoſed the ſending a committee into England, to impeach him there. But nothing prevailing, the Lord Deputy Wandesford, by advice of our author, and other diſintereſted members of the privy council, prorogued the parliament to the 26th of January following. The temper of the Houſe of Commons was not quieted by this receſs. For having met again according to the prorogation, the violent party in the houſe, both Proteſtant and Papiſt, joined, on the 27th of February 1641, in an impeachment againſt Sir George Radcliffe, Sir Richard Bolton, Lord Chancellor, John Bramhall, Biſhop of Derry, and Sir Gerard Lowther, chief Juſtice of the Common-pleas. Our author oppoſed theſe meaſures with all his might. And the impeachment, having no juſt foundation, fell to the ground; it being indeed only deſigned to hinder the perſons impeached from being witneſſes on the Earl of Strafford's behalf (e). The execrable Iriſh Rebellion breaking out October 23, 1641, Sir James Ware did all the ſervice in his power upon that occaſion, by cloſely attending the buſineſs of the Council, and joining in all acts of ſtate againſt the rebels (f). He engaged alſo with others of the privy-council, in ſecurities for the repayment of conſiderable ſums advanced by the citizens of Dublin, for the ſupport of the Engliſh forces ſent to quell the Rebellion (g). The Marquis of Ormond, lieutenant-general of theſe forces, repoſed great truſt in Sir James, and adviſed with him in all caſes of moment and difficulty [D]. In 1642, King Charles I. wanting to bring thoſe troops back to England, in order to employ them againſt his revolted ſubjects at home (h) [E]; he determined to make a ceſſation for one year with the Iriſh Rebels. Whereupon the Marquis conſulting with a ſelect committee of the Council, in the number of which Sir James was, they unanimouſly agreed, That a ceſſation was neceſſary, to preſerve the kingdom to his Majeſty, and the Proteſtant intereſt there. In conſequence of which, the ceſſation was concluded September 15, 1643, with the approbation of this committee, and other great men and chief commanders then with the Marquis of Ormond (i). The news of this treaty was received with joy by King Charles and his court, then at Oxford; but the Parliament, apprized of its deſign, publiſhed, September 30, a ſevere Declaration againſt it, wherein they condemned it as being treated and carried on without their advice; as prejudicial to the Proteſtant religion; to the many poor exiled proteſtants, deprived of their eſtates; an encouragement to Popery, &c (k). In anſwer to which, the King publiſhed the grounds and motives of the ceſſation (l). Not ſatisfied with this truce, the confederate Papiſts ſent agents [F] to the King at Oxford, to ſolicit him about a treaty for a final peace. The Lords Juſtices

(d) Earl of Strafford's Letters.

(e) Harris, p. 148—150.

(f) See the Iriſh Rebellion, by Sir John Temple, edition 1646. 4to. p. 54. 57—59, &c.

(g) Harris, p. 150.

(h) See Lord Clarendon's hiſtory, edit. 1732. Vol. 3. p. 414. and Rapin's hiſtory, under the year 1643.

(i) Harris, as above, p. 150, 151. Ruſhworth, Vol. 5. p. 538, &c. R. Cox's hiſtory of Ireland, Part II. p. 130—133. and Appendix, No. xvi.

(k) See this Declaration in Huſband's Collect. fol. p. 340, &c. Ruſhworth, vol. 5. p. 555. R. Cox, Appendix, No. xviii.

(l) R. Cox, p. 134.

[C] *And office of Auditor-general.*] In 1643 Sir James had intereſt enough with the Marquis of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant, to obtain a reverſionary grant of this office, for his eldeſt ſon, named alſo James. There is a letter of the Marquis to Secretary Nicholas, dated April 13, 1643, (10) whereby he inforces Sir James's ſuit in theſe words, 'I conceive myſelf 'obliged by my duty to the King to aſſure you, that 'he [Sir James] hath, even when his Majeſty's af'fairs were moſt neglected, and when it was not held 'ſafe for any man to ſhew himſelf for them, then ap'peared very zealouſly and ſtoutly for them, and ſtill 'continues, upon all occaſions, with very great and 'neceſſary freedom, ſo to declare himſelf, which I 'ſuppoſe his Majeſty will adjudge worthy of the en'couragement he now petitions for.' His ſon ſucceeded him in this place in 1666, and enjoyed it till his deceaſe in 1689.

(10) Among T. Carte's Collections, No. 146.

[D] *And adviſed with him in all caſes of moment and difficulty.*] The Marquis repoſed very great truſt in him, as is manifeſt from many of the Marquis's expreſſes to the Lord Digby, and others. In one of them particularly he hath theſe words. 'I muſt again re'commend Sir Henry Tichborn and Sir James Ware 'to your favour, as perſons entirely addicted to the 'King's ſervice, to whom you may boldly give cre'dit, and who deſerve very high encouragement.' (11)

(11) T. Carte's Life of the Marquis of Ormond. Vol. 3. Letter 340.

[E] *In order to employ them againſt his revolted ſubjects at home.*] The King, in his commiſſion, dated April 23, 1643, to treat about this ceſſation, calls it, 'a ſervice of very great concernment to Us, and Our 'preſent affairs . . .' (12)

(12) See Ruſhworth, Vol. 5. p. 537.

[F] *Sent agents.*] Theſe Popiſh agents were, the Lord Viſcount Muſkerry, Sir Robert Talbot, Dermond Mac-Teig O Brian, &c. They arrived at Oxford

Juſtices of Ireland ſent likewiſe Commiſſioners thither [*G*], with a petition, repreſenting the grievances and ſufferings of the Proteſtants. But theſe commiſſioners not being thought ſufficiently warm in the Proteſtants ſervice, another ſet of them, more devoted to the Engliſh parliament, and headed by the Earl of Kildare, ſent alſo Commiſſioners of their own [*H*]. This procedure implying an undue diſtruſt of the others, cauſed diſorder and uneaſineſs among the Proteſtants, and induced the Earl of Roſcommon and Sir James Ware to enter a proteſt in the council-book [*I*]. The Popiſh agents, and Proteſtant commiſſioners, arrived at Oxford about the beginning of April 1644; but ſo contradictory and irreconcileable were the expectations of each of the parties, that they returned without coming to any concluſion (*m*) [*K*]. So the ſettling of a further ceſſation and of a final peace was committed to the Marquis of Ormond, who had been ſworn Lord-Lieutenant, January 21, 1643-4. In September, the ceſſation was renewed to the firſt of December, and afterwards continued to a longer day: but the buſineſs of the peace was a work of much greater difficulty. The demands of the confederate Catholics were ſo exorbitant (*n*), that in the beginning of October the treaty was adjourned, until the King's pleaſure was known. The Marquis having occaſion to ſend ſome perſons in whom he could ſafely confide, to the King at Oxford, to inform his Majeſty of the poſture of his affairs in Ireland, and to know his pleaſure in relation to thoſe particulars of the treaty which remained to be adjuſted, fixed upon the Lord Edward Brabazon, Sir Henry Tichborne, and Sir James Ware, as perſons acceptable to the King, and not inclined to favour either the Popiſh or Parliament intereſt. They left Ireland about the beginning of December, 1644, and arrived ſafely at Oxford. While they ſtayed there, Sir James employed all the time he could ſpare from his public buſineſs, in converſing with the learned men of that univerſity, or in ſtudying in the libraries, and collecting whatever materials he judged might be afterwards uſeful in compiling the books he intended to publiſh. During his attendance he was highly careſſed by moſt of the conſiderable men then at Oxford; and complimented with the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws (*o*). The buſineſs theſe commiſſioners went about being concluded, towards the end of December they took leave of his Majeſty, not without many kind expreſſions of favour. On their return to Ireland, they were purſued at ſea, and taken by one of the parliament's ſhips: Sir James finding no hopes of eſcaping, juſt as the enemy were boarding the veſſel, caſt the King's packet of letters directed to the Marquis of Ormond into the ſea. They were brought priſoners to the Tower of London, where they continued upwards of ten months; but were at laſt releaſed, in exchange for ſome that had been impriſoned in Dublin, for an attempt to betray the town of Drogheda to the Scottiſh Covenanters. Being diſcharged from his impriſonment he returned to Dublin, and had an order from the Lord Lieutenant and Council on the Treaſury for 718 l. for the expences of his journey [*L*]. The King's affairs began now to grow deſperate in both kingdoms. Loth to loſe Ireland entirely, from whence he could draw conſiderable ſuccours, and cauſe a very great diverſion to his rebellious ſubjects, his Majeſty ſent directions to the Marquis of Ormond, of which an extract is given below [*M*]. In that exigence, he connived, at leaſt, at

(*m*) Ruſhworth. Vol. 5. p. 951, &c. R. Cox, p. 138, &c.

(*n*) See Ruſhworth, Vol. 5. p. 963, &c.

(*o*) Harris, as above, and Wood, Faſti, Vol. 2. col. 42.

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ford before the Proteſtants, and went away about the middle of May (13).

[*G*] *The Lords Juſtices of Ireland ſent likewiſe Commiſſioners thither.*] Namely, Sir William Steuart, Sir Gerard Lowther, Sir Philip Percival, and Juſtice Donelan; to which Sir George Ratcliff, and Sir William Sambach, being then at London, were added (14).

[*H*] *Another ſet of them ... ſent alſo commiſſioners of their own.*] The commiſſioners diſpatched by theſe latter, were, Sir Francis Hamilton, Knight and Baronet, Capt. William Ridgeway, Capt. Michael Jones, and Mr Fenton Parſons; but Mr Jones declining to accept of the agency, the Proteſtants nominated, February 26th, two others, viz. Sir Charles Coote, Knight and Baronet, and Capt. W. Parſons. They embarked at Dublin April 2d, arrived at Oxford the 7th, and took leave of the King May 30 (15). Capt. Hamilton's and Ridgeway's companies of foot were then tranſported to England; but, rather than remove his company, Capt. Jones declined the voyage.

[*I*] *To enter a proteſt in the council-book.*] That proteſt was as follows. ‘The ſenſe of divers of his ‘Majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects, who have ſigned to ‘the late petition directed to his Majeſty. Suffering ‘under the miſconſtruction of our petition, we hold it ‘fit to declare, that we exhibited not the ſame thro' ‘want of aſſurance of his Majeſty's care of the Proteſtant Religion, and of his ſubjects, nor yet to divert ‘any ſupplies that may be drawn from hence, againſt ‘ſuch as in his kingdom of England have taken up ‘arms againſt him; but merely in right of God's ‘cauſe, and in our right, humbly to inform his Majeſty, when the Iriſh agents repair unto him, if the ‘ſaid agents ſhall endeavour to ſurprize or prejudice ‘us in either; this is the commiſſion we give; and ‘if any perſon or perſons employed by us ſhall go ‘further, or otherwiſe buſy themſelves in diſturbance ‘of his Majeſty's ſervice, againſt ſuch we do and ‘ſhall proteſt, as being in our intentions no parties ‘thereunto; which, as it may ſerve to vindicate our ‘faith to his moſt ſacred Majeſty, ſo it may ſhew how ‘cauſeleſs the jealouſies are of this addreſs to him.’ (16)

[*K*] *That they returned without coming to any concluſion.*] Sir Richard Cox rightly obſerves (17), ‘That ‘the Iriſh agents, filled with the contemplation of ‘their own power, and the evil circumſtances of his ‘Majeſty's affairs, thought that the King would purchaſe their aſſiſtance at any rate; and therefore inſiſted upon ſuch exorbitant and unreaſonable demands, as would have ſubverted the laws and conſtitution of the government, and would have rendered the Proteſtant Religion at moſt but tolerated, ‘and that itſelf but poorly and precariouſly.’

[*L*] *And had an order ... for* 718 l. *for the expence of his journey.*] “This ſhews,” as Mr Harris obſerves, “(18) that his ſtay at Oxford was but ſhort: For at forty ſhillings a day, the ſum allotted each of theſe gentlemen out of the Treaſury, the whole time of his abſence from Dublin was only three hundred and fifty nine days, of which he was above ten months impriſoned in the Tower.”

[*M*] *His Majeſty ſent directions to the Marquis of Ormond.*] Part of thoſe directions was as follows.... ‘It being now manifeſt, that the Engliſh Rebels have ‘(as far as in them lyes) given the command of Ireland to the Scots, that their aim is a total ſubverſion ‘of Religion and Regal power, and that nothing elſe ‘will content them, or purchaſe peace here; I think ‘myſelf bound in conſcience not to let ſlip the means

(13) Ib. Vol. 5. p. 953. 971.

(14) R. Cox, p. 138. Ruſhworth, vol. 5. p. 953.

(15) Idem, p. 953. 974. R. Cox, p. 139.

(16) R. Cox, p. 138. and Harris, p. 151, 152.

(17) P. 142.

(18) P. 152.

at the peace concluded with the Iriſh Catholics by Edward Earl of Glamorgan. But his Lordſhip being thought to have exceeded his commiſſion; Secretary Digby, then in Ireland, accuſed him at the council-table, on the 26th of December 1645, of ſuſpicion of treaſon (*p*). Whereupon being reſtrained of his liberty, Sir James Ware, together with the Earl of Roſcommon, and the Lord Lambart, were appointed a committee to inquire into his conduct [*N*], and take his examination; which, on the 5th of January following, was tranſmitted to the King (*q*). During the remainder of the troubles, Sir James remained firm to the King's intereſt, and zealouſly adhered to the Marquis of Ormond, who ever after entertained a great and perſonal affection for him. He continued in Dublin, till the Marquis, by the King's orders, ſurrendered that place to the Parliamentarians, on the 19th of June 1647. At that time he was conſidered as a man of ſuch conſequence, that the Parliament inſiſted on his being one of the hoſtages for the performance of that treaty: Accordingly he repaired, with the Earl of Roſcommon, and Col. Arthur Chicheſter, to the Committee for the management of Iriſh affairs at Derby-houſe, London. After the execution of the treaty for the ſurrender of Dublin, the hoſtages being permitted to depart, Sir James returned to Dublin, where he lived for ſome time in a private condition, having been deprived of his employment of Auditor-general. Michael Jones, Governor of Dublin, took umbrage at him ſoon after; not thinking it convenient, that a perſon of ſuch unſhaken loyalty to the royal family, and one who had obſtinately refuſed their darling Covenant, ſhould continue in that city: and the rather, as the Marquis of Ormond was returned into Ireland, and began to be formidable by an union with the Army of the ſupreme Council. Jones therefore ſent him a peremptory order to depart the city, and tranſport himſelf beyond the ſeas into what country he pleaſed, except England. Having choſen France for the place of his baniſhment, Jones furniſhed him with a paſs for himſelf, his eldeſt ſon, and one ſervant, ſigned April 4, 1649. He landed at St Malo's, from whence he removed not long after to Caen in Normandy, and from thence to Paris; where he contracted an acquaintance with ſome eminently learned men [*O*]. After having continued in France about two years in the whole, he left it in 1651; and by licence from the Parliament of England came to London, where he had ſome buſineſs to ſettle. He ſtayed in London near two years, and then returned to Ireland to look after his eſtate; the war in that country being ended, and all things quiet (*r*). Hitherto we have conſidered Sir James Ware in his political capacity, we come now to take a view of him in point of Learning, wherein he was truly eminent. From the year 1626 to 1665 he favoured the world with Twelve Books [*P*], of which we give an account in the note, according to the order of time wherein

(*p*) See theſe Negotiations in Huſbands's Collection, vol. II. fol. p. 811. and Ruſhworth, vol. VI. and in other places.

(*q*) R. Cox, p. 152. 154. and Appendix, No xxviii.

(*r*) Harris, as above. Wood, col. 43.

'of ſettling that kingdom (if it may be) fully under 'my obedience, nor to loſe that aſſiſtance which I 'may hope from my Iriſh ſubjects, for ſuch ſcruples 'as in a leſs preſſing condition might reaſonably 'be ſtuck at by me: For their ſatisfaction, I do 'therefore command you to conclude a peace with 'the Iriſh, whatever it coſt, ſo that my Proteſtant 'ſubjects there may be ſecured, and my Regal 'Authority preſerved; but for all this, you are to 'make the beſt bargain you can, and not diſcover 'your enlargement of power till you muſt needs, and 'though I leave the managing of this great and neceſſary work intirely to you, yet I cannot but tell 'you, That if the ſuſpenſion of Poynings Act for 'ſuch Bills as ſhall be agreed upon between you 'there, and the preſent taking away of the Penal 'Laws againſt Papiſts by a Law, will do it, I ſhall 'not think it a hard bargain, ſo that freely and vigorouſly they engage themſelves in my aſſiſtance, 'againſt my Rebels in England and Scotland, for 'which no conditions can be too hard, not being 'againſt conſcience or honour (19).'

(19) Ruſhworth, vol. V. p. 979.

[*N*] *Were appointed a Committee to inquire into his conduct.*] The Rev. Dr Birch has lately thrown ſome light upon this negotiation, in his 'Enquiry into the 'ſhare K. Charles I. had in the Tranſactions of the 'Earl of Glamorgan;' which we ſhall refer the Reader to (20). Only ſhall beg leave to inſert here a few candid and ingenious obſervations, made by the Honourable H. W. upon the ſame ſubject (21).... 'With the King's enemies I cannot but believe he 'commiſſioned the Earl to fetch Iriſh forces.... With 'his favourers, I cannot think him ſo much to blame 'if he did. It requires very primitive reſignation in a 'Monarch to ſacrifice his crown and his life, when perſecuted by ſubjects of his own ſect, rather than preſerve both by the aſſiſtance of others of his ſubjects, 'who differed from him in ceremonials or articles of 'belief. The *dreadful Iriſh Papiſts* [and they certainly 'were horrid men] ſounded very pathetically in a 'party remonſtrance of the Parliament: But when 'he was dipped in a civil war, can we in this age 'ſeriouſly impute it to him as a crime that he endeavoured to raiſe an army wherever he could? His 'fault was not in propoſing to bring over the Iriſh, 'but in having made them neceſſary to his affairs. 'Every body knew that he wanted to do without 'them, all that he could have done with them. He 'had found the Crown in poſſeſſion of greater power 'than is fit to be truſted in a ſingle hand: He had 'exerted it to the utmoſt. Could a man, who had 'ſtretched every ſtring of prerogative, conſent with a 'good grace to let it be curtailed?—I argue for the 'man, not for the particular man. I think Charles 'to be pitied, becauſe few men in his ſituation would 'have acted better.'

(20) Lond. 1747. 1756.

(21) Catalogue of Noble Authors, vol. I. p. 236, &c.

[*O*] *He contracted an acquaintance with ſome eminently learned men.*] Particularly with the famous Samuel Bochart; and was ſo delighted with his agreeable converſation, that he could have been contented to ſpend the remainder of his life in his company. He highly admired that truly learned man, and had ſo great an eſteem for his works, that, upon his return to Ireland, he thought his *Hierozoicon* a preſent worthy to be made to the library of the univerſity of Dublin. (22)

(22) Harris, p. 154.

[*P*] *From* 1626 *to* 1665 *he favoured the world with Twelve Books.*] They were publiſhed in the following order. I. *Archiepiſcoporum Caſſilienſium & Tuamenſium Vitæ, duobus expreſſæ commentariolis.* Dublinii 1626. 4to. i. e. The Lives of the Archbiſhops of Caſhell and Tuam, in two books. II. *De Præſulibus Lageniæ, ſive Provinciæ Dublinienſis, Lib. unus.* Dublinii 1628. 4to. i. e. Of the Biſhops of the Province of Leinſter, or Dublin, One book. Theſe two Treatiſes were afterwards incorporated into his more general work, *De Præſulibus Hiberniæ.* III. *Coenobia Ciſtercientia Hiberniæ.* The Ciſtercian Monaſteries of Ireland: afterwards included into his *Diſquiſitiones de Hibernia.* IV. He publiſhed, in 1633, 'A View of 'the State of Ireland, written dialogue-wiſe betweene 'Eudoxus and Irenæus, by Edmund Spenſer, Eſq. in 'the yeare 1596. Whereunto is added The Hiſtory 'of Ireland, by Edmund Campion, ſometime fellow 'of St John's colledge in Oxford.' Together with, 'The Chronicle of Ireland: Collected by Meredith 'Hanmer, wherein they were publiſhed. At the Reſtoration in 1660, he was reinſtated into his office of Auditor-general, by ſpecial order from K. Charles II. And a Parliament being ſummoned to meet May 8, 1661, the Univerſity of Dublin, to ſhew their particular reſpect for him, unanimouſly elected him a ſecond time one of their Repreſentatives. The Duke of Ormond alſo, being conſtituted Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1661, was pleaſed to diſtinguiſh him in a very peculiar manner, by adviſing with him upon all occaſions; and when the gout hindered his attendance at the council-table, the Duke would frequently viſit him at his own houſe. By his Grace's favour he was made the firſt of the four commiſſioners of appeal in cauſes of the exciſe, with a ſalary of 150 l. a year. He was alſo appointed one of the commiſſioners for the execution of the King's declaration for the ſettlement of the kingdom; and conſtituted, by the King's inſtructions, of the quorum in that commiſſion, without whoſe preſence and concurrence no act could be done in execution of that declaration. Further, his Majeſty, in conſideration of his faithful ſervices for many years, and poſſibly not forgetting a handſome ſum of money which he

'Hanmer, Doctor of Divinity:' At the end of which is a 'Continuation, taken out of the Chronicles of 'Henry Marleburrough.' Dublin, fol.—The View of the State of Ireland was publiſhed, from a manuſcript in the library of the great Archbiſhop Uſher. It was a poſthumous piece of the moſt excellent Poet, Edmund Spenſer, author of the Faerie Queene, &c.—Edmund Campion, writer of the next piece, was the famous Jeſuit, executed at Tyburn in 1581. His hiſtory contains but 138 pages, tho' it reaches from the earlieſt times to the year 1571. It was publiſhed from a MS. in the Cottonian library.—Of Meredith Hanmer an account may be ſeen in Wood's Athenæ. He was Treaſurer in Chriſt's church in Dublin, where he died of the plague in 1604. His Hiſtory was in two parts; the firſt of which ran up even into the moſt fabulous times. The ſecond only is here publiſhed; and comes down to the year of Chriſt 1284 (23). From whence it is continued out of Henry Marleburrough's Chronicle to the year 1421. V. The next book publiſhed by Sir James Ware, was, *De Scriptoribus Hiberniæ, Lib.* II. *Prior continet Scriptores in Hiberniâ natos; Poſterior Scriptores alios; qui in Hiberniâ Munera aliqua obierunt.* Dublin, 1639. 4to. This Account of the Iriſh Writers begins at the firſt appearance of Chriſtianity in Ireland, and is carried down to the cloſe of the ſixteenth century; including in the ſecond part ſuch Writers, who, though they were not natives, yet bore offices or employments in Ireland. VI. *De Hibernia & Antiquitatibus ejus Diſquiſitiones.* i. e. Enquiries concerning Ireland, and the Antiquities of the ſame. Lond. 1654. 8vo. He publiſhed a ſecond edition of this work, enlarged by the addition of the four laſt chapters, and much corrected, Lond. 1658. 8vo. To which are added, VII. *Rerum Hibernicarum regnante Henrico* VII. *Annales.* 'The Annals of Ireland, during the reign of K. Henry VII.' This treatiſe of his, on the Antiquities of Ireland, is by good judges reckoned his maſter-piece. It was exceedingly well eſteemed, and raiſed his reputation among the learned, many of whom coveted his friendſhip and acquaintance. VIII. Next he collected the works aſcribed to St Patrick into one volume, with this title, *Opuſcula Sancto Patricio, qui Hibernos ad fidem Chriſti convertit, adſcripta.* Lond. 1656. 8vo. IX. After the Reſtoration, he publiſhed, Two Letters of Venerable Bede; together with the Lives of the Abbots of Wiremouth and Jarrow: And a Dialogue of Egbert Archbiſhop of York. *Venerabilis Bedæ Epiſtolæ duæ; necnon Vitæ Abbatum Wiremuthenſium & Gerwienſium. Acceſſit Egberti, Archiepiſcopi Eboracenſis Dialogus de Eccleſiaſtica Inſtitutione; ex antiquis MSS. in lucem emiſit, & notis ad rem Hiſtoricam & antiquariam ſpectantibus illuſtravit* Jacobus Waræus, *Eques auratus.* Dublin. 1664. X. Having publiſhed in 1662, in a ſeparate piece, *Annales Henrici* VIII. 8vo. he included it in the following volume, in 1664, XI. *Rerum Hibernicarum Annales, regnantibus Henrico* VII. *Henrico* VIII. *Edwardo* VI. *& Maria, ab anno ſcil. Domini* 1485, *ad annum* 1558. Dublin. 1662. fol. XII. The year following, he put out his large and complete Hiſtory of the Biſhops of Ireland. *De Præſulibus Hiberniæ Commentarius; a prima Gentis Hibernicæ ad Fidem Chriſtianam Converſione ad noſtra uſque Tempora.* Dublin, 1665. fol. In this are comprehended the two firſt pieces he publiſhed, as mentioned above, at No. I and II. namely, The Lives of the Archbiſhops of Caſhell and Tuam; and the account of the Biſhops of the Province of Leinſter. He was ſet upon this work now, and encouraged in the proſecution of it, by many perſons of reputation and learning, particularly by Dr James Margetſon, Primate of Armagh.

Theſe various Books of our learned Author being in ſeveral ſcattered volumes, of different ſizes; ſuch of them as related to the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Ireland, were tranſlated into Engliſh, and collected together in one volume folio, Lond. 1705, by his ſon Robert Ware, Eſq; and others.—But a much more compleat, elegant, and every way more valuable edition of them (24), hath been ſince publiſhed by the learned and ingenious *Walter Harris*, Eſq; who hath married Sir James Ware's great grand-daughter. He hath divided them into *Three Volumes* folio: whereof the *Firſt* contains the Hiſtory of the Biſhops of that Kingdom, and ſuch Matters Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, in which they were concerned, from the firſt Propagation of Chriſtianity therein to the year 1739. Adorned with Prints of ſeveral of the Cathedrals, Seals, and other Sculptures. Dublin. 1739. fol.—The *Second* Volume contains The Antiquities of Ireland. Sir James's *Diſquiſitiones*, of which this is an improved tranſlation, comprehended only xxviii chapters. In the edition of 1705 four new chapters were added: and *this* Mr Harris hath inriched with eight chapters entirely new. As alſo throughout with numberleſs Improvements, incloſed within crotchets to diſtinguiſh them from the original edition; taken not only from Sir James's MSS. but likewiſe from public and private Libraries, Records, &c. It is moreover adorned with prints of antiquities found in that kingdom; of the Iriſh coins; and 18 copper plates of the religious orders, engraved by the beſt hands in Paris. The ſubjects it treats of, are equally curious and intereſting; namely, the origin and language of the ancient Iriſh; diviſions and dimenſions of the country; names and ſurnames, dreſs, buildings, funerals, and other cuſtoms of the inhabitants: Their form of government, laws, exactions, taxes, &c. Their great officers, and governors, from Henry II. to 1744, in a ſynoptical table: Of the Druids, and Bards: Of the natural advantages and commodities of Ireland: And a curious account of the monaſteries, and monaſtical ſtate there.—Biſhop Nicolſon obſerves, that this 'treatiſe was Sir James's 'maſter-piece.' He ſtyles him, upon account of it, 'the Camden of Ireland.' And ſays, that 'this 'kingdom is everlaſtingly obliged to him for the 'great pains he took in collecting and preſerving their 'ſcattered monuments and antiquities.'—That this work 'will be a laſting proof of his indefatigable in'duſtry and conſummate judgment; both in his en'quiries and diſcoveries (25).' This ſecond volume was printed at Dublin, in 1745, fol.—The *Third* Volume contains the Writers of Ireland, in two Books. 1. Of ſuch Writers who were born in Ireland. 2. Of ſuch Writers, who, though foreigners, enjoyed preferments or offices in Ireland, or had their education in it. In this, as in the former volumes, are numberleſs corrections, and *additions*; particularly of *ſeventy eight* new articles, in that part which had been publiſhed before by Sir James. The 14th chapter of the firſt book, and the 6th chapter of the ſecond book, conſiſting of 313 articles, are alſo entirely new. In theſe chapters ſome lives are very full and large, eſpecially thoſe of Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, Sir James Ware, Luke Wadding, and Sir Richard Cox. This third volume was printed at Dublin in 1746. folio.—Sir James left in manuſcript, 'An imaginary Voyage to an Utopian iſland;' compoſed during his impriſonment in the Tower: and *Itinerarium Gallicum*, now in the Cottonian Library.

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(23) See the Writers of Ireland, in vol. III. p. 327, 328.

(24) But among them are not included 'Rerum 'Hibernicarum 'Annales,' edit. 1664, mentioned above.

(25) Iriſh Hiſtorical Library, ed. Dublin, 1724. 8vo. p. 20.

had ſent him in his exile, was pleaſed to offer to create him a viſcount of the kingdom of Ireland: but he thankfully declined that honour, becauſe his eſtate, by a general intail created on the marriage of his eldeſt ſon, as we ſhall ſhew preſently, was likely to go to a female heir. For the ſame reaſon he refuſed to be created a Baronet. He had a great love for his native country, and could not bear to ſee it aſperſed; which put him upon doing it all the juſtice he could in his writings, by ſetting matters in the faireſt light, yet ſtill with the ſtricteſt regard to truth. That unfeigned love for his country induced him to ſerve every part of it to the utmoſt of his power. As, for inſtance, when the chief magiſtrate of the city of Dublin was dignified with the title of Lord Mayor, in 1665, he was very inſtrumental, thro' his intereſt with the Duke of Ormond, in obtaining a grant from the crown of 500l. a year, for the maintenance and ſupport of that new dignity (s). Beſides his ſeveral books mentioned before, he had an intention of publiſhing more relating to Ireland, towards which he had prepared large materials: but he was prevented by death, which deprived the world of ſo valuable a perſon (t), on the firſt of December, 1666, when he was juſt entered into his 73d year. He was buried in the church of St Werburg in Dublin, in a vault belonging to his family, without either ſtone or monumental inſcription. He married, as we have obſerved above, Mary, daughter of Jacob Newman, of Dublin, Eſq; and by her he had ten children, of whom only two ſons and two daughters arrived to maturity. Of the latter, Mary was married to Sir Edward Crofton, Baronet: and Roſe to the Lord Lambart, afterwards Earl of Cavan. His eldeſt ſon, *James*, ſucceeded him in his eſtate [Q], and office of Auditor-general, and died in 1689. His ſecond ſon *Robert* was in his youth troubled with epileptic diſorders, and afforded no hopes to his father; which was the cauſe of his conſenting to create a general intail, upon the eldeſt ſon's marriage. But he afterwards recovered a vigorous ſtate of health, and gave Sir James room for ſevere but too late reflections on what he had done. To make Robert all the amends in his power, he laid up 1000l. every remaining year of his life, which was not above ſix or ſeven; and from this fund the preſent fortune of the family ariſes. This Robert publiſhed ſeveral books [R]. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Piers of Triſternagh in the county of Weſt-Meath, Bart. but had only one ſon that ſurvived, named *Henry*, who died ſome years ago; leaving iſſue, by Mary his wife, daughter of Peter Shaw, of Egerton in Lancaſhire, Eſq; two ſons, James and Henry; and Elizabeth, married to Walter Harris, Eſq; the publiſher of the late elegant edition of Sir James's works. As to our valuable Author's reputation, it is fully eſtabliſhed by his excellent works, which have been greatly commended (u) both at home and abroad: and, with reſpect to his moral qualifications, he was of a very charitable diſpoſition, and frequently contributed good ſums of money to the relief of the indigent and neceſſitous, eſpecially to the decayed Cavaliers, whom he often invited to his plentiful table, being noted for hoſpitality, generoſity, and other virtues. In the courſe of his ſtudies, and to enable him to proſecute them more effectually, and with better ſucceſs, he gathered together, at conſiderable pains and expence, a large and fine collection of valuable manuſcripts relating to the hiſtory of Ireland. In 1686, they came into the hands of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, when he was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who brought them with him into England, and depoſited them in Dr Tenniſon's library at Weſtminſter. They were purchaſed afterwards by the late magnificent Duke of Chandois. A Catalogue of them was printed at Dublin in the year 1641; and another at Oxford, in 1697, in the Catalogue of the Manuſcripts of England and Ireland (w). Among thoſe manuſcripts are two of Sir James's own compoſition, namely, The Annals of Ireland, from the year of Chriſt 428, to the Conqueſt of Ireland by King Henry II. And a ſecond part of the ſame, down to the end of King Henry III's reign, i. e. from the year 1169 to 1272. N° 29. and again, from the year 1199 to 1307. N° 66.

[Q] *His eldeſt ſon, James, ſucceeded him in his eſtate.*] He was, in the life-time of his father, married to Elizabeth, daughter of Dixie Hickman of Kew in Surrey, ſiſter to Thomas Lord Windſor, created afterwards Earl of Plymouth. By a general intail raiſed on this marriage, the eſtate of the family came to an only daughter, Mary, who took for her ſecond huſband Sir John St Leger, Knight, late one of the Barons of the court of Exchequer in Ireland, in whom the eſtate veſted (26).

[R] *This Robert publiſhed ſeveral books.*] Namely, 1. 'The Examination of Faithful Commin, and Thomas Heath,' (the firſt taken from Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley's papers; and the other from the regiſtry of the ſee of Rocheſter) Dublin, 1671 and 1678, 4to. 2. 'The Converſion of Philip Coruine, a Franciſcan Friar, to the Proteſtant Religion in 1569.' Dublin, 1681, 4to. 3. 'The Reformation of the Church of Ireland, in the Life and Death of George Brown, ſometime Archbiſhop of Dublin.' Dublin, 1681. 4to. being the ſame that ſtands in the firſt Engliſh edition of Sir James Ware's works. Dublin, 1705. 4. 'Foxes and Fire-brands, or a Specimen of the Danger and Harmony of Popery and Separation: wherein is proved, from undeniable matter of fact and reaſon, that Separation from the Church of England is, in the judgment of Papiſts, and by ſad Experience, found the moſt compendious way to introduce Popery, and to ruine the Proteſtant Religion.' In two parts. London. 1680, 4to. Dublin, 1682, 8vo. The firſt part, with the examinations of Commin and Heath, was publiſhed by Dr John Nalſon in 1678, 8vo. and the ſecond part was added by our author Robert Ware. 5. 'The hunting of the Romiſh Fox, and the quenching of Sectarian Firebrands; being a Specimen of Popery and Separation.' Dublin, 1683, 8vo. 6. 'Foxes and Firebrands, &c.' The third part. Lond. 1689, 8vo. 7. 'Pope Joan: or an account that there was ſuch a She-Pope, proved from Romiſh Authors before Luther, &c.' Lond. 1689, 4to.—— The Hiſtory and Antiquities of the City and Univerſity of Dublin, MS. unfiniſhed and very imperfect.— He had by his writings appeared ſo averſe to the Roman Catholic intereſt in Ireland; that fearing the reſentment of that party, which he had reaſon to believe would be ſevere enough in the reign of K. James II. and being adviſed to it by the Earl of Clarendon, then Lord Lieutenant; he removed with his family into England, on the ſame day that the Lord Tyrconnell landed in Ireland, to take on him the government, and continued here till the deliverance of Ireland by King William. He died in March 1696 (27). C

(s) Harris, p. 154, &c.

(t) When King Charles II. was informed of his death, he declared, 'He had loſt 'a faithful ſervant.' Harris, p. 156.

(u) Biſhop Nicolſon ſtiles him 'the great reſtorer of Ireland's 'antiquities and 'hiſtory, whoſe 'unwearied diligence and judicious diſcoveries can never 'be too frequently remembered or 'extolled.' Iriſh Hiſt. Libr. p. 131.

(w) Harris, as above, p. 156. 157. and Wood, col. 43.

(26) Harris, p. 156.

(27) Harris, as above, p. 256.

WARNER [John] Biſhop of Rocheſter in the laſt century, diſtinguiſhed by his loyalty to King Charles I. and his munificent charities, was the ſon of Herman Warner, citizen of London, and born in the pariſh of St Clement Danes in Middleſex about the year 1585 (*a*). After a proper foundation of grammar-learning, in which he made a quick progreſs, he was ſent very young to Oxford in 1598 (*b*), and the year following was elected Demy of Magdalen College in that univerſity (*c*); where, being placed under the care of a good tutor, he proceeded ſucceſsfully in his ſtudies, and taking the degree of A. B. December 13, 1602, he commenced A. M. the 12th of June 1605; in which year he was made Fellow of his college, having the reputation of a witty perſon, and a good philoſopher (*d*). However, in 1610 he reſigned his Fellowſhip *, but accepted of the rectory of St Michael's Crooked Lane, which was given him by Archbiſhop Abbot in 1614 †. Yet this he reſigned too in 1619, and ſeems to continue unpreferred till 1625 ‡, when he was preſented by the ſame metropolitan to the rectory of St Dionis Backchurch in London (*e*). In the interim he had taken both his degrees in divinity at Oxford (*f*); and the archbiſhop continuing his patron, collated him to the prebend of the firſt ſtall in the cathedral of Canterbury (*g*). He was alſo appointed Governor of Sion College in London, and was made Chaplain to King Charles I. before whom, in the ſecond year of his reign, the parliament ſitting, he preached a ſermon at Whitehall in the paſſion-week, on Matth. xxi. 28. in which he urged the conſequence of that parliament's proceedings ſo far, as very highly provoked ſome members of both houſes, then preſent; from the effects of whoſe reſentment nothing but the diſſolution of that parliament, which enſued ſhortly after, could ſecure him, by making room for his Majeſty's moſt gracious pardon (*h*). In 1633, he attended his royal Maſter in his expedition to be crowned in Scotland, and the ſame year was collated by him to the Deanery of Lichfield (*i*). In 1637, the King alſo advanced him to the higheſt order in the church, by a nomination to the See of Rocheſter (*k*); in conſequence whereof he was elected November 13, confirmed January 1, conſecrated thereto the 15th, inſtalled the 21ſt, and received the temporalities the 30th of that month (*l*) the ſame year. Hereupon, notwithſtanding the very ſmall revenues of this ſee, he reſigned his Deanery and his Prebend, beſides a donative of 200*l.* *per annum* in Kent (*m*). In 1640 he aſſiſted the King with fifteen hundred pounds on the Scottiſh invaſion of England, and gave his attendance, when there was only one Prelate beſides himſelf, in the council at York. The ſame year he alſo oppoſed and ſpoke againſt the Præmunire in the Houſe of Peers, and aſſerted the rights of the Biſhops ſitting in parliament. In the ſame ſpirit he likewiſe concurred with ſome others of the epiſcopal order, who took the proteſtation May 14, 1641 [*A*]. In reality his whole conduct was regulated by the ſame principles in this parliament as before, ſhewing himſelf a zealous advocate for epiſcopacy [*B*], and ſtanding up ſtrenuouſly for it in the Houſe of Lords as long as he had a place there; till he was ſilenced by the general calamity and ruin wherein the epiſcopal order was involved, which happened ſoon after. For Auguſt 4th, 1641, he was impeached with twelve other biſhops, for acting in the convocation aſſembled in 1640, making then canons and conſtitutions, and granting his Majeſty a benevolence (*n*). In this laſt diſtreſs Biſhop Warner was choſen by joint conſent of all the reſt, to ſolicit their defence; and he ſpared neither coſt nor pains therein [*C*]. But their total ſubverſion being determined, nothing availed. However, his loyalty was ſtill the ſame to his Prince, at whoſe command, not long before his death, our prelate, without the aſſiſtance of his books, or any other help, wrote a treatiſe againſt the ordinance for the ſale of church-lands *: and after the death of that martyr for the church, he publiſhed ſeveral ſermons, to his no ſmall hazard, againſt that barbarous murder †. Under the influence of the ſame principles, he refuſed to pay any tax or loan to the par-

Several of the particulars in this article were communicated by Dr Zachary Pearce, Biſhop of Rocheſter, from an account of Biſhop Warner, written ſeveral years ago by one of his family.

(*a*) This is collected from his commencing D. D. in 1616, and in the 31ſt year of his age, according to the above mentioned account.

(*b*) This is inferred from the time of his taking the degree of A. B. which muſt be in the fourth year after his admiſſion, ſuppoſing him to have proceeded at the regular times to his degrees, as he appears to have done.

(*c*) Athen. Ox. Vol. II. col. 373.

(*d*) Ibid. and Faſti Oxon vol. I. col. 163. 168.

* Perhaps on the large acceſſion to his fortune by his godmother, mentioned in the ſequel.

† On the 17th of June,

‡ Sept. 26th.

(*e*) Newcourt's Repertorium, vol. I. p. 486. 330.

(*f*) That of B. D. Dec. 1, 1613, and D. D. April 18, 1616.—— Wood's Faſti Oxon. vol. I. col. 194. 202.

(*g*) Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury, with N. Battely's additions, folio, edit. 1703, part II. p. 124. and J. le Neve's Faſti, p. 14.

(*h*) Account of him as above.— The pardon is ſtill extant.

(*i*) Ibid. and J. le Neve, p. 128.

(*k*) Mr Wood ſays, he was then eſteemed a good ſchool-divine, and well read in the fathers.—— Athen. Oxon. vol. II. col. 273, 274.

(*l*) Pat. 13. Car. I. p. 15. See alſo J. le Neve, p. 252.

(*m*) Probably Barham or Biſhop's-Bourne, of which, it is ſaid, he was parſon. Calmer's cathedral news, &c.

(*n*) Diurnal occurrences of both Houſes, edition 1641, 4to. p. 325. and Ruſhworth, Vol. I. part 3. p. 359. edition 1692.

* It was printed in 1646 and 1648 in 4to. under the title of *Church-Lands not to be ſold: or, a neceſſary and plain anſwer to the queſtion of a conſcientious Proteſtant, whether the lands of biſhops and churches in England and Wales may be ſold.*

† Account, as before.

[*A*] *He took the proteſtation*] The tenor of it was to maintain and defend, as far as lawfully they might, with their life, power, and eſtate, the true reformed Proteſtant religion, expreſſed in the doctrine of the Church of England, againſt all popery and popiſh innovation within this realm; and maintain and defend his Majeſty's royal perſon, honour, and eſtate; alſo the power and privilege of parliaments, the lawful rights and liberties of the ſubjects, and endeavour to preſerve the union and peace between the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland (1).

[*B*] *He was a zealous advocate for epiſcopacy.*] His zeal for that cauſe drew from Dr Fuller the following expreſſion: ‘ It was he in whom dying epiſcopacy gave the laſt groan in the Houſe of Lords, one of good ſpeech and a cheerful ſpirit, and, which made both, a good purſe, and, which made all three, a good cauſe, as he conceived in his conſcience, which made him very pertinently and valiantly defend the antiquity and juſtice of the biſhops votes in parliament (2).’

[*C*] *He ſpared neither coſt nor pains.*] The biſhops deſired time till Michaelmas term, to put in their anſwer, which was ſpent by their ſollicitor in preparing matters, and procuring counſel to plead for them, in which he met with very unuſual difficulties. Moſt perſons being ſo terrified, as Dr Fuller relates, and overawed by the violent, not to ſay tyrannical, proceedings of the Commons, that of the counſel retained by him two only appeared; Serjeant Jermin, who declined to plead for them, except the biſhops would firſt procure him a warrant from the Houſe of Commons (which they refuſed to do) and Mr Chute, or Shute, who being demanded of the Lords whether he would plead for the biſhops, *Yea*, ſaid he, *ſo long as I have a tongue to plead with:* and ſoon after he drew up a demurrer in their behalf, that their offence in making canons could not amount to a *præmunire*. This being ſhewn to the biſhop of Lincoln, he proteſted that he never ſaw a ſtronger demurrer all the days of his life *, and the notice to the Lords was probably, continues Fuller, the cauſe that they waved any farther proſecution of the charge, which henceforward ſunk in ſilence (3).—— The counſel which Biſhop Warner retained were theſe four, Serjeant Jermin, Mr Heron, Mr Shute, and Mr Hale. But when he requeſted to have them, the houſe of lords ordered he ſhould, with this proviſo, ‘ That if any of the ſaid counſel ſhall upon juſt cauſe deſire to be excuſed, and this houſe approve of the ſaid excuſe, that then he or they ſhall not be compelled to be of the ſaid biſhops counſel (4).’

(1) Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Collect. part 3. Vol. I. p. 241. 247. ed. 1692, or Vol. 4. of the laſt edit.

(2) Fuller's Church-Hiſtory, book 11. p. 194. and Ath. Oxon. vol. II. col. 374. where Mr Wood has tranſcribed, with a little variation, theſe words of Fuller, and without mentioning his author, a practice too common with that Antiquary.

* This was Bp Williams, who had been Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, and therefore muſt be well verſed in ſuch things.

(3) Fuller's Church-Hiſtory, book 11. p. 183.

(4) Ruſhworth, vol. 5. p. 394.

liament; whereupon his eſtate, eccleſiaſtical and temporal, was ſequeſtered, his books ſeized, and by a new piece of barbarity, all bonds due to him from any perſon whatſoever releaſed. They threatened him alſo with impriſonment, which would certainly have been put in execution againſt him, had he not providentially eſcaped their hands, by withdrawing into Wales, where he continued ſhifting about from place to place for 3 years; conſtantly performing the duty of his epiſcopal function, as he did wherever he ſojourned till the happy Reſtoration. After the King's garriſons were given up, he was forced to compound for his temporal eſtate, now four years ſequeſtered, at the rate of the tenth part real and perſonal. But he refuſed all oaths to the laſt(o). However, by thus parting with ſome of his eſtate to ſave the reſt, he was enabled to aſſiſt his ſuffering brethren, and was accordingly a great ſupport to the ſequeſtered clergy and their families, as well as to other indigent perſons [*D*]. He ſent an hundred pounds to King Charles II. in his exile, deſigning, as that ſucceeded, to continue the offering; but he was betrayed by his ſervant, who diſcovering it to Cromwell in council, the treachery would certainly have coſt the maſter his life, had he not prevailed on that ſervant by money to fly into Ireland. But having no account of his ſmall preſent to the King, he was prevented from ſending any more(*p*). Upon his Majeſty's Reſtoration in 1660, our prelate was reſtored to his biſhopric, and enjoyed it till his deceaſe, which happened October 11, 1666. His body was interred in the cathedral-church of Rocheſter, where a ſtately monument was ſoon after erected to his memory [*E*]. In the vigour of his age he married the widow of Dr Robert Abbot, Biſhop of Saliſbury [*F*], and had iſſue by her one daughter, his heireſs, who by her huſband, Thomas Lee of London, had a ſon named John [*G*], to whom and his ſons our biſhop bequeathed ſo conſiderable an eſtate, as excited the curioſity of many, who viewing his extraordinary charities, were ſurprized how all could ariſe from ſo mean a biſhopric as that of Rocheſter, and ſo ſmall fines at the Reſtoration. They who judged by his way of living in his old age, attributed this to parſimony [*H*]. But ſuch

(o) Ibid.

(*p*) Account by one of his family.

[*D*] *He aſſiſted the ſequeſtered clergy, and other indigent families.*] To this purpoſe Biſhop Kennett gives the following relation of him. ' When,' ſays he, ' in ' the days of uſurpation an honeſt friend paid a viſit ' to him, and upon his lordſhip's importunity told ' him freely the cenſures of the world, as being of a ' cloſe and too thrifty a temper, the biſhop produced a ' roll of diſtreſſed clergy, whom in their ejectments ' he had relieved with no leſs than eight thouſand ' pounds; and enquired of the ſame friend, whether ' he knew of any other like objects of charity: upon ' which motion the gentleman ſoon after by letter re' commended a ſequeſtered divine, to whom at the ' firſt addreſs he gave 100l(5).

[*E*] *A ſtately monument was erected to his memory.*] It ſtands at the eaſt end of the north iſle, in a ſmall chapel incloſed with iron rails, and paved with black and white marble. It is compoſed altar-wiſe, having at top two pillars of black marble ſupporting a compaſs-corniſh, whereon is ſet his arms. And next to the wall is a marble table, upon which theſe lines are cut in two columns.

En tandem in tumulo dignum meliore Catonem,
Qui vita & donis aurea ſecla dedit.
Ille Deo templiſque olim ſua jura redemit,
Atque patres fruſtra non ſinit eſſe pios.
Nec ſatis hæc vivis pietas, poſt funera cleri
Quod reliquum eſt viduis conſulit ille toris.
Magdaleas muſas, pariter dilectus, & ipſe
Diligit, hinc libros, dat geniumque libris.
Sic vivis phœnix fatoque ſibique ſuperſtes,
Dum tibi Magdaleas muſa coronat odor,
Unica papales ſuperat tua dextra Coloſſos,
Nec tamen in cælis ſic meruiſſe putas.
At qui ipſi te ſponte vocant, & conſcia terra
Gaudet ſe cælo reddere poſſe ſuum.
En animi exuvias terra ſibi cætera cælum
Vendicat: O quantum eſt ſic licuiſſe mori!
Flete patrem, viduæ: pudeat fleviſſe maritos.
Vivitur a cujus funere, flete patrem.
Magnus opes, majorque animum cui maxima poſſe,
Fortuna, & virtus maxima velle, dedit.
Hoc aliis fatum commune eſt, vivere poſſe.
Hoc, Warnere, tuum eſt, non potuiſſe mori.

On the altar part of the tomb is likewiſe the following inſcription:

Hic jacet cadaver Johannis Warneri,
Totos annos XXIX *Epiſcopi Roffenſis,*
In ſpem Reſurrectionis
Ad vitam æternam.
Anno Domini 1666.
Ætatis 86.
Charus poſtgenitis.

On another tablet is alſo the ſame inſcription as the laſt, with the addition of theſe two verſes:

Invidiam eſt extra, quicquid donatur olympo,
Quas dederit cælo, ſemper habebit opes.

But it muſt not be omitted, that theſe monumental high-ſtrained compliments were rather diſcouraged by our prelate's will: in which he ordered only the following ſhort inſcription to be ſet on his grave-ſtone.

Hic jacet cadaver JOHANNIS WARNER,
totos annos XXIX *Epiſcopi.*

[*F*] *He married the widow of Robert Abbot, biſhop of Saliſbury.*] This marriage was probably contracted ſoon after the year 1629, the lady, whoſe name was Bridget, being then ſtill Dr Abbot's widow, and ſhe had before been the wife of John Cheynel, M. D. ſometime fellow of Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford, and by whom ſhe had a ſon, Francis Cheynel (7), of whom ſome account may be ſeen in this work (8). It is ſomewhat remarkable, that no account of this lady's being wife to Biſhop Warner can be found in any monumental inſcriptions, either in London, Rocheſter, or Saliſbury; nor is there at Bromley, where the Biſhop of Rocheſter's palace ſtands, any other tradition but that he lived and died a batchelor (9): taken perhaps from Mr Wood, who ſays he always lived a ſingle life.

[*G*] *A ſon named John, to whom our biſhop left a conſiderable eſtate.*] Some light is thrown upon this matter by the Oxford antiquary, who tells us, that this John Lee, being A. M. and ſome time fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, proceeded D. D. Auguſt 1ſt, 1660. being then Prebendary and Archdeacon of Rocheſter. That he afterwards wrote himſelf John Lee alias Warner, becauſe he was heir to the ſaid Biſhop *: That having publiſhed one or more ſermons, he died about the beginning of June 1679, at which time he left behind him a ſon named Henry Lee Eſq; and laſtly, that he was ſucceeded in his archdeaconry by Tho. Plume, D. D. of Cambridge (10).

[*H*] *Some imputed his large fortune to parſimony.*] This reflexion is countenanced by David Lloyd, the memoir-writer, where he tells us with the ſame want of candor, that the biſhop's father left him a conſiderable fortune acquired by trade well managed, and he had

(5) Kennett's Life of Mr Somner, edit. 1693, 8vo. p. 95.

(6) The inſcriptions are partly taken from Willis's Hiſtory of mitred abbeys, and partly from the hiſtory and antiquities of Rocheſter Cathedral; both which appear to be very imperfect.

(7) Ath. Oxon. vol. II. col. 358.

(8) In the article of Chillingworth and Jaſper Mayne.

(9) From the information of the reverend Mr Bagſhaw, chaplain of Bromley college.

* Whom the antiquary here calls *Harman* Warner, by a palpable miſtake.

(10) Faſti Oxon. as in the text.— This Dr Plume it was, that about 1705, founded at Cambridge a *Profeſſorſhip of Aſtronomy and Experimental Philoſophy*, which goes by his name.

ſuch a natural diſpoſition is hardly reconcileable to his accepting a biſhopric by the ſurrendry of an equivalent at 1000 l. charge for firſt fruits, &c. The truth is, that he lived as decently and hoſpitably as any other prelate till the unhappy rebellion. And if his trouble and exceſſive charities taught him to practiſe his uſual expreſſion, *That he eat the ſcrags of mutton to be enabled to give the better part to the poor*, it is no wonder if he continued it during the few years he lived after the King's return. But the ſurprize will be entirely taken off, when it is known, that he had no leſs than 16,000 l. left him in his youth by a relation, who was his godmother. This was the real foundation of his eſtate, which, with the intereſt, while he confined his expence to his ſpiritual income, grew to ſo great a bulk (*q*). The nobleſt part of his character ſhines forth in his munificent charities, a particular account of which is inſerted below [*I*]. And he is ſaid beſides to have been an accurate logician, philoſopher, and ſchool-divine: a man of accurate parts, a good ſpeech, a cheerful and undaunted ſpirit, promiſing leſs than he performed, and more hearty within than courtly without (*r*). Beſides the books already mentioned, ſome letters of his to Dr Jeremy Taylor, concerning the chapter of original ſin in the *Unum Neceſſarium* are printed in the ſaid Biſhop Taylor's Collection of polemical diſcourſes (*s*).

had increaſed it himſelf by oeconomy, being uſed to ſay in behalf of his frugal and cloſe way, that he *eat the ſcraggy necks of mutton, that he might leave the poor the ſhoulder* (11). But Bp Kennett obſerves, that tho' he was condemned by the fanaticks of that age for a covetous man, his memory needs no vindication (12).

[*I*] *An account of his charities.*] His Lordſhip's private charities have been already mentioned (13). The public ones are as follows. 1. While he was Prebendary of Canterbury, having obſerved, that a fixed font was wanting in that cathedral, he erected in 1639 a very curious and coſtly one at his own charge (14), Mr Somner gives a print of it, and another author deſcribes it thus: 'It hath three aſcents [ſteps] to it, 'paled about with high gilded and painted iron bars, 'having under the cover of it a carved image of the 'Holy Ghoſt in a form of a dove, and round about 'it are placed carved images of the 12 Apoſtles, and '4 evangeliſts, and a band of angels; and over it 'a carved image of Chriſt. And all this was done, ſays he, 'at the coſts of Dr Warner, &c. now parſon 'of Back-church in London, parſon of Barham in 'Eaſt Kent near Dover, and parſon of Biſhop's-Bourn 'and Lord Biſhop of Rocheſter. The ſame writer like'wiſe informs us, that on Candlemas day at night, '1641, thoſe images were all demoliſhed, and taken 'away, they knew not how or by whom. But in a 'few days after, ſome of them were found in a pul'pit in the ſaid cathedral (15).' But here are ſome miſtakes about the time of his lordſhip's giving this benefaction, which could not be beſtowed after his promotion to the ſee of Rocheſter, and while he was parſon of Back-church, Barham, and Biſhop's-Bourn, if he reſigned thoſe parſonages upon that promotion, as in the account of his life cited in the text it is ſaid he did. Mr Somner, who ſays it was erected in 1639 [when his lordſhip was biſhop of Rocheſter] enquired with great diligence for all the ſcattered pieces, bought them up at his own charge, kept them ſafe till the return of King Charles II. and then delivered them to Biſhop Warner; who in 1660 cauſed his font to be re-edified in a more beautiful and coſtly manner than before (16). How much this font coſt we ſee is not mentioned by theſe writers, but ſomewhat of it may be collected from the following liſt in the account of his life by one of the family, thus:

He gave to the Demys of Magdalen College Oxon in 11 years	1100 l.
——— To the repairing of St. Paul's, London	1050
——— To the redemption of captives, &c.	2500
——— To the library of Magdalen College (18)	1200
——— To the cathedral of Canterbury for fonts and library (19)	1200
——— To the cathedral of Rocheſter, towards a library	500
——— For repairs in that cathedral	200
By his will	800
——— For augmenting poor vicarages in the Dioceſe of Rocheſter, by the annual intereſt of it at 6 *per cent.*	2000
Paid by his executors for the building of Bromley College	8500
For the repairs of the Palace	800
Total is	19850

He alſo gave by his will to a chaplain and twenty widows annually for ever 450 l. and to four Scotch ſcholars in Baliol college, Oxon, annually for ever 80l. Both which, being a rent charge, at the moderate rate of 24 years purchaſe amounts to 12,720l. to which add as above, 19,850l. total is 32,570l. beſides 600l. per annum to ſequeſtered miniſters and widows of ſuch during the rebellion, and 1500l. to K. Charles I. on the Scots invading England, both together could not amount to leſs than 10000 l. which being added above to 32,570, makes in the whole 42,570l. not to mention 20l. left to the church of St Clement Danes, 20l. to Bromley, and a yearly penſion to St Dionis Back-church. Such an unbounded diſpoſition to every kind of charity is a conſpicuous evidence of the goodneſs of that heart which prompted him to chooſe always for his motto, *Non nobis tantum nati.*

To this account, for the ſatisfaction of the curious in theſe matters, we ſhall add the following particulars concerning the two charities, of Bromley College, as it is now called, and the Scotch exhibitions at Baliol College in Oxford. By his will he left part of his perſonal eſtate for an hoſpital or alms-houſe, to be built as near as conveniently might be to the cathedral-church of Rocheſter *, and lands for the maintenance therein of twenty poor widows, the relicts of orthodox and loyal clergymen, and a chaplain to adminiſter in holy things according to the church of England; bequeathing 50l. a year to him, and to each of the widows 20 l. a year, always reſerving ſo much out of their ſtipends as may keep the hoſpital in good repair. The chaplain to be elected out of Magdalen College, Oxford, and no other houſe; and the election of the widows to be in his executors, with power to appoint ſucceeding truſtees, as they ſeverally deceaſed. He alſo by will gave 80 l. per ann. to iſſue out of his manor of Swayton in Lincolnſhire, for the maintenance of four ſcholars of the Scotch nation to live and abide in Baliol College, Oxford, to be choſen by the Archbp. of Canterbury, and Biſhop of Rocheſter, and their ſucceſſors, each to have yearly 20 l. till they were Maſter of Arts, and then to return to their own country, and there be miniſters of God's word †. Such is the tenor of his lordſhip's will, which was proved, February 7, 1666. But the Oxford antiquary informs us, that the truſtees there, not being diſpoſed to place the ſaid ſcholars in that college, and the maſter and fellows not altogether willing to receive them, there was an intention of making Glouceſter-Hall a college for them ‡, and there they were placed till the parties concerned came to a determination. At length, in 1672, when Dr Thomas Wood became maſter of Baliol-College, he took order that they ſhould be tranſlated thither, where they have remained ever ſince §, and the benefaction has produced ſeveral eminent ſcholars, particularly Dr John Keil, Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy, and Mr James Stirling, author of ſeveral ingenious mathematical pieces. P

WATERLAND [DANIEL] the famous Defender of the Faith againſt the Arians (*a*), was the ſecond ſon by a ſecond wife of Mr Henry Waterland, Rector of Waſely in the Lindſey-diviſion of Lincolnſhire, at which place he was born on the 14th of February

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(*q*) Ibid.

(*r*) David Lloyd's Memoirs, &c. Lond. 1668, fol. p. 602.

(*s*) See Bp. Taylor's article, under the account of his works.

(11) D. Lloyd's memoirs, &c. p. 602.

(12) Kennett's Life of Mr Somner, edit. 1693, 8vo. p. 94.

(13) In Remark [*D*].

(14) See a print of it in Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury, quarto edition.

(15) Calmer's Cathedral-news, &c. p. 16, 17.

(16) Life of Somner by Kennett, p. 94 and Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury, folio, edition, part I. p. 99.

(18) The words of his will are, That having in his life-time given 300 l. and afterwards 1000 l. for increaſing the library of Magdalen College with books, he gave only 50 l. more there by his will.

(19) Viz. 500l. to the library then newly erected, as appears by his will, conſequently the font coſt 700l.

* The executors placed it at Bromley, the ſeat of the biſhop's palace.

† But this part being only a requeſt, is variouſly obſerved, as occaſions vary.

‡ This hall was not made a college then, but has been ſince, by the name of Worceſter-College, being endowed with ſeveral additional benefactions, and enlarged with new buildings.

§ Athen. Oxon. vol. II. col. 374.

(*a*) Moſt of the particulars of this article were communicated by Dr Theodore Waterland, our author's elder brother.

February 1683. His father being poſſeſſed alſo of the rectory of Flixborough, not far diſtant, ſent him there very early to his curate, Mr Sykes, who had the pleaſure of teaching him to read, which he was able to do with ſurpriſing readineſs at four years of age. Returning home he was inſtructed by his father in the firſt rudiments of grammar, and afterwards ſent to the free-ſchool at Lincoln, then in great repute. His uncommon diligence and ſuitable parts ſoon recommended him to the particular notice and favour of Mr Samuel Garmſtone and Mr Anthony Read, the two ſucceſſive maſters of that ſchool, at whoſe requeſt, beſides the ordinary exerciſes, he frequently performed others, which always gave great ſatisfaction, and were by them handed abroad for the honour of their ſchool. With this promiſing character he went to Cambridge, and being admitted March 30, 1699, of Magdalen College, under the tuition of Mr Samuel Barker, a very worthy gentleman, he obtained a ſcholarſhip, December 4, 1702, and proceeding A. B. in Lent-term following, he was elected Fellow of the college, February 15, 1703-4. whereupon taking pupils, he became a great ſupport to that ſociety. In 1706, he commenced A. M. and Dr Gabriel Quadrin, Maſter of the college, dying in February 1713, the Earl of Suffolk and Binden, in which family the right is veſted, conferred the maſterſhip upon Mr Waterland, who having taken holy orders, was alſo preſented by that nobleman to the rectory of Ellingham in Norfolk. But this made little or no addition to his finances; for he gave almoſt the whole revenue of it, which indeed was but ſmall, to his curate, his own reſidence being neceſſary at the college, on account of his pupils, of whom he took extraordinary care; and among other inſtances thereof, he drew up a tract under the title of *Advice to a young Student, with a method of ſtudy for the firſt four years* (*b*). In 1714 he took the degree of B. D. having performed the exerciſe for it with the greateſt applauſe [*A*], and upon the death of Dr James, Regius Profeſſor of Divinity, our author was generally pointed out as the ableſt perſon in the univerſity to fill that chair, tho' his great eſteem for Dr Bentley, who ſucceeded to it, would not ſuffer him to puſh his intereſt on the occaſion. However, he was ſhortly after appointed one of the chaplains in ordinary to his Majeſty [King George I.] who on a viſit to that univerſity in 1717 honoured him with the degree of D. D. without his application; and he was incorporated ſome time after in this degree at Oxford, being preſented with a large encomium by Dr Delaune (*c*), preſident of St John's college in that univerſity. In 1719 he gave the world an illuſtrious proof of his preheminent abilities in his profeſſion, by publiſhing the firſt *Defence of his Queries* in vindication of Chriſt's divinity [*B*], and in the

course

(*b*) It has gone through ſeveral editions.

(*c*) A divine of diſtinguiſhed learning and eloquence, author of an excellent ſermon on original ſin.

[*A*] *Having performed the exerciſe with the greateſt applauſe.*] He gave a remarkable proof of his uncommon abilities, in performing the exerciſe for this degree. He choſe for his firſt queſtion, upon which conſequently his Theſis was made, Whether Arian ſubſcription be lawful; a queſtion, as has been well obſerved (1), worthy of him who had the integrity to abhor with a generous ſcorn all prevarications, and the capacity to ſee through and deteſt thoſe evaſive arts, with which ſome would palliate their diſingenuity. When Dr James the Profeſſor had endeavoured to anſwer his Theſis, and embarraſs the queſtion with the dexterity of a perſon long practiſed in all the arts of a ſubtle diſputant, he immediately replied in an extempore diſcourſe of above half an hour long, with ſuch an eaſy flow of proper and ſignificant words, and ſuch an undiſturbed preſence of mind, as if he had been reading what he afterwards printed, *The caſe of the Arian ſubſcription conſidered, and the Supplement* to it. He unraveled the Profeſſor's fallacies, reinforced his own reaſoning, and ſhewed himſelf ſo perfect a maſter of the language, the ſubject, and himſelf, that all agreed no one ever appeared to greater advantage. There were ſeveral perſons of the ſiſter-univerſity preſent, who after the doctor's death ſpoke of the great applauſes he received, and the uncommon ſatisfaction which he gave. He was happy in a firſt opponent (2), one of the brighteſt ornaments of the church, and fineſt writers of the age, who gave full play to his abilities, and called forth all that ſtrength of reaſon of which he was maſter. It is worth obſerving that Dr Clarke, in the ſecond edition of his Scripture-Doctrine, publiſhed in 1719, left out theſe words which were in his former introduction to that book (3), *It is plain that a man may reaſonably agree to ſuch forms,* [of ſubſcription to the xxxix articles of religion] *whenever he can in any ſenſe at all reconcile them with ſcripture.* This is remarked by our author in the Preface to his vindication of Chriſt's divinity, to be for that doctor's honour, and it ſeems to reflect a good ſhare of honour on our author's act now under conſideration, an account of which muſt have come to the doctor's ears, and probably the arguments which he found had been urged therein, were a great means of bringing him to chenge his opinion. And it is well known that afterwards he conſtantly refuſed the ſubſcription.

(1) In Mr Seed's ſermon after the death of our author, in a note in p. 20. 2d edition 1714. 8vo.

(2) Dr Thomas Sherlock, late biſhop of Lond.

(3) The 1ſt edition of the ſcripture-doctrine was publiſhed in 1712.

[*B*] *His Quæries.*] How theſe were in a manner forced from him, he has told us in the preface; to which we ſhall add, that the friends there mentioned were members of a club jointly with our author at Cambridge. The gentleman for whoſe uſe they were intended was Mr Jackſon, Rector of Roſſington in Yorkſhire, to whom they were conveyed by Mr Lewis Peirſon, who with ſeveral others had at that time a good opinion of Mr Jackſon's ſincerity and ingenuity, with whom the deſign was to carry on the diſpute only in a private correſpondence. But Mr Jackſon having ſent an anſwer to the Queries, and received our author's reply, then acquainted him, that he had put the Queries, together with his anſwer, to the preſs, ſignifying, that our author muſt follow him thither, if he intended any thing farther. This occaſioned the publication of his reply, under the title of *A vindication of Chriſt's divinity, being a defence of the queries, &c. in anſwer to a clergyman in the country*, 1719. In it he has purſued his antagoniſt with the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs in every particular; not contenting himſelf with giving a clear anſwer to every argument, but having obſerved, that Dr Clarke's ſcheme was thought to contain ſomething new, only by being dreſſed up in a new method, he hunted him thro' all the ſubtle wiles and crafty doublings of it, and thus ſtripping his notion of all its diſguiſes, he brought the whole into full light, whereby it is ſeen to be nothing elſe but downright Arianiſm, notwithſtanding all the ſubterfuges contrived to elude that odious name. In adapting his reply to the doctor's method, he thought it neceſſary to diſcover the little artifices made uſe of in the introduction, to uſher his notions into the good opinion of the world, notwithſtanding the almoſt univerſal oppoſition then made to them; this being done by drawing a parallel between his own caſe and that of biſhop Bull, in reſpect of the doctrine of Juſtification (4). Our author in his Preface ſhewing the difference between the two caſes, has with equal art, tho' without artifice, marked the ſeveral defects and blemiſhes of his antagoniſt's book. In this preface he likewiſe takes notice, that Dr Clarke had lately publiſhed a 2d edition of his *Scripture Doctrine*, where he had made ſeveral additions and alterations, but had neither retracted nor defended thoſe parts, which Mr Nelſon's friend had judiciouſly replied to in his

(4) This will appear the more appoſite, when it is conſidered that Dr Clarke entertained a ſtrong fancy, which he had frequently declared in a prophetic ſpirit, that the time would come when his doctrine of the trinity (like that of Biſhop Bull on juſtification) ſhould be as univerſally embraced as it was then rejected.

True

courſe of the controverſy he eſtabliſhed his reputation of being the ableſt (unleſs perhaps Biſhop Bull may be excepted) that had ever entered into the diſcuſſion of that moſt arduous ſubject [*C*]. Accordingly, the Lady Moyer founding her lecture in defence of our Lord's Divinity, Dr Waterland was appointed by Dr Robinſon, Biſhop of London, to preach the firſt courſe of theſe lectures (*d*), which he performed in 1720; the ſame year he publiſhed an anſwer to Dr Whitby's reply upon that ſubject [*D*]. The following year,

True Scripture Doctrine continued: 'I hope,' ſays he, 'the impartial reader will take care to read one along 'with the other, in juſtice to both theſe gentlemen.' But it muſt be obſerved, that ſoon after in the ſame year Dr Clarke did publiſh an anſwer to that piece, under the title of *A Letter to the Author of a Book intituled* 'The true Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity con'tinued and vindicated,' recommended firſt by Mr Nelſon, and ſince by Dr Waterland (5). As to the merits of this diſpute, it was preſently obſerved, that the main ſtreſs of the difference between the two combatants lay in the point of the ſubordination of the Son to the Father, which Dr Clarke aſſerted from 300 texts of ſcripture to be ſomething real, and inferred from thence a real inferiority, the reality of which he ſuppoſes to conſiſt in the Son's being derived and generated, not being ſelf-exiſtent and independent, as the Father is. To this our author anſwers, that the ſame titles, attributes, and worſhip are aſcribed in thoſe texts to the Son, as well as to the Father; and therefore that this ſubordination is only of office, and not one of nature, which is individually the ſame in both, whence he infers, that the Son is *ſelf-exiſtent and independent*, if by thoſe terms be indicated any real perfection or eſſential character. 'But, as to my own part,' continues he, 'I never pretend that ſelf-exiſtence is an 'eſſential character of God. You might have conſi'dered, that we deny it abſolutely, we ſuppoſe it 'merely negative, and call it a perſonal character. 'Neceſſary exiſtence is an eſſential character, and be'longs equally to Father and Son; if that be what 'you mean by ſelf-exiſtence, then that alſo belongs 'to both. Explain yourſelf, and deal not ſo much 'in ambiguous terms, which we have juſt reaſon to 'complain of (6). The doctor [Clarke] knows how 'ſelf-exiſtent ſounds by cuſtom among common read'ers, ſo that denying the Son to be ſelf-exiſtent may 'be thought by many the ſame thing with denying 'him to be God. Had he pleaſed in his tranſlations 'of αγεννητος and elſewhere, to ſay oftner unbegotten 'or underived, inſtead of ſelf-exiſtent, it would have 'been kind towards his readers: perhaps as kind to 'himſelf, for it will be elſe thought beneath a grave 'writer to take the poor advantage of an equivocal 'word, as it is a diſparagement to any cauſe to be 'ſerved by it.' Further, *intelligent agent* is another plauſible term made uſe of by Dr Clarke to inſinuate that Being and Perſon is the ſame, and that there is no medium between Sabellianiſm and Tritheiſm. The argument being urged alſo by Mr Jackſon thus: *If by one perſon he* [Mr Waterland] *means one* INTELLIGENT AGENT, *he makes the Sabellians Catholicks, and condemns his own friends for Tritheiſts.* 'I certainly mean,' anſwers our author, 'a real perſon, an hypoſtaſis; no 'mode, attribute, or property, as you might eaſily 'have perceived. The charge of Tritheiſm I have 'ſufficiently anſwered before, and returned it to its 'proper owners. I ſhall only add here, that each di'vine perſon is an individual *intelligent agent*; but as 'ſubſiſting in one undivided ſubſtance, they are all 'together in that reſpect but one undivided *intelligent* '*agent*. Thus my friends ſtand clear of Tritheiſm (7).' Theſe two particulars were chiefly laid hold on by Dr Clarke for writing an anſwer, which being publiſhed in 1720 (8), our author printed a Reply to it in 1723 intituled, *A ſecond Vindication of Chriſt's Divinity: or a ſecond Defence of ſome Queries relating to Dr Clarke's ſcheme of the Holy Trinity, in anſwer to the Country Clergyman's Reply. Wherein the learned Doctor's Scheme, as it now ſtands, after the lateſt correction, alteration, and explanation, is diſtinctly and fully conſidered.* This, which is the longeſt, has always been eſteemed his moſt accurate performance upon the ſubject, and yet we are aſſured it was finiſhed in two months, and ſent to the preſs (9). However the controverſy did not end here. In 1724 his antagoniſt publiſhed *Obſervations on the ſecond defence*, &c. to which Dr Waterland publiſhed, the ſame year, the following piece, *A farther defence of Chriſt's divinity*, in anſwer to a pamphlet intituled *Obſervations on Dr Waterland's Second Defence of ſome Queries*, &c. Upon the whole, the main difference between thoſe two very learned antagoniſts, lies, if I miſtake not, in this; Dr Clarke is allowed to have collected faithfully all the texts relating to the Trinity, and interprets them by the univerſally received maxims and rules of right reaſoning upon all ſubjects: Dr Waterland rejecting that way of reaſoning, as not applicable to the Trinity, a ſubject above reaſon, takes the texts in their literal grammatical ſenſe, which he confirms by the ſuffrage of the fathers. And hence may be unriddled that enigmatical remark, aſcribed to the late Queen Caroline, that Dr Clarke had moſt reaſon, but Dr Waterland moſt truth.

[C] *The beſt writer of his time upon the Trinity.*] In 1719, the Earl of Nottingham publiſhed a treatiſe upon the ſubject (10), in anſwer to Mr Whiſton; where, p. 19, he expreſly calls upon that gentleman, or any man elſe, to give a juſt anſwer to the excellent tracts written by Dr Waterland in vindication of Chriſt's divinity *; and it is well known, that, in the ſame ſpirit, both the Univerſities, the London Clergy, as alſo great Bodies of Divines in all parts of England, addreſſed his Lordſhip with their thanks upon the occaſion, in which our author was manifeſtly comprehended. Directions alſo by the King were printed and ſent to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, for preſerving unity in the church, and the purity of the Chriſtian faith, particularly upon the doctrine of the holy Trinity (11). How agreeable this was to our author's ſentiments, appears from the following paſſage in his firſt defence of his Queries, publiſhed in 1720. ——— 'Many,' ſays he, 'have been prying and 'inquiſitive into this matter, hoping to know ſome'thing more particularly of it, till they have come to 'doubt even of the thing itſelf, and ſo have fallen 'into hereſy; and Catholics have ſometimes exceeded 'in this way, endeavouring to explain beyond their 'ideas, which is really nothing elſe but multiplying 'words. The notion is ſoon ſtated, and lies in a little 'compaſs; all that words are good for after, is to fix 'and preſerve that notion, which is not improveable '(without a new revelation) by any new idea, but 'may be obſcured and ſtifled by a multitude of words.' This declared, he proceeds thus. 'The moſt uſeful 'words for fixing the notion of diſtinction, are perſon, 'hypoſtaſis, ſubſiſtence, or the like: for the divinity 'of each perſon, ομοιυσιος, αγεννητος, or eternal, un'created, immutable: for their union, περιχωρεσις, 'interior generation, proceſſion, or the like. The 'deſign of theſe terms is not to enlarge our views, 'or to add any thing to our ſtock of ideas, but to ſe'cure the plain fundamental truth, That Father, Son, 'and Holy Ghoſt are all ſtrictly divine and uncreated, 'and yet are not three Gods, but one God. He that 'believes this ſimply and in the general, as laid down 'in ſcripture, believes enough, and needs never trou'ble his head with new queſtions, whether the union 'of the three perſons ſhould be called individual or 'ſpecific, whether Perſon and Being are reciprocal 'terms, whether every Perſon may be properly ſaid 'to be ſelf exiſtent, how three perſons can be all in 'the ſame place, whether all perfection might not as 'well have been confined to one perſon only, and 'whether *One* might not have been as good as *Three*. 'Theſe are difficulties, *difficiles nugæ*, moſtly verbal, 'or vain enquiries, and do not concern common Chri'ſtians any further than to be upon their guard, that 'they be not impoſed on by theſe ſubtleties invented 'to puzzle and perplex a plain ſcripture truth, which 'is eaſily perceived and underſtood in the general, 'that is, as far as required to be believed. Minute 'particulars about the *modes* may be left to the *Diſpu*'*ters of this world*, as a trial of their good ſenſe, their 'piety, modeſty, and humility (12).'

[*D*] *Dr Whitby.*] The poſition he attacked is in Dr Whitby's *Diſquiſitiones modeſtæ in Bulli Defenſionem Fidei Nicenæ*, publiſhed in 1718; and that Doctor publiſhing the ſame year *A reply to Dr Waterland's objections againſt Dr Whitby's Diſquiſitiones*, our author immediately drew up *An anſwer to Dr Whitby's reply*, being

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(*d*) The appointment of the preachers is veſted by her Ladyſhip's will in the Biſhop of London.

(5) It was publiſhed at the end of a tract by another author, intituled, The modeſt plea for the baptiſmal and ſcripture-notion of the Trinity, wherein the ſcheme of Dr Bennett and Dr Clarke are compared.

(6) Quære 24. p. 37. edition 1719.

(7) Quære 23. p. 350.

(8) It was intituled, The modeſt plea continued, &c.— See Dr Clarke's article.

(9) Seed's Sermons, as before, p. 15. 2d edition 1742. 8vo.

(10) Letter to Mr Whiſton, concerning the eternity of the Son of God, and the Holy Ghoſt.

* His Lordſhip alſo preſented our author with a handſome and rich pair of ſilver candleſticks on the occaſion.

(11) Gen. Hiſt. of England.—— Our author himſelf likewiſe intimates the ſucceſs of his writings, particularly in the province of York, where the new hereſy, as he calls it, died in a manner as ſoon as it firſt aroſe; and no ſooner began to lift up its head, but ſunk down again in ſhame and confuſion.— Dedicat. of the Critical Hiſtory of the Athanaſian Creed.

(12) Quære 21. p. 321.

year, 1721, he was preſented, by the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's, London, to the Rectory of St Auſtin's and St Faith there (*e*). In 1723 he publiſhed his *Hiſtory of the Athanaſian*

being a vindication of the charge of fallacies, miſquotations, miſconſtructions, miſrepreſentations, &c. reſpecting his book intituled Diſquiſitiones modeſtæ, *in a Letter to Dr Whitby*, which was printed the ſame year in 8vo. And in the liſt of our author's works, ſubjoined to Mr Berryman's Sermons at Lady Moyer's lectures, we are directed for the charge of fallacies, &c. to the firſt Defence of the Queries, &c. from p. 399. to p. 430. incluſive. Add to this, that our author had before taken notice, in the preface to the ſame book, of the *Diſquiſitiones*; and it is to a paſſage in the preface of that book that we owe ſuch an excellent explication of what is meant by believing in myſteries, as, for the ſatisfaction of our readers, ought not to be omitted. For the clearing up of this point, he reduces what relates to it to the following particulars, as ſo many diſtinct caſes; and puts the firſt caſe to be where the terms of a propoſition, ſubject, and predicate, or either of them, are not at all underſtood by the perſon to whom it is given. For inſtance: The words *Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharſin* (13), conveyed no idea at all to King Belſhazzar, who therefore could give no kind of aſſent to them. In ſuch a caſe, viz. where the language is unknown, a man neither admits nor rejects a propoſition, becauſe to him it is no propoſition, but merely ſounds or ſyllables. 2. The ſecond caſe is, when the language or words of a propoſition are underſtood, but ſo put together as to furniſh us with no certain and determinate meaning. A late anonymous writer has given a very proper example of this, *A woman ought to have power on her head* (14), *becauſe of the angels.* The words *woman, power, head, angels*, are all plain words, and carry with them obvious familiar ideas, and yet a man may have no idea of what is aſſerted in that propoſition, and therefore can give no aſſent to it, more than this, that it is true in ſome ſenſe or other, or that ſomething ſhould be believed, if he underſtood what; which is not aſſenting to that propoſition, but to another, namely, that whatever ſcripture aſſerts is true. The aforeſaid author obſerves very ſhrewdly, that having no certain ideas of the terms of the propoſition, it is to him a myſtery; and the juſtice and equity of his drawing a parallel between this and the myſteries of Chriſtianity, properly ſo called, muſt be a myſtery to as many as cannot perceive either the ſenſe or the ingenuity of doing it. But 3dly, Another caſe may be, when the terms of a propoſition are underſtood, but are ſo connected or divided, as to make a propoſition manifeſtly repugnant: a triangle is a ſquare, a globe is not round; ſuch we reject, not becauſe we do not underſtand them, but becauſe we do. Sometimes indeed a contradiction lies concealed under the words it is couched in, till it be reſolved into plainer: For inſtance, *The Exiſtence of a firſt cauſe is demonſtrable a priori*; as it lies under theſe terms, it ſeems to be reducible to caſe the ſecond, as being found without ſenſe; but reſolve it into this, There is a cauſe prior to the firſt, and then the repugnancy appears. Again; *Neceſſity of exiſtence is antecedently in order of nature the cauſe and ground of that exiſtence*; theſe are only ſo many ſyllables: but put it thus, A property is in order of nature antecedent to the ground and cauſe of the ſubject which ſupports it, and the contradiction is manifeſt. Once more; *Neceſſity abſolute and antecedent exiſtence is antecedently in order of nature to the exiſtence of the firſt cauſe muſt operate every where alike.* This propoſition ſeems to fall under caſe the ſecond; but let it be reſolved into plainer words, and then it will appear that this is the proper place for it. 4. The fourth caſe is, when the terms of the propoſition carry with them ideas really but not plainly repugnant. *God certainly foreknows events depending on uncertain cauſes: The omnipreſent ſubſtance is not extended.* Propoſitions of this kind may be and are aſſented to, becauſe there may be a greater appearance of repugnancy on the oppoſite ſide of the queſtion, or becauſe there is not reaſon ſufficient for ſuſpending aſſent. 5. A fifth caſe is, when a propoſition is formed in general terms, and reaches not to minute particulars. *The pure in heart ſhall ſee God:* the phraſe of *ſeeing God* carries ſome idea, but not particular, preciſe, or determinate. *At God's right hand are pleaſures for evermore*, we have only general confuſed ideas of, yet ideas we have, and we aſſent as far as our ideas reach; having no more than a general confuſe conception, our faith in ſuch points can riſe no higher, nor reach any further, nor can more be expected of us. 6. The ſixth caſe is, where the terms of a propoſition convey ideas, but ideas of pure intellect, ſuch as imagination can lay no hold of. Philoſophers have illuſtrated this by the inſtances of a *chiliagon* and a *triangle*. It is underſtood what is meant by a figure of a thouſand ſides as clearly as we do what is meant by one of three only; but we imagine one more diſtinctly than the other. This inſtance belongs more properly to diſtinct and confuſe imagination, than to the purpoſe it is brought, for ideas of numbers in the abſtract are properly ideas of pure intellect; ſo are or ſhould be ideas of our own ſouls, of angels, of God: we may underſtand ſeveral things of them, but imagination has very little to do in ſuch matters; however, our not being able to imagine, provided we do but underſtand, is no hindrance to our aſſent in propoſitions of this kind. 7. The laſt and eaſieſt caſe is, when the terms convey full and ſtrong ideas to the underſtanding and imagination alſo: For inſtance; *The man Chriſt Jeſus ate, drank, ſlept, was crucified, died, and was buried*; here all is very clear and plain, even to thoſe who love not to think upon the ſtretch, or to be at any pain in aſſenting.

Now to apply theſe particulars to the point. Whatever is reducible plainly to the three firſt or the laſt of theſe caſes, is either no matter of faith at all, or no myſtery. There remains three other caſes, where the ideas are either ſeemingly repugnant, or ſuch as reach not to particulars, or ſuch as imagination has no concern with. As aſſent may be given in all theſe, ſo it is poſſible we may here find articles of faith; and, if ſome gentlemen will give us leave, after we have thus explained what we meant by the term, we will call ſuch articles myſteries. For example, the belief of three perſons, every one ſingly God, and all together one God, ſeems to fall under caſe the fourth. The ideas are ſeen ſingly not really repugnant; we know what we mean by ſaying every one as clearly as if we ſaid any one is God, a perſon having ſuch and ſuch eſſential perfections. We ſee not perfectly how this is reconciled with the belief of one God, as we ſee not how preſcience is reconciled with future contingents, yet we believe both, not doubting but there is a connexion of the ideas, though our faculties reach not up to it.

Omnipreſence, I think, is another myſtery, and falls chiefly under caſe the fifth: we have a general confuſe idea of it, and mean ſomething by it; the particular manner how it is, we have no notion of, and therefore are not obliged to believe any particular *modus:* for upon this or that there are appearing repugnancies and inconſiſtencies; and ſo far this is reducible to caſe fifth as well as fourth.

The incarnation is another myſtery, and comes under caſe the fourth and fifth. There are ſome ſeeming not real repugnancies, and the ideas we have of it are general and confuſe, not particular or ſpecial. Such as are our ideas, ſuch our faith muſt be, and we cannot believe faſter than we conceive; for believing is conceiving, confuſely, if our ideas are confuſe; generally, if general; diſtinctly and adequately, if diſtinct and adequate.

The generation of the Son of God is another myſtery: Ideas we have of it, and know what we mean by it; but being ſpiritual, imagination can lay no hold of them; being general and confuſe, we cannot reach to particulars; and being ſeemingly repugnant, we cannot make out the entire connexion. Equality of nature, which is part of the notion, is a general idea, and well underſtood; reference to a head or fountain is general too, but more confuſe, and beſides figurative: eternal reference very confuſe, as the idea of eternity generally muſt be. Inſeparability is general, obſcure, negative; and we know but very imperfectly what the ſeries of ſpiritual things means; nevertheleſs we underſtand enough (though we can imagine little) to make it properly an article of belief; and no man can reaſonably pretend to reject it, as having no meaning, or carrying no ideas at all with it.

The ſimplicity of God is another myſtery, of which we have ſome, but a very imperfect, general, and obſcure, idea: it may fall under caſe fifth and ſixth. Scripture ſays little of it, and we have taken it chiefly

from

(*e*) He was firſt recommended by Dr Godolphin, Provoſt of Eton, and approved by Dr Stanley, both Reſidentiaries, and by Dr Hare, the Dean.

(13) In the book of Daniel, ch. v. v. 25.

(14) 1 Corinth. xi. 10.

Athanaſian Creed [*E*], having a little before been promoted to the Chancellorſhip of the church of York by Sir William Dawes, Archbiſhop of that province. In 1727, by the application of the Lord Townſend, Secretary of State, and Dr Gibſon, at that time Biſhop of London, his Majeſty collated him to a Canonry in the church of Windſor; and upon the promotion of Dr Booth to the Deanery, our author was preſented, in 1730, by that Chapter, to the Vicarage of Twickenham in Middleſex; upon which he reſigned the rectory of St Auſtin and St Faith, not being willing to hold two benefices at once with the cure of ſouls: but this principle was deemed conſiſtent with his holding the Archdeaconry of Middleſex, which he accepted this year, on the collation of his Dioceſan,

from metaphyſicks, which are ſhort and defective. When we come to enquire whether all extenſion, plurality, diverſity, compoſition of ſubſtance, and accidents, be conſiſtent with it, then it is that we diſcover how confuſe and inadequate our ideas are: and hence it is, that while all parties admit the divine ſimplicity in the general, yet when they come to be preſſed with it in diſpute, they often give and ſtate the notion ſo as to make it ſuit with their particular ſchemes. To this head belongs the perplexing queſtion attended with difficulties on all ſides, whether the divine ſubſtance be extended or no? and if this extenſion be admitted, ingenuous thoughtful men will divide again upon another queſtion, whether infinite or no? ſome thinking it very abſurd for any attribute of God not to be infinite, others thinking it no leſs abſurd to admit any infinite extenſion, number, or the like, at all. They that ſuppoſe the divine ſubſtance extended, leſt they ſhould conceive it as a point, and leſt they ſhould admit that any thing can act where it is not, are, when preſſed with difficulties about aliquot parts, forced to admit, that any part of that ſubſtance, how great ſoever, or of whatever dimenſions, muſt be conceived only as a point in proportion to the whole. From whence it follows, that unleſs the world be infinite, all that acts of that infinite ſubſtance in the world is but a point; and ſo the whole ſubſtance (except that point) either acts not at all in the world, or acts where it is not.

Self-exiſtence is another myſtery of which we know little, and the learned are hardly agreed whether it be a negative or poſitive idea, yet every body believes it in the groſs, confuſely, and indeterminately. It is manifeſt, on one hand, that the firſt cauſe has no cauſe, neither itſelf, nor much leſs any property of itſelf, nor any thing elſe; yet it may ſeem very wonderful how any thing ſhould exiſt without a reaſon *a priori*, that is, without a cauſe for it.

To name no more, *Eternity* itſelf is the greateſt myſtery of all. *An Eternity paſt*, is a thought which puzzles all our philoſophy, and is too hard for the ſharpeſt wits to reconcile. The *nunc ſtans* of the ſchools, though older than the ſchools, has been exploded, and yet ſucceſſion carries with it inſuperable difficulties. There is nothing peculiar to the doctrine of the Trinity any thing near ſo perplexing as eternity, yet the gentlemen who are for diſcarding myſteries are forced to believe it. I know no remedy for theſe things, but an humble mind, a juſt ſenſe of our ignorance in many things, and of our imperfect knowledge in all.

We have in the preceding remark given an inſtance of our author's excellently artful conduct in this controverſy, and the preſent extract is produced as a ſpecimen of the ſame adroit turn. The whole account of myſteries is thrown into a digreſſion, and in that he has very appoſitely found a place to lay open to his readers, what kind of metaphyſical philoſophy it was which had led Dr Clarke into his notions about the Trinity; and we ſhall find him afterwards making it profeſſedly the ſubject of a ſet diſcourſe (15).

[*E*] *The critical hiſtory of the Athanaſian Creed.*] Our author goes on to purſue his antagoniſt, Dr Clarke, in this piece, which he expreſly intimates was undertaken by him in order to reſcue the excellence of this form of Faith from the diſparagements thrown upon it by the Doctor, who had with ſome earneſtneſs applied to the governors of the church to get it laid aſide. The Doctor's reaſons being the cloſeſt and ſtrongeſt that can be offered for his opinion, we ſhall lay them before the reader, with the anſwers of our author. Object. 1. *This Creed is confeſſed not to be Athanaſius's, but the compoſition of an uncertain obſcure author, written in one of the darkeſt and moſt ignorant ages of the church, having never appeared till about the year* 800, *nor received in the church till ſo very late as about the year* 1000. Anſw. To detect the falſe facts here advanced, had been the buſineſs of the firſt part of our author's deſign, where he has ſhewn, that it was certainly compoſed before the year 431; that it was received in the Gallican church in 773, and into the church of England in 800. He allows it to be none of Athanaſius's, but obſerves that our church does not receive it upon the authority of the compiler, nor determines any thing about its age or author (16), but receives it becauſe the doctrines contained in it may be proved by moſt certain warrants of holy ſcripture. The uſe of it is to be a ſtanding fence and preſervative againſt the wiles and equivocations of moſt kind of Heretics. Luther calls it *a Bulwark to the Apoſtles Creed* (17); and it is in high eſteem among all the reformed Churches. Obj. 2. is, *That it is ſo worded, as that many of the common people cannot but be too apt to underſtaud it in a ſenſe favouring either Sabellianiſm or Tritheiſm.* In anſwer our author obſerves, That this objection is equally levelled againſt all Creeds containing the doctrine of a coeternal Trinity in Unity, and therefore againſt the faith of the church, rather than of this particular form of expreſſing it. That the common people can be in no danger, if they attend to the Creed itſelf (which fully obviates and confutes both theſe hereſies) inſtead of liſtening to thoſe who firſt deceive them into a falſe conſtruction, and then diſingenuouſly complain of their being too apt to miſunderſtand it. 3. The third objection is, *That there are in this Creed many phraſes which may ſeem to give Unbelievers a needleſs advantage of objecting againſt religion, and amongſt Believers themſelves cannot but to the vulgar have too much the appearance of contradictions, and ſometimes (eſpecially the damnatory clauſes) to the moſt pious and learned, and were the principal reaſon of Mr Chillingworth's refuſing to ſubſcribe the* 39 *articles.* To this it is anſwered, That as to Unbelievers, the church has always been able and willing to anſwer them; ſorry at the ſame time to find that any who call themſelves Chriſtians ſhould join with the unbelievers in the ſame trifling objections, thereby giving them a very needleſs advantage, and the moſt pernicious encouragement. As to vulgar Believers, they ſuſpect no contradictions, till ſome labour to create ſuch a ſuſpicion in them. As to Mr Chillingworth's caſe, ſee his article in this work. The 4th objection is, *The church declares particular forms of divine worſhip to be alterable according to the exigency of the times.* Anſw. The Church, no doubt, has ſuch a power; but the revival of Arianiſm cannot be looked upon as one of thoſe exigencies, but a reaſon rather for retaining them. Object. 5. *Scripture alone is ſufficient: The primitive Church was very cautious about multiplying Creeds; the Council of Epheſus forbad by an Anathema any other Creed but that of Nice to be propoſed or received in the church.* Anſw. The whole deſign of Creeds is to preſerve the *Rule of faith* as contained in the holy ſcriptures, and not in the falſe gloſſes and corrupt inventions of men. And when endeavours are uſed to poiſon thoſe fountains of truth by ill comments and forced conſtructions, preſervatives muſt be thought on to keep the fountain pure, and the faith ſound and whole. The conſtant way of the primitive churches was to enlarge their Creeds in proportion to the growth of hereſies. The Council of Epheſus made no order againſt new Creeds, that is, Creeds more and more enlarged, if there ſhould be occaſion, but againſt a new faith (πίϛιν ἑτέραν) a faith different from, and repugnant to, that of Nice, ſuch as was offered by the Neſtorians in that Council. Obj. 6. *In the year* 1689, *many wiſe and good Prelates of our own, commiſſioned to review and correct our Liturgy, unanimouſly agreed, that the uſe of the Athanaſian Creed ſhould be no longer impoſed.* Anſw. The fact is miſrepreſented, as is manifeſt from the Rubric agreed on, which was in the following terms. Upon theſe Feaſts, Chiſtmas day, Eaſter day, Aſcenſion day, Whitſun day, Trinity Sunday, and upon All Saints day, ſhall be ſaid at morning prayer, by the Miniſter and People,

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(15) In Remark [*I*].

(16) He aſcribes it as moſt probable to Hilary Biſhop of Arles in France. Hiſt. of the Athan. Creed, ch. viii. p. 213. & ſeqq. 2d edit. 1728. 8vo.

(17) His words are, Eſt hoc velut pro pugnaculum primi illius Apoſtolici Symboli. Luther de tribus ſymbolis. Oper. tom. vii. p. 138.

Dioceſan, Dr Gibſon. Dr Clarke's Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm being publiſhed the ſame year, our author immediately printed Remarks upon it [*F*], wherein he obviated all the pretences alledged therein for introducing the new Doxology. In this piece he advanced a poſition concerning the comparative value of poſitive and moral duties, which

ple, ſtanding, inſtead of the Creed commonly called the *Apoſtles Creed*, this confeſſion of our Chriſtian Faith, commonly called *the Creed of St Athanaſius*, the artic'es of which ought to be received and believed as being agreeable to the holy ſcriptures. And the condemning clauſes are to be underſtood as relating only to thoſe who obſtinately deny the ſubſtance of the Chriſtian Faith (18). Obj. 7. *The Apoſtles Creed is the Rule of Faith, and this only is neceſſary to Baptiſm; that which was once ſufficient to bring men to heaven muſt be ſo now*; *and that there is no occaſion for being ſo minute and particular*; with more to the like purpoſe. In anſwer to this, which our author takes notice is moſtly taken from the words of Biſhop Taylor, he obſerves, that the Biſhop goes upon a falſe ſuppoſition, that the Creed called the Apoſtles Creed was compoſed by the Apoſtles: as he has alſo another falſe preſumption, that the Apoſtles Creed was always the ſame that it is now, whereas it was not brought to the preſent intire form till after the year 600; being only the baptiſmal creed of the Roman Church, and deſignedly ſhort, for the uſe of thoſe who were to repeat it at baptiſm. But to ſet this whole matter right, it ought to be conſidered, that Creeds were never intended to contain as it were a certain quantity of Faith as neceſſary to bring men to heaven, and no more than is neceſſary: were this the caſe, all Creeds ought preciſely to have conſiſted of an equal number and the ſame individual articles, whereas no two Creeds are to be found which anſwer to ſuch a preciſion: a plain argument that the church in forming Creeds early and late went upon no ſuch view, but on quite another principle. The deſign of all was to keep up as ſtrictly as poſſible the whole compages or fabric of the Chriſtian faith, as it ſtands in ſcripture; if any part came to be attacked, then to bend all their cares to ſuccour and relieve that part, in order ſtill to ſecure the whole. There is nothing more in this than the very nature and circumſtances of the thing neceſſarily leads to. Therefore, if any man would talk ſenſe againſt the uſe of this or that Creed in any church, he ought to ſhew either that they contain ſuch truths as no man ever did, and probably never will, oppoſe, which will be a good argument to prove the Creed to be ſuperfluous, or that it contains articles which are not true, or at beſt doubtful, which will be a good argument to prove ſuch a Creed hurtful. As to the Athanaſian Creed, it can hardly be thought ſuperfluous ſo long as there are any Arians, Photinians, Sabellians, Macedonians, Apollinarians, Neſtorians, or Eutychians, in this part of the world. And as to its being hurtful, that may then be proved, when it can be ſhewn that any of thoſe forementioned hereſies were no hereſies, or have not been juſtly condemned. As to the Vulgar, they will underſtand in the general, and as far as is ordinarily to them neceſſary, the main doctrines of a Trinity in Unity, and of God incarnate; and as to particular explanations, whenever they have occaſion to look farther, they will find the true ones laid down in this Creed, which will be uſeful to prevent their being impoſed upon at any time with falſe ones. It is not pretended, that all are capable of ſeeing through every nicety, and of perceiving the full intent of this form, and what it alludes to; but as many as are capable of being ſet wrong in any one branch by the ſubtlety of ſeducers, are as capable of being ſet right by this rule given them, and they will as eaſily underſtand one ſide as t'other. Upon the whole, I look upon it as exceeding uſeful and even neceſſary for every church to have ſome ſuch form as this, or ſomething equivalent, open, and common to all its members; and as to this particular form, it has ſo long prevailed, and ſo well anſwered the uſe intended, that, all things conſidered, there can be no ſufficient reaſon for changing any part of it, much leſs for laying the whole aſide. To conclude; as long as there ſhall be any men left to oppoſe the doctrine which this Creed contains, ſo long will it be uſeful and even neceſſary to continue the uſe of it, in order to preſerve the reſt. I ſuppoſe, when we have none remaining to find fault with the doctrines, there will be none to object againſt the uſe of the Creed, or ſo much as to wiſh to have it laid aſide. Theſe laſt words cannot, I think, be underſtood to point at Dr Tillotſon: but, however, it is remarkable, that our author paſſes by in ſilence an objection made by Dr Clarke from the words of the Archbiſhop of that import. It is true, Dr Clarke only mentions it as an hearſay, which might be the reaſon no notice was taken at this time of it by our author; but it has ſince been confirmed by a letter of his Grace to Dr Burnet (19).

[*F*] *Remarks upon Dr Clarke's catechiſm.*] It might eaſily be ſuſpected, that an expoſition of the catechiſm by Dr Clarke would be ſuch as was agreeable to his own notions: our author therefore, ever watchful of all the arts of his antagoniſt, thought it neceſſary to prevent the deſign of their being introduced under ſo ſpecious a cover. The buſineſs conſequently of theſe remarks, is to point out all the dangerous paſſages in that expoſition. The chief of theſe, he obſerves, lie in the Doctor's having dropt the worſhip of the Son and Holy Ghoſt; and, as he had alſo in The modeſt plea continued, publiſhed in 1719, contended for the manner of worſhipping the Father through Chriſt, in oppoſition to every other mode of worſhip, or in oppoſition to the direct worſhip of any perſon beſides the Father only, our author examines all that had been there urged on that head; he afterwards runs through all the articles of the creed, reſcuing them from inſidious comments of his antagoniſt. In ſpeaking of the ſacraments, eſpecially of the Lord's Supper, he obſerves, that Dr Clarke is miſtaken in expounding John vi. ver. 35. and 36. of imbibing and digeſting his doctrine, though ſome very judicious moderns had gone before him in it; to which may be added, that Biſhop Hoadly followed him in that interpretation (20), notwithſtanding it had before been obſerved by our author, who ſays, whoſoever will attentively read over that chapter, may eaſily enough perceive, that our Lord is not there ſpeaking either of his doctrine then taught, or of the euchariſt to be inſtituted, but of the great atonement to be made by his paſſion. It is obſervable, that this ſenſe of that paſſage is entirely dropped by the Biſhop, who maintains ſomewhat largely the ſame ſenſe that had been put upon it by Dr Clarke againſt the inſtitution of the Euchariſt, without taking the leaſt notice of this other by Doctor Waterland, viz. that the eating his fleſh, and drinking his blood there mentioned, means the having a part in that atonement, as being partakers of Chriſt's death and ſatisfaction. By this and only this we live, without it we die. All that ſhall be ſaved, are ſaved by his meritorious death and paſſion. This, continues our author, I take to be the doctrine of John vi. which, out of figure, comes plainly to this, That there is no ſalvation given to men, but in and through the ſatisfaction of Chriſt. But there is a better harmony between theſe two doctors, I mean Biſhop Hoadly and our author, in reſpect to Dr Clarke's expoſition of 1. Cor. x. 16. *The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Chriſt?* by which Dr Clarke underſtanding the communion of all the members of Chriſt's body one with another, this interpretation our author and the biſhop afterwards declare to be irreconcileable to the words immediately preceding, *The cup of bleſſing which we bleſs, is it not the communion of the blood of Chriſt?*—St Paul (ſays the biſhop) is not here in this verſe ſpeaking of the body of Chriſt, i. e. Chriſtians partaking of the Lord's ſupper, but of that body of Chriſt, of which Chriſtians partake. However, in explaining what is meant by that body of Chriſt, he declares it to be that in the Lord's Supper where we do not eat bread and drink wine, as at an ordinary meal, but as memorials of the body and blood of Chriſt, in honour to him as the Head of that body of which we are all members; thus utterly rejecting that interpretation, though eſpouſed by ſome learned men, of the words ſignifying a communion or partaking of the benefits of Chriſt's body broken, and blood ſhed. And to confirm this opinion, he labours to ſhew, that St Paul's argument neither requires nor admits ſuch a ſenſe. Whereas our author tells us, the plain meaning of theſe words is, that in the euchariſt there

(18) To this tranſcript is ſubjoined the following atteſtation. This, word for word, is the Rubric, as it was ſettled and finally agreed on by the Commiſſioners in 1689, as it ſtands in the original book, now in the hands of the Lord Bp of London, Nov. 7. 1727. *Preface to the Hiſt. of the Athan. Creed,* in a Poſtſcript, Nov. 7. 1727.

(19) See Dr Tillotſon's article, vol. VI. part i. p. 3952.

(20) See his article in the Appendix.

which drew him into a controverſy with Dr Arthur Aſhley Sykes [*G*], whom he ſuffered however to have the laſt word in a diſpute, which indeed was little more than verbal, and from which he was called by his attention to another affair of much greater importance. For this year the truth of revelation in general was attacked in a piece intituled, *Chriſtianity as old as the Creation (f)*. Our author therefore made it his immediate buſineſs to vindicate religion againſt infidelity, which cauſe employed his pen the latter end of this and the whole two following years [*H*]. Having effectually pointed out the defects of Dr Clarke's

(*f*) By Dr Tindal.—See his article.

there is a real communication or participation of Chriſt's broken body, of which we actually partake as often as we worthily partake of this holy Sacrament; and he confirms this ſenſe of the paſſage from its being the doctrine of our church in the 28th article, which quotes the very text, verſe 16. *The bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Chriſt*, and likewiſe, *The cup of bleſſing is a partaking of the blood of Chriſt:* and this acceptation of the words, he obſerves, is perfectly coherent with the 17th verſe immediately following; becauſe the bread is one, *We being many are one body, for we are all partakers of that one bread:* ſo he renders the text with the late learned Dr Wells.

[*G*] *A diſpute with Dr Sykes.*] Dr Clarke, in ſpeaking to that part of the catechiſm concerning the Lord's Supper, where to the queſtion, What are the benefits which we receive thereby? the anſwer is, *The ſtrengthening and refreſhing of our ſouls by the body and blood of Chriſt, as our bodies are by the bread and wine*, has this comment: As impenitency is the death, and ſins are the diſeaſes of the ſoul, ſo a habit of virtue is its health and life, and religious acts are its food and nouriſhment. This, our author thinks, is ſhort of the whole truth intended by theſe words in the catechiſm, which, in his opinion, is here ſpeaking not of the efficacy of habits of virtue to ſalvation, which after all are conditions only, and have no proper efficacy, but of the force and power of the great atonement. The expoſitor therefore ſhould rather have ſaid thus: As the being excluded from having a part in the merits of Chriſt's paſſion is the death, and the neglect of the means of grace is the diſeaſe of the ſoul, ſo the participating of the merits of Chriſt's paſſion is its health and life, and the uſe of the proper means is its food and nouriſhment. And thus we come to the uſe of worthy receiving, the means inſtituted, and one of the moſt effectual and moſt direct of any: It ſuppoſes or takes in virtue, moral virtue, with it, and goes far beyond it, uniting us to Chriſt, which moral virtue alone never can do. For it is by faith, by grace, that we are ſaved. Again, I know not how to approve what the expoſition ſays, p. 182. of the two ſacraments in common with other poſitive inſtitutions, that they have the nature only of means to an end, and that therefore they are never to be compared with moral virtues. I cannot underſtand why poſitive inſtitutions, ſuch as the two ſacraments eſpecially, ſhould be ſo ſlightly ſpoken of. Moral virtues are rather to be conſidered as means to an end, becauſe they are previous qualifications to the ſacrament, and have no proper efficacy towards procuring ſalvation, till they are improved and rendered acceptable by the chriſtian performances. Beſides, I ſee but very little reaſon for ſlighting poſitive inſtitutions in the general, in compariſon of moral virtue. It was breaking a poſitive precept that turned the firſt man out of paradiſe, and entailed mortality upon the whole kind. He goes on to confirm this notion, by the inſtance of Abraham, who, tho' a perſon of great moral virtue, yet is chiefly celebrated for his obedience to one poſitive command. The love of God is the firſt and great commandment, and obedience to his poſitive inſtitutions is an exerciſe of that love, and it is ſometimes the nobleſt and beſt exerciſe of it, ſhewing the greater affection and prompter reſignation to the divine will; and on this account he argues that there may in ſome caſes be greater excellency and more real virtue in obeying poſitive precepts, than in any moral virtue. In ſhort, if the love of God be moral virtue, ſuch obedience being an act of love is an act of moral virtue, and then there is no ground for the diſtinction; but if a diſtinction muſt be made, then let one be called moral virtue, and the other Chriſtian perfection; and let any man judge which ſhould have the preference. Indeed they ſhould not be oppoſed, ſince both are neceſſary, and are perfective of each other: but if they muſt be oppoſed and compared, I ſay moral virtue is but the handmaid leading to the door of ſalvation, which the uſe of the ſacraments at length opens and lets us in. He adds, that any contempt of them may, for any thing he knows, be more provoking to God than that of moral virtue, carrying greater defiance in it, and having leſs temptation to it. This opinion appearing to be ſomewhat derogatory to that of Archbp Tillotſon, who had often inculcated the greater comparative value of moral virtue, an anſwer was publiſhed to our author's remarks by Dr Sykes in 1730, 8vo. To this Dr Waterland replied in a piece, intitled, *The nature, obligation, and efficacy of the chriſtian ſacraments conſidered: as alſo the comparative value of moral and poſitive duties diſtinctly ſtated and cleared. By the author of the Remarks.* 1730. This occaſioned Dr Sykes's ſecond pamphlet, intituled, *A defence of the anſwer to the remarks upon Dr Clarke's expoſition of the Church Catechiſm, wherein the difference between moral and poſitive duties is fully ſtated, being a reply to a pamphlet, intitled, The nature, obligation, &c.* 1730, 8vo. An anonymous writer alſo publiſhed *The comparative excellence and obligation of moral and poſitive duties fully ſtated and conſidered, in anſwer to a pamphlet, intituled, The nature, obligation, &c.* And alſo another called *The comparative value of moral and poſitive duties diſtinctly ſtated and cleared*, both in 1730, 8vo. After this, but in the ſame year, our author publiſhed *A ſupplement to the nature, obligation, and efficacy of the chriſtian ſacraments, wherein the nature and value of poſitive inſtitutions is more particularly examined, and objections anſwered.* Dr Sykes writing a reply to this, intitled, *The true foundation of natural and revealed religion aſſerted, being a reply to the ſupplement of the treatiſe, intitled, The nature, obligation, &c.* This came out in 1730. But our author engaging ſoon after in a cauſe of much greater importance to Chriſtianity in general, contented himſelf with giving ſome ſtrictures upon this laſt performance of Dr Sykes, in a poſtſcript to his piece (written in that cauſe) intitled, *Scripture vindicated.* Part II. 1731. A method taken, as it ſhould ſeem, by him, in the view of avoiding the miſchiefs uſually occaſioned by the heats of a direct engagement. However, Dr Sykes thought proper to publiſh *An anſwer to the poſtſcript of the ſecond part of* Scripture vindicated, *wherein is ſhewn, That if reaſon be not a ſufficient guide in matters of religion, the bulk of mankind for* 4000 *years had no ſufficient guide at all in matters of religion.* And by this means he obtained that which alone can ſatisfy ſome, I mean the pleaſure of having the laſt word in this controverſy, which indeed was at any time little more than merely verbal.

[*H*] *His pen was employed upon the ſubject*, &c.] He publiſhed the following pieces on this occaſion. 1. *Scripture vindicated, in anſwer to* Chriſtianity as old as the Creation. Part I. 1730. To the third edition he prefixed a general preface, which is alſo ſold ſeparately, giving *an account of the literal, figurative, and myſtical interpretations of ſcripture.* 2. *Scripture vindicated, &c. Part II.* 1731. 3. *Scripture vindicated. Part III.* 1732*. 4. *Chriſtianity vindicated againſt infidelity. A Charge to the clergy of the archdeaconry of Middleſex.* 5. *Chriſtianity vindicated againſt infidelity. A Charge. Part II.* In the firſt charge, delivered May 19, 1731, he obſerves, that ‘ we live in a diſputing ‘ age, and infidelity has been growing upon us. It ‘ began with exploding myſteries in general, and from ‘ thence proceeded to a denial of our Lord's divinity ‘ in particular. Low notions of the perſon of Chriſt ‘ are apt to bring in low notions of his merit and ſa‘ tisfaction, and of the uſe and value of the Chriſtian ‘ ſacraments, which repreſent and apply them; and ‘ when faith in Chriſt's blood is once depreciated and ‘ fruſtrated, it is natural to ſet up works, not only as ‘ the conditions, but as the efficacious, or even meri‘ torious cauſe of ſalvation. The next ſtep is to exalt ‘ morality in oppoſition to Faith, and mere morality ‘ in oppoſition to inſtituted religion, which again pre‘ pares the way for looking on all revealed religion ‘ as needleſs or uſeleſs, which comes to the ſame thing

* In this diſpute he was attacked by Dr Conyers Middleton, and defended by Dr Zachary Pearce, the preſent Bp of Rocheſter, and others. See Middleton's works, Vol. II. p. 135——317 edit. 1752. 4to.

Clarke's ſcheme of the Trinity, he was led thereby to examine another moſt celebrated treatiſe of that author upon the *Being and Attributes of God*; and puſhing his enquiries into the genuine force of a moſt favourite argument there advanced to prove the exiſtence of the Deity, the reſult was, the publication of his *Diſcourſe of the argument à priori, for proving the exiſtence of a Firſt Cauſe* [*I*], which came out in 1734. In this piece he explains

‘ with denying its truth, becauſe an Allwiſe God can do nothing in vain. Such is the connection or gradation of error †.’ How low notions of the perſon of Chriſt are apt to bring in low notions of his merit and ſatisfaction, is thus expreſſed in his remarks upon Dr Clarke's catechiſm, where he obſerves ‡, that author inſiſts, that the method wherein, and the terms upon which God will extend his mercy and compaſſion towards ſinners depends entirely upon the good pleaſure and wiſdom of God, p. 300, ‘ which,’ ſays our author, ‘ is as much as to ſay that God has appointed and accepted of this method of ſalvation by Jeſus Chriſt, but that this method ſo underſtood carries any proper ſatisfaction or atonement, appears not. It is admitting indeed the name of ſatisfaction, but is denying the thing. The queſtion is not, what God might do in right of his abſolute ſovereignty, as to pardoning of ſinners; neither is it about what infinite wiſdom might have found out, as to any other methods of doing it. But the queſtion is, whether when God has pitched upon a method of expiation, which according to ſcripture accounts does carry real merit and ſatisfaction in it, it may be right ſo to underſtand and interpret that method, as to take from it the very foundation, upon which the true notion of ſatisfaction or merit is built.’ Again, in anſwer to the queſtion put by another perſon (21), *How we can be ſure that God cannot accept of the ſacrifice of the firſt and moſt excellent of created beings?* ‘ I ſay not,’ ſays he, ‘ what God can or cannot accept. I know nothing *a priori* of it. But ſcripture §, as before obſerved, reſts not this notion upon the foot of divine acceptance, but upon the infinite value of the ſacrifice (22) What he had ſaid before upon it ſeemed to reſolve the ſatisfaction into the Divinity of the perſon ſuffering. *It was Jehovah that bought—it was God that purchaſed the Church with his own blood*. It was ὁ Δεσπότης, the high Lord that bought us †. It was the Lord of glory that was crucified ‡.* He further aſſerts this by the text, Heb. x. 4. *It is not poſſible that the blood of bulls and goats ſhould take away ſins*; words which appear to reſolve the ſatisfaction and mercy not into God's acceptance, but into the intrinſic value of the ſacrifice; and while we reſt it upon that foot [of ſcripture] I do not ſee why we may not ſay, that it is not poſſible for the blood of any creature to take away the ſins of the world; ſince no creature can do more than his duty, nor can have any ſtock of merit to ſpare for other creatures. In this light the ſcripture doctrine of the ſatisfaction infers the divinity of him that made it. And hence it is that thoſe who have denied our Lord's proper divinity, have commonly gone on to deny any proper ſatisfaction.’

[*I*] *Diſſertation on the argument* à priori.] He had in the defence of his Queries given ſeveral broad hints of the weakneſs of this argument (23). But here he enters into the bottom of it, and having given an hiſtorical account of the firſt riſe of the ſcholaſtic term, *neceſſary exiſtence*, he ſhews that the fathers had no ſuch term, but rejected the name of neceſſity, as not applicable to the Deity at all, underſtanding it in its ancient proper comparative ſenſe. That it was never applied to the divine exiſtence till the 13th century by the ſchoolmen; and as the ſuppoſed proof *à priori* of Dr Clarke is built in a manner upon that word, and ſinks with it, ſo it is plain that the Fathers rejected this argument after the introduction of the term. He then proceeds to ſhew, that the ſchoolmen alſo, from Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas in the 13th century, rejected the proof *à priori* from it, and concludes this part with obſerving, that the ableſt and wiſeſt men have aimed no higher than the proof *à poſteriori*, which indeed is ſtrictly demonſtrative, and if it was not, is yet convincing enough to found a rational belief of it, which is all that is required. Biſhop Ward for inſtance, in his treatiſe of the exiſtence and attributes, and the Biſhops Wilkins and Pearſon on the ſame ſubject, and Dr Barrow, Mr Locke, and Mr Woollaſton, beſides a great many more that could not have failed to take in the argument *à priori*, had they not been perſuaded that there was no ſoundneſs, no ſolidity in it. After this he enters into the merits of the debate §: wherein he ſhews, 1. That the argument § is very looſe and precarious, ſtanding upon little elſe but an ill uſe of equivocal terms or phraſes. 2. That moreover, when fully underſtood, it is palpably wrong and abſurd. 3. That the ſeveral pleas or excuſes invented for it are fallacious, and of no real weight. As to the firſt, he obſerves, that the equivocal word meant is *neceſſity*, which he clears up, and divides into logical, moral, phyſical, and metaphyſical neceſſity, or immutable exiſtence proper to God only, or inſeparable connexion between exiſtence and ſubject or eſſence. Thus the exiſtence of the Deity is immutable, firm, and enduring from everlaſting to everlaſting. This permanency of being is conſidered as a mode of exiſtence, preſuppoſing exiſtence, as a modal being always ſuppoſes pure being. It may be called modal neceſſity, as expreſſing that perfect manner of exiſtence proper to the Deity. This, which he alſo calls, ſelf-ſufficiency, is diſtinguiſhed from cauſal neceſſity, as metaphyſical from phyſical. Cauſal neceſſity is antecedent, effective, operative. Modal is poſterior in order of nature and conception to the exiſtence or exiſting ſubject whereof it is the mode. Metaphyſical neceſſity is what our preſent argument is ſolely concerned in. It has been ſometimes ſtiled ſimple or abſolute neceſſity, as oppoſed to relative. Phyſical neceſſity is abſolute only as oppoſed to limited or conditional, not as oppoſed to relative, becauſe it ſtands in the relation between cauſes and effects; but metaphyſical neceſſity has no relation to any thing extraneous to the ſubject of it. It ſubſiſts only in the divine eſſence. This is that pure, ſimple, abſolute, tranſcendental neceſſity, which the later ſchoolmen and metaphyſicians ſpeak of. He then proceeds to enquire what it is that ſupports the argument *à priori*. The way of coming at it is firſt to prove *à poſteriori* the exiſtence of an independent being; thus, ſomething now is, therefore ſomething has exiſted from all eternity, therefore ſome one unchangeable and independent being, one at leaſt; therefore there is ſome one ſelf-exiſtent or neceſſarily exiſtent Being. Thus far all is right and well for the coming at neceſſary exiſtence *à poſteriori*. Call it neceſſity of exiſtence, and then that neceſſity imports a mode of exiſtence before proved ſubſequent in the order of nature and conception to the exiſtence, and referred up to the ſubject of it. This modal neceſſity is a property of the independent being, denoting his immutable permanency, his infinite ſtability. But this modal neceſſity is ſoon after dropped, and cauſal, phyſical, antecedent neceſſity ſlipped upon us in its room; and under this cover of an ambiguous name, the idea which we firſt began with is changed for another altogether new and foreign; and then enters the argument *à priori* with all its train. There is now I know not what antecedent neceſſity and internal cauſe, and prior reaſon, ground, and foundation of the independent being; all built upon the equivocation and quick tranſition from neceſſity, conſidered in the modal and proper ſenſe, to neceſſity taken in a cauſal and foreign meaning. This *neceſſity*, it is ſaid, *muſt be antecedent in the natural order of ideas to our ſuppoſition of its being.* Why ſo? no neceſſity had been proved before, but what was conceived ſubſequent to, as being a mode, and referred up to, the independent being. There is no reaſon at all for its antecedency, but that an argument *à priori* would drop with it. Put but *immutability*, *independence*, or *durability*, inſtead of *neceſſity* of exiſtence, which really ſignifies no more than the other, and it will be ſeen how the notion of antecedency drops and diſappears. Whence it is plain that the notion is here falſe and foreign, not deducible from any regular train of ideas, but admitting of two ſenſes, is brought in arbitrarily, to ſerve the purpoſe of ſinking one idea, and bringing in another.

In favour of this new notion of antecedency it is added, that this neceſſity muſt antecedently thruſt itſelf upon us, whether we will or no, even while we are endeavouring to ſuppoſe that no ſuch being exiſts. For example, when we are endeavouring to ſuppoſe

that

† P. 3, 4.

‡ P. 36.

(21) The author of *Sober and charitable Diſquiſitions, &c.* p. 25—27.

§ Zach. xii. compared with John xix. 37.

(22) Importance of the doctrine of the Trinity, p. 55. 2d edit.

* Acts xx. 28. for the true reading conſult Mill in loco.

† 2 Peter ii. 1. See Dr Taylor's true ſcripture-doctrine, &c. p. 391.

‡ 1 Corinth. ii. 8. compared with 1 John i. 7. and Heb. ix. 14.

(23) Second defence, at quære 8. p. 252, &c. and Preface to his Sermons at Lady's Moyer's Lectures, p. 21.

plains the true and real uſe of the ſchoolmen and metaphyſical divines [*K*]. The Convocation meeting this year, our archdeacon was pitched upon for prolocutor of the lower houſe, and an elegant Latin ſpeech was prepared to be ſpoken, on preſenting him to that houſe by the learned Dr Cobden (*g*), archdeacon of London. But he thought proper to decline that office, which in the then ſtate of the church muſt have been attended with extraordinary trouble; as was foreſeen by the King, who therefore preſently diſſolved it. This ſtep left our author more at leiſure to complete his celebrated treatiſe on the *Importance of the doctrine of the Trinity* [*L*], which he publiſhed the ſame year; and having in that piece occaſionally

that there is no being in the univerſe that exiſts neceſſarily, we always find in our minds (beſides the foregoing demonſtration of ſomething's being ſelf-exiſtent from the impoſſibility of every thing's being dependent) we always find in our minds, it is ſaid, ſome ideas, as of infinity and eternity; which to remove, that is, to ſuppoſe no being, no ſubſtance in the univerſe, to which theſe attributes or modes of exiſtence are neceſſarily inherent, is a contradiction in the very terms. In anſwer to this Dr Waterland obſerves, 1ſt, That there is no arguing from real to ideal exiſtence. 2dly, Allowing a kind of order of antecedency in our conceptions, it does not prove any real antecedency with reſpect to the divine exiſtence, as if that were proved by ſomething *prius* in order of nature to it. 3dly, If we ſhould grant a neceſſity of conceiving or imagining thus or thus, we are under no antecedent neceſſity of believing that theſe conceptions or imaginations do infer the exiſtence of a Deity, till it can be clearly ſhewn what certain connexion there is between ideas and realities. 4thly, If ſuch certain connexion could be proved, yet ſuch proof would not amount to a demonſtration *à priori*, ſeeing that the proceſs of ſuch an argument is altogether *à poſteriori*. For thus it runs, we have ſuch and ſuch ideas, which ideas muſt have objective realities as their cauſe or ground, and theſe objective realities or real attributes muſt have their ſubject, as all modes and attributes have: And thus at length, by this analyſis, or in the way of aſcent, we come up to a firſt cauſe, which is antecedent in order of nature to every mode and attribute ſuppoſed to inhere in it, and to belong to it. So that in this way we can never arrive at any thing which can be juſtly conceived prior or antecedent in order of nature to the exiſtence of a firſt cauſe.— Having thus ſhewn the arbitrary introduction of this term *neceſſity of exiſtence*, he proceeds to mention the uſes it is made to ſerve in proving the eternity, omnipreſence, and unity, where proper epithets are given to it, ſuch as the occaſions ſeverally required, but equally precarious, and without any ſolid foundation.— In the laſt place he obſerves, that this term is arbitrarily diſmiſſed, there being indeed as much reaſon for going on with it *in infinitum* as for taking it in at all. If every thing that exiſts, and every circumſtance of it muſt have a reaſon *à priori*, why it is, rather than not, a ſuppoſition which the argument *à priori* is built upon, then the antecedent neceſſity itſelf muſt have a reaſon *à priori* to fix and determine it, and that another, and ſo on infinitely.— The ſecond general head, which was to prove its abſurdity, is ſoon diſpatched, thus: it is demonſtrable *à priori*, that there neither is nor can be any proof *à priori* of the exiſtence of a firſt cauſe, becauſe there is no cauſe prior to the firſt. To be more diſtinct and particular. There are but three poſſible ſuppoſitions, and all of them flatly contradictory and abſurd. The ſubſtance itſelf, or ſome property of that ſubſtance, or ſomething extrinſic to both. The firſt is both abſurd in itſelf, and rejected by the advocates for the proof *à priori*. 2. The ſubſtance to be conceived prior to itſelf is abſurd, and confeſſed ſo on all hands. 3. The third is more abſurd, if poſſible, than the preceding. An antecedent property is as great a ſoleciſm, and almoſt as flat a contradiction, as an antecedent ſubſequency, or a ſubſequent antecedency. Every property or attribute, as ſuch, preſuppoſing its ſubject. Some attribute or property of the ſelf-exiſtent being is to be ſuppoſed prior in the order of nature to the ſame being, its ſubject. It is confeſſed indeed that *the ſcholaſtick way of proving the exiſtence of the ſelf-exiſtent being, from the abſolute perfection of his nature is ὕϛερον πρότερον*. For all or any perfections preſuppoſe exiſtence, which is *petitio principii*; but then it is immediately ſaid, that *bare neceſſity of exiſtence does not preſuppoſe, but infer exiſtence*. That is, ſays Dr Waterland, if ſuch neceſſity be ſuppoſed to be a principle extrinſic. But if it be a mode or property, it muſt preſuppoſe the exiſtence of its ſubject, as certainly and evidently as it is a mode or property. It might perhaps *à poſteriori* infer the exiſtence of its ſubject, as effects may infer a cauſe: but to infer in the other way *à priori* is altogether as impoſſible as that a triangle ſhould be a ſquare; which is joining repugnant ideas together. The truth is, that to make out an argument *à priori* there muſt be a cauſe, or however a priority or antecedency brought in to argue upon, and to draw an inference from to the exiſtence of a Deity; and yet no ſooner is the idea of cauſe or priority or antecedency, though in conception only, introduced, but we immediately ſubvert the idea of a property, and of a firſt cauſe. It is a vain thing to inſiſt one while on the antecedency, for the ſake of the pretended demonſtration, and then preſently to drop it, by retreating to the idea of a property, for the ſake of warding off inſuperable objections. Either there is no antecedency in this caſe at all to form the argument upon, or if there be, the antecedent principle is no property, but a principle extrinſic. So then either the antecedency muſt be dropped, and the argument *à priori* dropped with it, or if the antecedency be kept up, the idea of a property is deſtroyed inſtantly, and we are yet to ſeek for a firſt cauſe. Turn the thing which way you will, the preſumed argument *à priori* is all over contradictory and abſurd. It is not merely abſtruſe or unintelligible, but plainly and clearly repugnant to reaſon, and to itſelf. Laſtly, he anſwers the ſeveral pleas, amounting to fourteen, advanced to ſupport the argument *à priori*. But in this we ſhall follow his example in referring to another author, who has conſidered this point at large (24). He concludes with a brief intimation of the hurtful tendency of inſiſting ſo much upon the pretended argument *à priori*, both with regard to religion and ſcience; in which he again refers to the laſt-mentioned treatiſe. Our author's piece on the argument *à priori* was printed at the end of *An Enquiry into the Ideas of ſpace, time, &c.* by Edmund Law of Chriſt's College, Cambridge, who in that treatiſe, and in his notes on Archbp King's *origin of evil*, inſerted the ſubſtance of what our author wrote upon that ſubject, in ſome letters to a gentleman; where in oppoſing Dr Clarke's notion of God's being the ſubſtratum of ſpace, he was led into ſuch a metaphyſical perplexity, as to deny the reality of ſpace, maintaining it to be no more than an abſtract idea, in which he has few followers *, among whom are Meſſrs Pope and Warburton †.

[*K*] *The uſe of the ſchoolmen and metaphyſical divinity.*] The ſchoolmen, ſays he, though they deſervedly lie under a diſrepute for their exceſſes in many things, may yet be juſtly looked upon as carrying greater authority with them in a point of this nature, where they had no bias to miſlead them, (being inclined to the ſide of Theiſm (25);) and where a queſtion turned upon a right underſtanding of technical terms or phraſes, and a thorough acquaintance with logic and metaphyſic, being a matter of pure abſtract reaſoning. They were undoubtedly great maſters in that way. For *where they argued barely upon the principles of reaſon* (as a very judicious writer obſerves †) *they have often done exceeding well, and have improved natural reaſon to an uncommon height*. And I will venture to add, that if the ſharpeſt wits of theſe later days ſhall undertake upon their own ſtock to furniſh out a new ſcheme of ſchool-divinity or metaphyſical theology, it will be a long while, perhaps ſome centuries, before they arrive to ſuch perfection in ſome parts as many of the ſchoolmen arrived to; unleſs they ſhall be content, within a while, to take thoſe deſpiſed ſchoolmen into conſultation with them, and to extract the beſt things from them (26).

[*L*] *The importance of the doctrine of the Trinity.*] In the introduction to this treatiſe he informs us, that he was principally led to this underaking by a pamphlet publiſhed in 1732, 8vo. intitled, *A ſober and*

(*g*) That divine printed it together with his own Poems in 1748. 8vo.

(24) Greſton's Review of the argument *à priori*.

* See Maclaurin's article, in remark [*X*], vol. 5. p. 3049.

† Dunciad, book iv. v. 33. edit. 1756.

(25) Here the term Theiſm is properly uſed, as diſtinguiſhed from Deiſm, which excluding the belief of Revelation, is oppoſed to Theiſm, which does not exclude that belief.

† Baker's Reflections upon learning, p. 217. 227.

(26) Diſſertation upon the argument *à priori*, &c. ch. 1. p. 8, 9.

occaſionally given his ſentiments concerning the fundamentals of chriſtianity, he purſued that ſubject in two charges delivered to the clergy of his archdeaconry this and the following year. In 1736, entering into the ſubject of the euchariſt, he printed an archidiaconal charge every year of his life afterwards upon that ſacrament, wherein he defended the eſtabliſhed doctrine of the church, as well againſt the extreme of Biſhop Hoadley (*b*), that it is no more than a bare commemorative feaſt, without any ſpecial privileges annexed to it, as againſt the other extreme of Mr Johnſon and Dr Brett, of its being a proper propitiatory ſacrifice. The laſt of theſe charges, intituled, *The diſtinctions of ſacrifice ſet forth*, was delivered at the Eaſter viſitation in 1740 (*i*); not long after which a complaint which he had many years too much neglected (*k*), obliged him in July the ſame year to call in the aſſiſtance of a ſurgeon at Cambridge [Mr Lunn] under whoſe hands finding no relief, and his pain ſtill increaſing, he removed to London, and put himſelf under the care of Mr Cheſelden. But it was now too late, a bad habit of body, contracted by too intenſe an application to his ſtudies, rendered a recovery impoſſible; and after undergoing ſeveral painful operations, to which he ſubmitted without reluctance, and bore with an exemplary patience (*l*), every thing tending to a mortification, he expired with the ſame compoſure that he had lived, Dec. 24th that year. His body was interred, according to his own requeſt, in one of the ſmall chapels on the ſouth ſide of the collegiate church of Windſor, under a plain ſtone, with this inſcription: *Daniel Waterland, S. T. P. hujus eccleſiæ Canonicus, obiit Decemb.* 23, 1740. *Ætatis* 58 (*m*). He had publiſhed ſeveral ſermons in his life-time, particularly one before the ſons of the Clergy, Dec. 14, 1721. 2. One before the Lord Mayor, at St Paul's, on the reſtoration-day in 1723. 3. A familiar diſcourſe upon the doctrine of the holy Trinity, and the uſe and importance of it, preached at St Auſtin's church, 1723. 4. Religious education of children, &c. at St Sepulchre's, on Thurſday in Whitſun-week, 1723. And after his death there came out in 1742, two volumes more on ſeveral ſubjects of religion and morality, to which were added two tracts. 1. *A ſummary view of the doctrine of juſtification* [*M*]. 2.

An

(*b*) He mentions not the Biſhop's name, but endeavours to prove his doctrine to be the ſame with that of Socinus upon this ſubject.— The concluſion of the 1ſt charge, intituled, The doctrinal uſe of the ſacraments.

(*i*) A liſt of theſe charges, with his other works, is printed at the end of Mr Berryman's ſermons at Lady Moyer's lecture.

(*k*) The nail growing into one of his great toes.

(*l*) This account which comes from his brother is confirmed by Mr Seed, as mentioned in the ſequel, and their joint teſtimonies will hardly be diſparaged by Dr Middleton's ſtory inſerted in his article, remark [*P*] p. 3099, vol. 5.

(*m*) He died, as appears, by comparing dates, a little before the entrance into his 58th year.

and charitable diſquiſition concerning the importance of the doctrine of the Trinity; endeavouring to ſhew, that thoſe in the different ſchemes ſhould bear with each other in their different ſentiments, and ſhould not ſeparate communion: which he declares to be written in a good manner, and with a chriſtian ſpirit, and therefore deſerving notice. He mentions alſo the other pieces intimated in his title-page, as further inducements to it *. He further obſerves ſomething of the general principles upon which they build, who aſſert the importance of the doctrine of the Trinity, and who refuſe communion with the open impugners of it. Thus, 1. It is laid down as a certain and undiſputed principle, that there are ſome ſcripture-doctrines of greater importance than others; and the eſtimate of greater importance is made by the connexion of it with chriſtian practice or worſhip, or the whole oeconomy of man's ſalvation by Chriſt †, or by its being frequently, plainly, or ſtrongly inculcated in holy ſcripture. That ſuch doctrines are commonly ſtiled *fundamentals*, that there is no giving an exact catalogue of theſe important or fundamental doctrines; though it is for the moſt part eaſy to determine of any particular doctrine. That we cannot give a complete catalogue of virtues, any more than of articles of faith, ſo as to be poſitive that thoſe particular virtues, and in ſuch a particular degree, are neceſſary to all perſons, or to any perſon that ſhall be named. The preciſe quantity of virtue abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation being no more to be defined than the preciſe quantity of faith; yet we know in the general, that ſincere and univerſal obedience to what God commands, allowing for the infirmities of our nature, is neceſſary for ſalvation; and in like manner ſincere and univerſal aſſent to what God reveals, makes up the other part of the terms of acceptance; as faith and obedience together make up the whole. He maintains, That the doctrine of the Trinity is ſufficiently clear and practical, and inſiſted on in ſcripture as much as the nature of the thing needs or requires. Having confirmed his opinion from the judgment of the Fathers, following therein Biſhop Bull, as he had done formerly in his vindication of the Trinity, he enters into that moſt conteſted point, the uſe and value of the fathers concerning articles of faith, in which he ſhews the errors of Daillé ‡ and Barbeyrac §, upon the ſubject, which laſt, referring to a noted treatiſe of Le Clerc ‖, our author animadverts upon that treatiſe in theſe words: ‘A treatiſe,’ ſays he, ‘ſo indefinite and looſe, that one ſcarce knows what he aims at, except it be, that nothing ſhould paſs for a fundamental, which has been ever diſputed by men calling themſelves Chriſtians, and profeſſing ſcripture, however interpreted, to be their rule, which is judging of important truths, not by the word of God, ſoberly underſtood, nor by catholic tradition, nor by the reaſon of things, but by the floating humours and fancies of men, as if all chriſtian doctrines were to be expunged out of the liſt of neceſſaries, which have had the misfortune to be diſputed among us, and a ſhort creed were to be made out of the remainder. But if others, with Baron Herbert of Cherbury, and the author of the fundamental conſtitutions of Carolina [Mr Locke] building upon the ſame principles of latitude, and *willing* to compound all differences, ſhould adviſe us to admit nothing for a fundamental, but what all mankind have hitherto agreed in, and for the future ſhall agree in, Atheiſts only excepted, where will then at length theſe preſumptuous ſchemes end? Or when will weak men leave off dictating to an all-knowing God, preferring their own fond devices to the wiſdom of heaven (27)?

[*M*] *Doctrine of Juſtification.*] Mr Clarke gives the following account of this piece. He obſerves, that the ſubject of juſtification was the occaſion of great controverſy during twenty years of great confuſion in the laſt century. That Biſhop Bull had exhauſted the ſubject *. But Mr Whitefield, in anſwer to the late Biſhop of London's paſtoral letter †, having maintained the *ſolifidian doctrine*, aſſerting good works to be only fruits and conſequences of juſtification; there ſeemed to be wanting a diſcourſe upon it in Engliſh, which was the occaſion of publiſhing this tract: wherein our author ſhews, 1. What the name imports. 2. What the thing contains. 3. How it ſtands diſtinguiſhed from renovation and regeneration. 4. What are the concurring cauſes on God's part and man's, to produce and preſerve it. 5. What are the common extremes run into on this head, and how they may be avoided. The ſum is, that we are juſtified by God the Father, conſidered as principal; and by God the Son, as meritorious purchaſer; and by God the Holy Ghoſt, as immediate efficient; and by baptiſm, as the ordinary inſtrument of conveyance; and by faith, of ſuch a kind, as the ordinary inſtrument of reception; and laſtly, by faith and holineſs, as the qualifications and conditions in adults, both for the firſt receiving, and for the perpetual preſerving of it. As baptiſm had been too often admitted, or but ſlightly mentioned in treatiſes on the ſubject of juſtification, our author gives it a large and diſtinct conſideration, wherein he ſhews, that baptiſm is the immediate and proximate form and rite of conveyance on God's part, and conſequently of reception on man's, from texts of ſcripture and the antients, from 70 years after Chriſt, to the end of the 4th century and later, and from the doc-

trine

* Viz. Mr Nation's ſermon on Sept. 8, 1731.— 2. A Letter to Mr Nation, by P. C. 1732.— 3. A vindication of Mr Nation's ſermon, with a letter from Mr Nation.— 4. A Letter to the author of the Vindication, with a ſecond letter to Mr Nation, by P. C.— 5. A reply to Mr P. C.'s letter.—6. A Poſtſcript, or a 3d letter to Mr Nation, by P. C.

† Sherlock's Vindication of the defence of Stillingfleet, ch. 3. p. 256. edit. 1682, 8vo.

‡ De uſu patrum.

§ Prefatory diſcourſe to his French verſion of Puffendorff.

‖ Printed at the end of Grotius de veritate religionis chriſtianæ. A. D. 1709.

(27) Importance of the doctrine, ch. vii. ſecond edition corrected, 1734, 8vo.

* In his Harmonia Apoſtolica, written about 1660, his Examen Cenſuræ, and his Apologia pro Harmonia.

† P. 24, 25.

An enquiry concerning the practice of Infant-communion [N] *as founded on the notion of its neceſſity, publiſhed from the originals, in purſuance of the requeſt of the author, by Joſeph Clarke*, A. M. to whom he committed the care of his MSS. to ſelect and reviſe for the preſs ſuch of them as ſhould be thought moſt uſeful and proper for the public view (*n*). Mr Jeremy Seed, his curate at Twickenham, has given us a noble ſpecimen of his own oratorical talent, in drawing the character of his Patron at full length (*o*), to which the reader curious in ſuch things muſt be referred, as being too long to be inſerted here in the full extent and beauty of it. It is ſufficient for our purpoſe to mention the diſtinguiſhing marks of it. What is obſerved of his works (*p*) has been already occaſionally taken notice of in the proper places. His ſtile, eſpecially in ſome of his lateſt compoſitions, is, as Mr Seed intimates, not excellent. 'In regard to his life and converſation, the liberty and extent of his mind appears in this, that being ſo intenſely ſtudious, yet he could be immediately free and diſengaged, if company came in, attend to and join in the converſation with life and vivacity: but was always very tender upon the ſubject of any man's character. He chiefly delighted in the converſation of the learned, who came to conſult him; upon which occaſions he was unreſervedly communicative, and always gave entire ſatisfaction. He had an excellent turn for buſineſs; would both talk and write upon things quite foreign to the track of his ſtudies with uncommon penetration. He was always eaſy of acceſs. Free and familiar, his heart, and his countenance open to you, without any ſhy and reſerved manner, without ſtatelineſs and ſo-

trine of our church; concluding this head with noting and accounting for a miſtake in ſome eminent moderns, who have taught that the firſt juſtification in adults is antecedent to baptiſm, and that baptiſm rather ſeals and confirms it than conveys it, for which doctrine he ſees no ſufficient ground in ſcripture or antiquity, or the public offices of our church, but much the contrary. Laſtly, he takes occaſion to diſcourſe upon the phraſe, *the inſtrumentality of faith*, which, he ſays, had been diſliked by Hammond, Ibbotſon, Bull, and Freeman, who had alſo rejected the thing. He therefore diſtinguiſhes upon the queſtion, rejecting it according to the falſe notion ſome had conceived, but contends for it in the true and proper ſenſe. He diſtinguiſhes the inſtrumentality of faith for juſtification into an active and a paſſive ſenſe, rejecting it in the former, and maintaining it in the latter. It cannot, ſays he, be the inſtrument of conveyance in the hand of the efficient cauſe, but may very properly be looked on as the inſtrument of reception on the part of the recipient. It is not the means whereby the grace is effected or conveyed; but may be and is the means whereby it is accepted or received; but it is obſerved by Mr Clarke the editor, that Biſhop Bull does not reject the inſtrumentality, only in the ſame ſenſe as Dr Waterland does. In proof of which he cites the following words from the *Harmonia*, diſſert. I. c. II. § 9. p. II. *Si inſtrumentum ſtricte & proprie ſumatur pro cauſa efficiente minus principali, clarum eſt idem juſtificationis inſtrumentum nullo modo poſſe dici. Si fides inſtrumentum eſſe velimus, fieri non poteſt ut recipiatur alio modo inſtrumentum eſſe quam quatenus eſt opus ex proſcripto & per gratiam Dei a nobis præſtitum. Conditio enim quatenus præſtita eſt aliquo modo medium ſive inſtrumentum dici poteſt, quo conſequimur rem quæ ſub conditione promittitur.* Which ſhews, that tho' he diſlikes the phraſe, yet he rejects the thing as the inſtrument of conveyance only, not as the inſtrument of reception, tho' he chooſes to call it by another name (28).

[*N*] *On the ſubject of infant-communion.*] This piece ſeems to have been written in order to explain what has been ſaid in his review of the doctrine of the Euchariſt *, a charge in 1737, where he had obſerved, That the fathers, both of the Greek and Latin church, for the firſt four centuries, or ſomewhat more, never interpreted John vi. directly of the Euchariſt, but by the frequent applying the general doctrine of ſpiritual feeding there ſpoken of, to the particular caſe of the Euchariſt, many among the Latins eſpecially, came, about the beginning of the fifth century, to interpret it directly of the Euchariſt, and ſo to think that John vi. 53. was as deciſive a text for the neceſſity of the Euchariſt, as John iii. 5. was for the neceſſity of baptiſm. Hereupon enſued a common practice of giving the communion to mere infants. Pope Innocent I. is believed to have been the firſt that brought up ſuch a doctrine of the neceſſity of communicating infants. In the margin, after referring to Wall and Bingham, he ſays, conſult Pierce's eſſay on infant-communion, who carries it much higher than others, upon ſuggeſtions, which bear a probable appearance, and are worth examining by ſome perſon of learning and leiſure. But in the mean while I acquieſce in Dr Wall's account, as one that was well conſidered, and, in my opinion, cannot be far from the truth. In another marginal note, after referring to Wall and Voſſius for St Auſtin's being ſuppoſed to have interpreted John vi. 5. of the neceſſity of the euchariſt to ſalvation, he adds, that Thornidike diſputes it with ſome ſhew of reaſon. Accordingly, he himſelf enquired deeper into it, before the book was publiſhed, as appears by an advertiſement prefixed to it in theſe words. 'The practice of communicating mere infants, under a notion of its neceſſity, and as built upon John vi. came not in before the 8th or 9th century, and never was general, or however laſted not long in the weſt, where it firſt began: my reaſons for this perſuaſion are too long to give here, but I thought this ſhort hint might be proper to prevent miſconceptions as to that article.' The tract now under conſideration is the reſult of our author's further enquiry into this ſubject, wherein the reader will find the reaſon referred to in the juſt mentioned advertiſement in his *Review*, where, tho' nothing is built upon it, yet he eſteemed it a point worth clearing up. Some, as Daillé, had cenſured the ancients for this error, in order to detract in general from the authority of the fathers; concluding thence, that their opinions are not of weight enough to ſhew the truth of any controverted point †, whence it plainly appears, that he was willing to deny that authority in general, which others have made a bad uſe of, as it muſt be obvious they would do, tho' with little reaſon. For tho' it be true, that the fathers were not infallible, and may have erred in points of leſs conſequence, yet it is running into unjuſtifiable extremes to conclude thence, as ſome have done, that therefore there is no credit to be given to the verdict of antiquity at all, that they have erred in fundamentals, or in delivering down the canonical books of ſcripture, and the fundamental doctrines therein contained. Daillé has made their errors more and greater than they really were ‡. There have been others on the contrary, who have pleaded the practice and opinion of the fathers for the revival of it, Biſhop Bedel §, and Mr Pierce of Exeter ||. Theſe were the motives which excited Dr Waterland to examine whether the fact be true. It was the common opinion, that the practice was as high as the Cyprianic age, and practiſed on to the 5th century, upon a belief of baptiſm's neceſſity to ſalvation, as taught by St Auſtin and Pope Innocent I. The deſign of the preſent tract is to ſhew this to be a miſtake; that the early ages never gave the communion to mere infants, except in the inſtance mentioned by Cyprian, but to children of ten, or perhaps of ſeven years old, and that only upon prudential reaſons, or the general reaſon of education purſuant to chriſtian principles, ſuch as is among us, to bring them to church, training them up in the way they ſhould go: or, if founded upon ſtronger motives, they were ſuch as reſolved into the then preſent expediency or provident occaſion. It is remarkable, that Dr Waterland agrees in this point with the council of Trent. P

(*n*) Preface to theſe ſermons by the editor, who had been the doctor's pupil, and profeſſeth he very willingly undertook this taſk out of gratitude to that great and good man, by whom he had the honour to be educated.

(*o*) In a ſermon on the death of Dr Waterland, preached ſhortly after his death, at Twickenham, where Mr Seed was his curate.

(*p*) Particularly thoſe upon the divinity of Chriſt, and the importance of the doctrine and the euchariſt, which ſubjects he has thoroughly exhauſted.

(28) Clarke's prefatory diſcourſe, prefixed to the edition of Dr Waterland's poſthumous works.

* P. 183.

† Daillé, lib. II. c. 4. p. 263. Genev. 1686.

‡ Wall's infant-baptiſm, Part 3. c. 17. § 15. Vol. II. p. 436. Importance of the doctrine of the Trinity, in remark [*L*] c. 7. p. 412—436, firſt edition.

§ In letter 183. p. 442. at the end of Parr's life of Archbp Uſher.

|| In an eſſay in favour of the practice of giving the euchariſt to children, edit. 1728.

‘ lemnity. Cautious, but not artful; honeſt, but not unguarded; glad to communicate, ‘ tho’ not ambitious to diſplay, his great knowledge: ſubſtantially good, without ſtudy‘ ing appearances, he hated all party, and would never have gone the lengths of any. ‘ Tho’ unmoveable after he had formed a reſolution upon juſt grounds, yet he judged ‘ candidly, and ſpoke advantageouſly of many, who thought very differently from him.’ It was this happy diſpoſition that recommended him to the notice of the late Queen Caroline, before whom, when Princeſs of Wales, he held ſome conferences with Dr Clarke; and tho’ theſe dropped after our author declared his full conviction of the truth and importance of the doctrine of the Trinity, and his reſolution to maintain it (*q*), yet there continued a perſonal friendly acquaintance between them, till the death of Dr Clarke, who in one of his laſt journeys to Norwich paid a viſit to Dr Waterland at Cambridge (*r*). ‘ When any virulent pamphlet was wrote, as ſcarce any perſon had more wrote againſt ‘ him, it did not diſconcert or ruffle his temper. He abhorred all thoughts of perſecu‘ tion; cool and prudential meaſures entirely ſuited his frame of mind: thoſe who en‘ tertained a different opinion of him were ſtrangers to him. Controverſy had not at all ‘ imbittered or ſet an edge upon his ſpirits: the meek and candid chriſtian was not loſt ‘ in the diſputer of this world. I never ſaw him,’ continues Mr Seed, ‘ in a different ‘ humour, no not even in his laſt illneſs. The ſame unaffected chearfulneſs, and the ‘ ſame evenneſs and ſedateneſs, which was his diſtinguiſhing character, appeared from the ‘ firſt commencement of our acquaintance to the laſt period. In a domeſtic light he ‘ was very amiable. Tho he felt great torments in his laſt illneſs, he gave none but ‘ what aroſe from a fellow-feeling of his ſufferings, even then humane and benevolent to ‘ all about him, but eſpecially to Her with whom he had lived in an uninterrupted har‘ mony for twenty-one years (*s*).’ Mr Seed likewiſe aſſures us, that as the preferments which he had were beſtowed upon him without any application from himſelf directly or indirectly, ſo it lay in his power to have been advanced much higher by the recommendation and intereſt of Archbiſhop Potter, and the biſhopric of Llandaff was once offered to him, but he declined the acceptance of it (*t*).

WENTWORTH [Sir THOMAS], the great and unfortunate Earl of Strafforde, a ſtateſman of ſingular abilities, the incidents of whoſe variouſly chequered life make one of the moſt intereſting paſſages in the Engliſh Annals. He was the eldeſt ſon of Sir William Wentworth, of Wentworth-Woodhouſe in the county of York, by his Lady Anne, a wiſe, virtuous, and religious Lady, and daughter of Robert Atkinſon (*a*), Eſq; of Stowell in Glouceſterſhire, a Bencher of Lincoln’s Inn (*b*), at whoſe houſe in Chancery-lane, London, this great ſtateſman was born, on Good Friday, April 13, 1593 (*c*), O. St. He was deſcended from a very ancient family [*A*], ſeated at Wentworth

[*A*] *Deſcend d from an ancient family in Yorkſhire.*] The name of this family was taken from the lordſhip of Wentworth, in the Wapentake of Strafforde, in the county of York (1), where at the time of the conqueſt lived Reginald de Wintewade (as wrote in Domeſday book) whoſe great grandſon had a ſon named Hugh, who dying anno 1200, left a ſon, William Wyntword of Wyntword, whoſe ſon Robert marrying Emma the daughter and heireſs of William Wodehous de Wodehouſe, the family from that time was called Wentworth of Wentworth Woodhouſe. This Robert’s great grandſon (2), William Wentworth, married Iſabella, daughter and coheir of William Pollington, of Pollington in Com. Ebor. Eſq; (3). This William’s eldeſt ſon, named alſo William, was knighted, and married Lucy (4), daughter and heir to Robert Hooton, of Hooton Roberts in Com. Ebor. which lordſhip ſtill remains in the family; and his ſon William, by a marriage with Lucy, daughter and heireſs of Walter de Tynneſlow, of Tynneſlow in the ſame county, obtained that lordſhip, which is alſo ſtill in the family. This laſt William’s ſon Thomas married the daughter of Sir William Fleming, of Waith, Knt. which barony is in the preſent Marquis of Rockingham’s titles. The ſaid William’s great great grandſon Thomas married Beatrix, daughter of Sir Richard Woodrove, of Wooley, Knt. 5th Hen. VIII. and being very rich, was called Golden Thomas: he paid a fine to be excuſed from being created Knight of the Bath, and in 1528 obtained from the laſt mentioned King an uncommon licence to wear his bonnet and be covered in his Majeſty’s preſence, becauſe he was infirm. He died in 1548, aged 70 years (5), leaving William his eldeſt ſon (6), who married Catharine, daughter of Ralph Beeſton, of Beeſton, Eſq; anno 1549, and died December 4th, in the 3d of Edward VI. ſeiſed of Wentworth Woodhouſe-hall in Wentworth, the manor of Frezehouſe in Wentworth, parcel of the monaſtery of Bolton’s in Craven, the manors of Pollington, Hooton, Berbryth-hall in Grayſebroke; half the manors of Tynneſlowe and Waithe, and divers other lands and tenements in Yorkſhire. His ſon and heir William married Margaret, daughter and heir of William Gaſcoign, of Gawthorp, Eſq; and died poſſeſſed of lands to the then value of ſix thouſand pounds ſterling per ann. in the county of York. His ſon Wil. Wentworth, of Wentworth-Woodhouſe, and of Gawthorp, &c. was created a Baronet at the firſt inſtitution of the order, in 1611, by K. James I. and was the 22d in precedence (7): by his wife Ann, daughter of Robert Atkins, of Stowel in the county of Glouceſter (8), Knt. he had eight ſons; the eldeſt of whom is the ſubject of the preſent article. This is the account of Mr Collins; who likewiſe tells us, that the name Wentworth is of Saxon original, as is agreed by all genealogiſts: but Mr Thoreſby, of Leeds, who has given us a fuller pedigree of this family (9), obſerves, that it does not perfectly anſwer to Mr Collins’s remark, that the name is of Saxon original: however, ſays he, if the name be deduced from the Roman *Venta*, the initial letter whereof was certainly pronounced W, it carries the original ſtill higher as to the antiquity (though not as to the knighthood) (10). Thus the greateſt part of Monmouthſhire, and part of the counties of Glouceſter and Hereford, were of old called Went-ſet, or Went-land, from the ancient *Venta Silurum* (11), perhaps originally from the Britiſh Guen, or Gwyn, candidus, albus; for, by a late moſt induſtrious author (12), it appears, that V conſonant is never a dictionary (or primary) initial in the Welch, Corniſh, or Armoric; but that the initial V in Latin is changed into Gu in the Britiſh as well as French

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(*q*) Seed’s Sermon on the death of Dr Waterland.

(*r*) From the information of Dr Th. Waterland, our author’s brother.

(*s*) His wife was Mrs Anne Tregonway, of a good family and fortune, whom, by comparing dates, he muſt have married in 1719, but left no iſſue by her. Id.

(*t*) He obſerved that it might aptly be called (not *Landaff*, but) *Landoff*, having been ſtript of almoſt all its revenues. Idem.

(*a*) Dedication of Strafforde’s letters, &c. by Mr Knowler, and Appendix, Number 1. by Sir George Radcliffe. He is by miſtake called Sir Rob. Atkins, Knt. in Peerage of England, vol. II. p. 21. and vol. III. p. 313. edit. 1756.

(*b*) Thoreſby’s Ducatus Leodienſis.

(*c*) Sir G. Radcliffe’s Eſſay towards the life of Lord Strafforde, in the Appendix, &c. as before.

(1) Collins’s Peerage, vol. II. p. 20, 21. edit. 1756. from an authentic pedigree of Wentworth, drawn and atteſted in the reign of Q. Elizabeth, ann. 1588. by Will. Flower, Norroy King at Arms, and approved and deduced ſomewhat further by Rob. Glover, Somerſet Herald, and Richard St George, Norroy.

(2) Or perhaps his grandſon, according to Mr Thoreſby’s pedigree, mentioned below, which relates, that Robert’s younger ſon, Richard, was Biſhop of London, and Chancellor of England in 1338. and 12th of Edward III. See alſo Strafforde’s letters, &c. in the Dedication, fol. 2. note *, and Appendix, No. 2, 3.

(3) This William’s younger brother John, ſettled at Elmſal in 1307, from whom deſcended the Barons Wentworth, Earls of Cleveland, and the Wentworths of Bretton, &c. Thoreſby’s Pedigree.

(4) Or Iſabella, daughter and heir to Robert Hooton, by Lucy, daughter and heir to Richard Shelton, Knt. Ibid.

(5) A monument erected to his memory is in the church of Wentworth. Ibid.

(6) From his younger ſon Michael deſcend the Wentworths of Wooley.

(7) He had been High Sheriff of Yorkſhire in the 43d of Elizabeth, 1601. Thoreſby, Ducatus Leodienſis.

(8) It ſhould be Atkinſon, as is ſhewn above in notes (*a*) and (*b*).

(9) From a MS. of pedigrees in a large folio penes George Plaxton, Rector of Berwick in Elmet.

(10) The family had born that honour for 600 years.

(11) Camden’s Britannia, p. 597. edit. 1695. and Dacre’s Cambro-Britannic Dictionary.

(12) Lhuyd in Archeol. Britan. p. 23. col. 1.

worth at the time of the Conqueſt, from which are deſcended all of the name within this kingdom (*d*). Having received the groundwork of his education probably under a private Tutor at home (*e*), he was ſent to St John's college in Cambridge, the Foundreſs of which is ranked among his anceſtors [*B*]. After a ſufficient time well employed in the univerſity, he travelled abroad, in order to complete the gentleman, and in 1611 made the tour of France, being attended by Mr John Grenewode as his governor, then Fellow of Univerſity college in Oxford, a perſon of learning and prudence, for whom he retained an extraordinary reſpect ever after [*C*]. He returned home in Feb. 1612-13 (*f*), and

(*d*) Dedication of Strafforde's letters, &c.

(*e*) This conjecture is grounded upon the ſilence of all authors about the firſt part of his education.

(*f*) After the death of Prince Henry (in Nov. 1612) and before the Queen of Bohemia's marriage. Radcliffe's Eſſay, &c.

French, Spaniſh, and Italian; ſo that Guent or Wentworth ſignifies the White hall, court, or town (13). If any, continues the ſame antiquarian, chuſe rather to deduce it from the river of that name, it only moves it a degree further, the family from the place, that from the water, and that from the colour, as was cuſtomary with moſt nations, not only the Greeks and Romans of later ages, but the Hebrews of old; witneſs the Red-ſea (14), &c.

[*B*] *He was admitted of St. John's college.*] What directed the choice of his friends to this college is not ſaid, perhaps the alliance of the family, as appears by the preamble to his patent for the barony (15), to Lady Margaret, Henry the Seventh's grandmother, the foundreſs, might have ſome weight in the determination, However that be, it is certain he proved a ſingular ornament and honour to it, making the beſt uſe poſſible of the opportunities he met with there for his improvement (16). There are ſeveral letters in the collection of his papers, which ſhew that he always preſerved a hearty kindneſs both for his college and univerſity. For inſtance, in the conteſted election between Mr Oldiſworth, or Holſworth, and Dr Lane for the Maſterſhip, in 1633, he made uſe of his intereſt with Archbiſhop Laud to obtain the determination of it in the beſt manner he could for the benefit of the college and univerſity; to which his Grace returned the following anſwer: 'For your St John's buſineſs, it is yet under examination at Cambridge by commiſſion, and what will become of it I cannot tell: For my own part, I have done Mr Oldiſworth all right to his Majeſty; and for Dr Lane, I never ſaw him five times in my life, and, to my remembrance, never ſpake to him but once. God ſend the buſineſs a good end, for the univerſity and college ſake; for I heartily wiſh the publick well; and to ſpeak clearly, if the one be not ſober enough for the government, I doubt the other may be found too weak: honeſt and learned is not enough for government (17).' Again, before the cloſe of the ſame year, the Deputy having ſent the ſame friend a petition againſt the Biſhop of Waterford, who had been a fellow of St John's in Oxford, a ſociety equally dear to his Grace, makes uſe of this expreſſion. I am ſorry to ſpeak it, but truth will out, this Biſhop is a St John's man, of Oxford I mean, not of Cambridge; our Cambridge panniers never brought ſuch a fairing to the market (18): the Archbiſhop in return makes this pleaſant remark upon it. 'A St John's man you ſay he is, and of Oxford; your *Cambridge Panniers* never brought ſuch a Fairing to the market. Yes, my good Lord, but it hath; for what ſay you of Dean Palmer? who, beſides his other virtues, ſold all the lead from off the church at Peterburgh, yet he was brought in your *Cambridge Panniers*; and ſo was Biſhop Howland too, who uſed that biſhopric as well as he did the deanry. I muſt confeſs, this man's baſeneſs hath not many fellows, but his bribery may have ſtore: and I pray is that ever a whit the worſe fault, becauſe it is gentleman-like, for hundreds and thouſands? whereas this man deals for twenty ſhillings and leſs. I hope you will not ſay ſo; and if you do not, then I pray you examine your *Cambridge Panniers* again; for ſome ſay, ſuch may be found there, but I, for my part, will not believe it, unleſs your Lordſhip make me (19).' With the like mirthful humour is the ſame ſtring touched by the Archbiſhop in 1634, thus. 'In the next place, ſays he to the Deputy, you begin to be merry with your Heifer, and I wonder you have ſo little pity as not to let it reſt, when I have ploughed with it. By St Dunſtan (if it were not for ſwearing) I ſee you gueſs unhappily, that your friends can tell how to be merry as well as ſerious together, and you ſhall not need to intreat us to continue it.—From your mirth you leap into thoſe directions, which at your intreaty I gave.—— For the holding of two livings, and but two, with cure, ſince you approve me in the ſubſtance, I will yield to you in the circumſtance of time. Indeed, my Lord, I knew it was bad, very bad in Ireland, but that it was ſo ſtark naught I did not believe. Six Benefits not able to find the Miniſter cloaths: In ſix pariſhes ſcarce ſix to come to church. Good God! ſtay the time you muſt till there be more means, and ſome more conformable people. Yet in this ſober diſcourſe, I pray what means this *Ionniſm* of yours, till the rights of the Paſtors be a little more ſettled? You learned this from old *Aboye* or *Billy Nelſon*. For where I pray in all the ancient Fathers do you find *Paſtor* applied to any but a Biſhop? Well, I ſee the errors of your breeding will ſtick by you; *Paſtors* and *Elders* and all will come in, if I let you alone.——Now you are merry again: God hold it. And what? Dr Palmer acted like a King. Be it ſo: but he was another card in the pack. As for Biſhop Howland, you never heard of him. What? nor of *Jeames* his wife neither? Good Lord, how ignorant you can be when you liſt. Yea, but you have taken St John's, Ox. *Flagrante crimine*, and I put you to your memory. Is it ſo? Come on then; you know there is a cauſe in the *Star-chamber*, ſome were to anſwer, and they brought their anſwers ready written. If the Biſhop of Lincoln ſent them ready for his turn, hath he not an excellent Forge? What if this appear? I hope you will not then ſay I put you to your memory. 'Tis now under examination, and is not this &c. *Flagrante crimine*. Go brag now (20).'——— Thus does the Archbiſhop in the ſtrongeſt terms intimate his friend the Deputy's regard for his college. Nor did the college on their part neglect to make proper atteſtations of their gratitude. Upon his firſt coming to England in 1639, we find Dr Beale, the Maſter, and ſeveral of the Fellows, preſenting to him at London an addreſs of thanks for paſt favours, and begging a continuance of them, which was likewiſe very graciouſly accepted by him (21). To conclude; we are ſenſible that enough, and more than enough, is here produced upon the point which occaſioned the preſent remark. Such long extracts it is allowed will deſervedly be thought tedious and idle, if conſidered only as evidences in a matter of no more moment than is our Deputy's friendſhip for his college and univerſity. But this is far from being the whole of our deſign in them. It cannot, I conceive, but be ſeen, in peruſing them, that their view does not terminate there. They open to us a proſpect of that entire confidence and union of heart and ſoul, which makes a moſt intereſting part of the characters both of Laud and Strafforde, which could not have been ſeen in a ſingle narrative only of the facts, and which demands a ſtill further diſplay, that ſhall be executed by and by.

[*C*] *Mr Charles Grenewoode attended him as his governour.*] Whoever recommended Mr Grenewoode to this honourable truſt, had the happineſs of doing a ſingular piece of ſervice to both. The Tutor, by his fidelity in the diſcharge of it, engroſſed the particular eſteem of his Pupil; and the Pupil in the firſt part of his life never undertook any thing of moment in his private affairs without conſulting the Tutor (22), and, upon the vacancy of the Deanery of Rippon in 1624, applied to Archbiſhop Abbot for his intereſt with the King to procure Mr Grenewoode that dignity: to which his Grace returned the following anſwer.

'Good Sir Tho. Wentworth,

'You aſk my opinion to your letter concerning Mr Greenwood for the Deanery of Rippon, and I will tell you what I think thereof.

'The Deanery is ſmall, not being worth one hundred pounds by the year *viis & modis*; ſo that he that ſhall have it, had need of other means to ſup-

port

(13) Vide Weorth in Gibſon's Reg. gen. de nomine locorum ad calcem.

(14) Ducat. Leodienſis, p. 240, 241, 242.

(15) See Remark [*K*].

(16) The excellent method he purſued in his ſtudies will be mentioned hereafter.

(17) Strafforde's letters, &c. vol. I. p. 125. in a letter dated Lambeth, Octob. 14, 1633. Neither Lane nor Holſworth were choſen, but a third man, Dr Beale, who was then Maſter of Jeſus-college. Ibid. p. 208. in a letter of Mr Garrard, dated Feb. 27, 1633.

(18) Ibid. p. 189. in a letter from Dublin, dated Jan. 31, 1633.

(19) Ibid. p. 213, 214. in a letter, dated Mar. 11, 1633. There is a paſſage too in the ſame pleaſant tun in p. 254.

(20) Ibid. p. 253, 254. in a letter, dated May 14, 1634.

(21) Letter, dated from Covent-garden, Feb. 8, 1639. Ibid. p. 390.

(22) The Earl's life, by Sir G. Radcliffe. The Greenwoods are an ancient and good family in Yorkſhire, and many of them ſettled in the city of York. Thoreſby's Ducat. Leodienſis.

and it was probably ſoon after, and not before, that he engaged in a marriage with Lady Margaret, eldeſt daughter of Francis [Clifford] Earl of Cumberland, and was knighted (*g*). Upon the death of his father, ~~about~~ Michaelmas 1614, the family eſtate, which was not leſs than ſix thouſand pounds per annum (*h*), devolved to him [*D*], together with the title of Baronet, his father having received that honour from K. James, at the firſt inſtitution of the Order (*i*). Sir George Savile, his brother in law (by a marriage with his eldeſt ſiſter Anne) dying the ſame year 1614, appointed him Truſtee for his children. This charge, which he executed with a remarkable fidelity, brought upon him the trouble and expence of a law ſuit, in ſolliciting the buſineſs whereof, he ſpent eight years time, beſides his pains and money, going every term to London about that only, without miſſing one term in thirty (*k*). In 1615 he ſucceeded Sir John Savile in the poſt of Cuſtos Rotulorum for Yorkſhire [*E*]; and in 1621 he was elected one of the Repreſentatives

(*g*) Sir G. Radcliffe places this marriage, and his knighthood before his travels in 1611; but as that writer expreſly intimates that he might be miſtaken in the order of time, we have ventured to place theſe two incidents after his travels, as more probable in the nature of things, which however is left to the reader's judgment.

(*h*) But it was incumbered ~~with~~ the charge of younger children's fortunes, to the number of 7 boys and 4 girls. See Remark [*D*].

(*i*) He was the 22d Baronet from the firſt inſtitution of that order. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. and the dedication to Strafforde's letters, &c.

(*k*) As I verily believe. ſays Sir G. Radcliffe.

port it, if he will live in any faſhion. Now, true it is that Mr Greenwood is very well provided for, and is that countryman; ſo that the place may very well fit him, and he the place, if his Majeſty may be pleaſed to beſtow it upon him. Mr Greenwood beſides is a wiſe and learned man, a good preacher, and one who in his younger years by his travels beyond the ſeas gained much more experience than common ſcholars have. Theſe things are moſt true concerning him, if you can make any uſe of them; but a ſuitor I may not be in his behalf, although he was brought up in the college under me more than twenty years ſince (23). I have now anſwered your queſtion; and ſo commending me unto you, I reſt

'Your very loving friend,

'Lambeth, Nov. 28, 1624. 'G. CANT (24).'

It is true, this letter ſhews that Sir Thomas's kind endeavours in this caſe proved ineffectual; but hence it appears, that Mr Grenewoode was then poſſeſſed of a good living. This was undoubtedly the Rectory of Thornhill (25), in the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, which ſeems to have been obtained for him by Sir Thomas, who thereupon excuſed him from his attendance upon himſelf as one of his privy counſellors mentioned above; a favour which had been requeſted by Mr Grenewoode, that he might apply himſelf wholly to the duties of his parſonage (26). This living ſeems to have been given him by Sir George Savile, brother in law to Sir Tho. Wentworth, from whom we have a long letter of advice to one of his nephews, in 1633, then lately come of age, wherein having given him ſome directions for the management of his private affairs, he proceeds thus. 'In theſe and all things elſe, you ſhall do paſſing well to conſult Mr Greenwood, who hath ſeen much, is very well able to judge, and certainly moſt faithful to you. If you uſe him not moſt reſpectively, you deal extream ungrateful with him, and ill for yourſelf. He was the man your father loved and truſted above all men, and did as faithfully diſcharge the truſt repoſed in him, as ever in my time I knew any man do for his dead friend; taking exceſſive pains in ſettling your eſtate with all poſſible cheerfulneſs, without charge to you at all. His advice will be always upright, and you may ſafely pour your ſecrets into him, which, by that time you have converſed a little more abroad in the world, you will find to be the greateſt and nobleſt treaſure this world can make any man owner of: and I proteſt to God, were I in your place, I would think him the greateſt and beſt riches I did or could poſſeſs *.' Accordingly, we find Sir Thomas occaſionally making uſe of his aſſiſtance afterwards. We have a very uncommonly long letter, filling not leſs than eight pages in folio, written to him from Dublin by Sir Thomas, on the death of his ſteward, which begins thus.

(23) This was Univerſity college, Oxford, of which his Grace was ſeveral years Maſter, and Mr Greenwood had been a Fellow, and was Senior Proctor of the Univerſity in 1609. Wood's Faſti, vol. I. col. 183.

(24) Strafforde's letters, &c. vol. I. p. 25.

(25) Ibid. vol. I. p. 480. and vol. II. p. 338.

(26) The Earl's life by Sir G. Radcliffe, as before.

* State papers, vol. I. p. 170. in a letter from Dublin Caſtle, Dec. 29, 1633. to Sir Will. Savile, Bart.

'Good Mr Greenwood,

'Upon this ſad accident befallen Richard Morris, I reſt infinitely much beholden unto yourſelf and the reſt of my private friends, that had ſo much care, and beſtowed ſo ſeaſonable pains upon my private affairs, ſo as now I truſt I ſhall not ſuffer much, where otherwiſe I fear I might have been put to much prejudice by his needy and diſordered kindred; and being now in this ſtreight, I have none I can in ſo much aſſurance apply myſelf as unto you, whoſe charity in that kind to others, and your particular affection to me, I have ſo often been a witneſs of; ſo as preſuming on you ſo much as I do, I am like to be very troubleſome unto you in preſent, till, upon my coming over, there may be ſome further order taken, that I may not be more craving upon you, than in civility and good manners I ought; only this I will ſay, you cannot lend your help to any that loves you better, or will be more ready to miniſter to the occaſions either of you or your friends, as often as you ſhall require it of me, than myſelf. The particulars I ſhall be forced to mention will be many.'——Having finiſhed theſe, which amount to upwards of forty, he concludes thus.

'By this time I have given you more particulars to remember than you ever had in any one ſermon, I believe, you ever preached. And now I crave two things of you. Firſt, that the neceſſity my affairs are in may plead my excuſe for thus unmannerly troubling of you. And ſecondly, that out of your charity you would not deny your help to him that upon a good occaſion would not deny his life to you, that am and always will be

'Your moſt affectionate faithful friend,

'WENTWORTH (27).'

(27) Strafforde's letters, vol. I. p. 480. to 488, incluſive.

[*D*] *He came to an eſtate of* 6000 *l. per annum.*] But it was loaded with ſeveral rent charges for younger childrens fortunes, ſome of which proved very troubleſome to him. In the letter to Mr Grenewoode juſt quoted, is this particular among the reſt. 'My ſiſter Elizabeth writes me a letter concerning my brother Matthew's eſtate, which I know not how to anſwer, till I ſee the will; nor do I know what it is ſhe claims, whether money alone, or his rent charge forth of my lands, or both. Therefore I deſire the copy of the will may be ſent me, and her demand, and then ſhe ſhall have my anſwer. This brother that ſhe ſaith was ſo dear unto her, had well tutored her, or ſhe him, being the couple of all the children of my father, that I conceived loved me leaſt; it may be they loved one another the better for that too. However it prove I know not; but this I am moſt aſſured, that in caſe any of the three brothers died without iſſue, my father ever intended their rent-charge ſhould revert to me, and not lye ſtill as a clog upon my eſtate, or that any daughter of his, whom he had provided for forth of the eſtate, ſhould thus intercept his intention towards his heir. But how often hath he been pleaſed to excuſe unto me the liberal proviſions taken forth of my eſtate for my brothers and ſiſters? And as often hath been aſſured by me, I thought nothing too much that he had done for them; and yet I can make it confidently appear he left not my eſtate better to me than my grandfather left it to him by two hundred pounds a year; nay ſome that underſtand it very well, have, upon ſpeech had with me about it, been very confident, he left it me rather worſe than better than he received it. But I ſhall and can, I praiſe God, and have heretofore patiently looked upon their peeviſhneſs and frowardneſs towards me, and all their wiſe and prudent counſels and ſynods they have held againſt me, as if they had been to have dealt with ſome cheater or cozener, not with a brother, who had ever carried himſelf juſtly and lovingly towards them; nor do I, or will I deny them the duties I owe unto them, as recommended unto my care by my father (28).'

[*E*] *He was appointed Cuſtos Rotulorum, &c.*] Sir John Savile's miſbehaviour in the poſt had, it ſeems, been complained of to the Lord Chancellor Elleſmere, in 1613, by Sheffield Earl of Mulgrave, then Lord Preſident of the North (29), and the matter was become ſo notorious and inexcuſable in 1615, that a reſolution was taken to remove him; which the Knight being

(28) Ibid. p. 484.

(29) His letter is inſerted among thoſe of Strafforde in vol. I. p. 2. where it appears, the complainant was Sir Tho. Fairfax.

Repreſentatives in parliament for that county (*l*): upon which occaſion he removed his family from Wentworth-Woodhouſe to London, and took a houſe in Auſtin Friars; but being ſeized there with a dangerous fever, he removed, as ſoon as he began to recover, about July 1622, to Bow, where his wife, the Lady Margaret, died ſhortly after. Hereupon he removed his family again into Yorkſhire (*m*). On the 24th of February 1624-5, he entered into a ſecond marriage with Lady Arabella Holles [*F*], ſecond daughter

(*l*) See remark [*G*].

(*m*) Radcliffe's Eſſay, where it is ſaid, that the next ſpring he had a double tertian, and after his recovery a relapſe into a ſingle tertian, which was followed by a burning fever.

being ſenſible of, wrote a letter to the Chancellor, wherein, to prevent as far as poſſible the diſgrace of being turned out, he reſigned; aſſerting his own innocence and upright carriage (30), and giving it out that he had recommended Sir Thomas Wentworth for his ſucceſſor (31). But this was very far from being done heartily and willingly. On the contrary, he reſolved not to ſit down contentedly under the diſgrace; and puſhing his intereſt with Buckingham, complains to that minion of it as an affront and indignity put upon him which he had no way deſerved; laying all to the charge of his ſucceſſor, who he ſaid had obtained his ends in ſupplanting a perſon to whom he had long bore an unreaſonable grudge. Inſomuch that Buckingham was prevailed on to write the following letter to Sir Thomas.

(30) This letter is alſo in the collection, p. 2, 3. with the following note underneath. There is nothing but his own fault, and his diſorderly and paſſionate carriage of himſelf (ill beſeeming a man of his place and calling) that draws on theſe his troubles, for which I am ſorry: And therefore I commend him in making this ſuit, which I had rather ſhould be done upon his own requeſt, than otherwiſe. Th. Elleſmere. Canc. 9. 1 Dec.

(31) See a letter of Mr Cartwright to Sir Thomas Wentworth, dated Newland, 26 Dec. 1615. in the collection, vol. I. p. 3.

'Sir,

'Theſe are to let you underſtand, that whereas his 'Majeſty is informed that Sir John Savile yielded up 'his place of Cuſtos Rotulorum voluntarily unto you, 'whom now his Majeſty hath received into favour 'again, and purpoſeth to employ in his ſervice, his 'Majeſty will take it well at your hands, that you 'reſign it up again unto him with the ſame willingneſs, and will be mindful of you to give you as 'good preferment upon any other occaſion. And ſo 'I reſt

'Your very loving friend,

Warwick, Sept. 5, 1617.

'Buckingham (32).'

(32) Ibid. p. 4.

Upon this Sir Thomas drew up a full ſtate of the caſe, as it really had paſſed; and ſending it to the Earl, received the following anſwer.

'Sir,

'The reaſons ſet down in your letter are ſo ſubſtantial to prove that Sir John Savile made no voluntary reſignation of the place to you, but yielded 'it up rather out of a neceſſity, to avoid that which 'otherwiſe would have fallen upon him, that I ſee it 'was a miſinformation given to his Majeſty and to 'me, which occaſioned the writing of my letter unto 'you. Neither was that the only cauſe thereof, but 'beſides it was alledged, that you were willing to give 'over the place again, and deſired it might be wrought 'in that manner, leſt if you ſhould do it of your motion, his Majeſty might take it as a deſire in you to 'ſhun his ſervice, and ſo conceive ſome diſpleaſure 'againſt you.

'Upon theſe grounds, I thought it could neither 'be any wrong nor diſgrace to move you in that 'buſineſs: but I pray you believe, that I am ſo far 'from doing the leaſt indignity to any gentleman of 'your worth, that I would be ready upon any occaſion to do you the beſt ſervice I could. Therefore 'I deſire you not to trouble yourſelf either with any 'doubt of further proceeding in this matter, which 'went ſo far only upon miſunderſtanding, or with ſo 'long a journey to give me ſatisfaction, ſeeing I have 'fully received it by your letter, and have acquainted 'his Majeſty with the true ſtate of the buſineſs, as you 'have ſet it down. So I reſt

'Your very aſſured friend,

'G. Buckingham.'

'I beſeech you to excuſe me to my Lord of 'Cumberland and my Lord Clifford, that I write 'not to them now, as I propoſe to do at more 'leiſure: for now I made haſte to ſignify that which 'I have to you, that I might ſpare you ſo troubleſome 'a journey (33).'

Theobalds, Sept. 23, 1617.

(33) Idem, ibid.

Thus the conteſt was cloſed at preſent; but the truth is, the ſore was only ſkinned over, and the poiſon being left within not well digeſted, it feſtered, and broke out again (as will be ſeen) not long after. And from this beginning ſprung that ill blood to each other, which ran in the veins of theſe two great ſtateſmen, till the unfortunate death of the minion.

[*F*] *He married Lady Arabella Holles.*] He was extremely happy in this Lady, and had a true affection for her; but this conjugal felicity was but of ſhort duration; ſhe died, exceedingly lamented by him, in the beginning of October 1631 (34), having brought him two ſons and two daughters; William, Thomas, Anne, and Arabella. Of the two eldeſt, William and Anne, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. His younger ſon, Thomas, died very young, in July 1630, and Arabella, the youngeſt daughter, was born in October the ſame year. She was afterwards married to Juſtin Maccarty, ſon of Donald Earl of Clincarty. In 1637, the Counteſs of Clare, their grandmother, deſired to have the pleaſure of breeding the eldeſt Lady, Anne, under her care and inſpection. They were all then in Ireland with their father, who readily complied with this requeſt, and wrote to her Ladyſhip on the occaſion a letter, which, as it contains ſome account of the children, claims a place here, as follows.

(34) Ibid. p. 59, 60.

'May it pleaſe your Ladyſhip,

'My Lord of Clare having wrote unto me, you 'deſired to have my daughter Anne with you for a 'time in England, to recover her health; I have at 'laſt been able to yield ſo much from my own comfort, as to ſend both her and her ſiſter to wait your 'grave, wiſe, and tender inſtructions. They are both, 'I praiſe God, in good health, and bring with them 'from me no other advice, but intirely and cheerfully 'to obey and do all you ſhall be pleaſed to command 'them, ſo far forth as their years and underſtanding 'may adminiſter unto them.

'I was unwilling to part them, in regard thoſe that 'muſt be a ſtay one to another, when by courſe of 'nature I am gone before them, I would not have 'them grow ſtrangers whilſt I am living; beſides, the 'younger gladly imitates the elder, in diſpoſition ſo 'like her bleſſed mother, that it pleaſes me very 'much to ſee her ſteps followed and obſerved by the 'other *.

'Madam, I muſt confeſs, it was not without difficulty before I could perſuade myſelf thus to be deprived the looking upon them, who, with their 'brother, are the pledges of all the comfort, the 'greateſt at leaſt, of my old age, if it ſhall pleaſe 'God I attain thereunto. But I have been brought 'up in afflictions of this kind, ſo as I ſtill fear to have 'that taken firſt, that is deareſt unto me, and have in 'this been content willingly to overcome my own 'affections in order to their good, acknowledging 'your Ladyſhip capable of doing them more good 'in their breeding, than I am; otherways in truth I 'ſhould never have parted with them, as I profeſs it 'a grief unto me not to be as well able as any to 'ſerve the memory of that noble Lady in theſe little 'harmleſs infants.

'Well, to God's bleſſing and your Ladyſhip's 'goodneſs I commit them. Wherever they are, my 'prayers ſhall attend them, and have of ſorrow in 'my heart till I ſee them again I muſt, which I truſt 'will not be long neither. That they ſhall be acceptable to you, I know it right well; and I believe 'them ſo graciouſly minded, to render themſelves ſo 'the more, the more you ſee of their attention to do, 'as you ſhall be pleaſed to direct them, which will be 'of much contentment unto me; for whatever your 'Ladyſhip's opinion may be of me, I deſire and have 'given it them in charge, ſo far as their tender years 'are capable of, to honour and obſerve your Ladyſhip daughter to the then newly created Earl of Clare*, a Lady of exceeding great beauty, and of a noble mien, and yet much more lovely in the endowments of her mind. A new Parliament being called on the acceſſion of K. Charles I. to the Crown this year, Sir Thomas was again choſen to repreſent his county in the Houſe of Commons (n), where he ſteadily oppoſed the arbitrary meaſures of the Court, yet without departing from that decency and reſpect, which he always apprehended due to the Crown (o). But he had ſo great a ſhare in the determinations of that Houſe, that he was one of the ſeven who were nominated by the King to ſerve as Sheriffs in 1625 [G], with a view of diſabling them

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* Sir Will. Pennyman, who had the care and inſpection of the children in their father's abſence, writes thus to him from York, March 12, 1630. "Your Lordſhip's children are all very well, and your Lordſhip needs not fear the going forward of your building, when you have ſo careful a ſteward as Mrs Anne. She complained to me very much of two rainy days, which, as ſhe ſaid, hindered her from coming down, and the building from going up, becauſe ſhe was inforced to keep her chamber, and could not overlook the workmen." N. B. She was then not many months above three years of age. Strafforde's letters, vol. I. p. 55.

above all the women in the world, as well knowing, that in ſo doing they ſhall fulfill that duty, whereby of all others they could have delighted their mother the moſt; and do infinitely wiſh they may want nothing in their breeding, my power or coſt might procure them, or their condition of life hereafter may require: for, Madam, if I die to-morrow, I will, by God's help, leave them ten thouſand pounds a piece, which I truſt, by God's bleſſing, ſhall beſtow them to the comfort of themſelves and friends, nor at all conſiderably prejudice their brother, whoſe eſtate ſhall never be much burthened by a ſecond venter, I aſſure you.

'I thought fit to ſend them with one that teacheth them to write; he is a quiet ſoft man, but honeſt, and not given to any diſorder; him I have appointed to account for the money to be laid forth, wherein he hath no other direction, but to pay and lay forth as your Ladyſhip ſhall appoint, and ſtill as he wants to go to Woodhouſe, where my couſin Rockley will ſupply him: and I muſt humbly beſeech you to give order to their ſervants, and otherwiſe to the taylors at London, for their apparel, which I wholly ſubmit to your Ladyſhip's better judgment; and be it what it may, I ſhall think it all happily beſtowed, ſo as it be to your contentment, and theirs; for coſt I reckon not of, and any thing I have is theirs ſo long as I live, which is only worth thanks, for theirs and their brother's all I have muſt be, whether I will or no; and therefore I deſire to let them have, to acknowledge me for before.

'Nan, they tell me, danceth prettily, which I wiſh, if with convenience it might be, were not loſt; more to give her a comely grace in the carriage of her body, than that I wiſh they ſhould much delight or practiſe it when they are women. Arabella is a ſmall practitioner that way alſo; and they are both very apt to learn that, or any thing they are taught.

'Nan, I think, ſpeaks French prettily, which yet I might have been better able to judge, had her mother lived; the other alſo ſpeaks, but her maid being of Guernſey, the accent is not good; but your Ladyſhip is in this excellent, as that, as indeed all things which may befit them, they may and I hope will learn better with your Ladyſhip than they can with their poor father, ignorant in what belongs to women, and otherways, God knows, diſtracted, and ſo wanting unto them in all, ſaving in loving them; and therein, in truth, I ſhall never be leſs than the deareſt parent in the world.

'Their brother is juſt now ſitting at my elbow, in good health, God be praiſed; and I am, in the beſt ſort I may, accommodating this place for him, which in the kind I take to be the nobleſt, one of them, in the King's dominions, and where a graſs-time may be paſſed with moſt pleaſure of that kind. I will build him a good houſe, and, by God's help, leave him, I think, near three thouſand pounds a year, and wood on the ground, as much, I dare ſay, if near London, as would yield fifty thouſand pounds; beſides a houſe near Dublin, the beſt in Ireland, and land to it, which, I hope, will be two thouſand pounds a year; all which he ſhall have to the reſt, had I twenty brothers of his to ſet beſides me. This I write not to your Ladyſhip in vanity, or to have it ſpoken of, but privately to let you ſee I don't forget the children of my deareſt wife, nor altogether beſtow my time fruitleſly for them. It is true, I am in debt; but there will be beſides ſufficient to diſcharge all I owe, by God's grace, whether I live or die. And next to theſe children, there are not any other perſons I wiſh more happineſs than to the houſe of their grandfather, and ſhall be always moſt ready to ſerve them, what opinion ſoever be had of me; for no other's uſage can abſolve me of what I owe not only to the memory, but alſo to the laſt legacy, that nobleſt creature left with me, when God took her to himſelf. I am afraid to turn over the leaf, leſt your Ladyſhip might think I would never come to a concluſion; and ſhall therefore add to all the reſt this one truth more, that whenever I be happied thro' the occaſion, there is not any [one*] more

'Your Ladyſhip's
'Obedient and moſt humble
'Son and ſervant,
'WENTWORTH (35).'

'Fainwood-Park, the
'10th of Auguſt 1739.

[G] *He was one of the ſeven marked for High Sheriffs.*] He left no means untried that were in his power to prevent this appointment, but all to no purpoſe. The thing was unalterably fixed by the Duke of Buckingham, as appears from a letter to Sir Thomas by his friend Sir Arthur Ingram, in theſe terms. 'God give you joy. You are now the greateſt Officer of Yorkſhire; tho' you had the endeavours of your poor friend to have prevented it. But, I think, if all the council that was at court had joyned together in requeſt for you, it would not have prevailed: for it was ſet and reſolved what ſhould be done before the great Duke's going over (36), and from that the King would not change a tittle. You go along with good company; five parliament-men beſides yourſelf, and a ſeventh cometh in to prevent him from doing hurt. Sir Edward Coke is captain, yourſelf, Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Robert Philips, Sir Guy Palmes, Mr Edward Alford, and the laſt, who was not of the laſt parliament, is Sir William Fleetwood. The judges proceeded in their old courſe, and ſo went it to the King; but when the names came to the King, the King declared himſelf, that he had the names of ſeven, that he would have Sheriffs; and ſo named them himſelf, and my Lord Keeper ſet them down. It was told me by two Counſellors, that in the naming of you, the King ſaid, you were an honeſt gentleman, but not a tittle to any of the reſt. This much advantage have you that way. For your being choſen, my poor opinion is, that there did not any thing befall you in the whole courſe of your life, that is and will be more honour to you in the publick, who ſpeak moſt ſtrangely of it. There is now no more to ſay to it, but to undergo it cheerfully. Myſelf and my houſe, and what I can do, is at your command. I think, you muſt ſend up one about it preſently. Sir John Gibſon and myſelf will enter bond for you. And ſo I reſt

'Your faithful friend,
'Nov. 1625. 'AR. INGRAM (37).'

The diſtinction here mentioned to be made by his Majeſty to him above the reſt of his aſſociates, no doubt, had its weight in determining him to ſubmit quietly to the nomination, without thwarting the King's deſign in it by an attempt to procure a ſeat in the enſuing parliament, notwithſtanding the contrary conduct of Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Edward Coke, and Sir Robert Phillips. However, before he came to a final reſolution, he thought fit, out of reſpect to his father in law, the Earl of Clare, to have his opinion and direction in a matter of ſuch importance to his private affairs, as well as the public. The letter which he wrote on this occaſion was anſwered, from Haughton, Nov. 27, 1625, by the Earl, as follows.

'SON,

'You reſolve, in my opinion, of this particular rightly; for we live under a prerogative government, where Book law ſubmits unto *Lex Loquens*, then be theſe Extraordinaries, that rely rather upon inference, or interpretation than the Letter, too weak ſtaves for ſuch ſubjects to lean upon. This is a novelty and a ſtranger, that a Sheriff, who, according to the received rule of our forefathers, is tied to his county as a ſnail to his ſhell, may cauſe himſelf to be choſen a Burgeſs, or Servant for a Borough, and

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* See his article.

(n) Radcliffe's Eſſay.

(o) See his letter to Weſton, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, at the end of Rem. [H].

* This word is not in the printed copy.

(35) Strafforde's letters, vol. II. p. 379, 380. Vandyke painted all three in one piece this year, 1639. a graving from which, by Vertue, is prefixed to this letter.

(36) Viz. on his embaſſy to Holland. See his article.

(37) The ſame collection, p. 29.

them to ſit there in the ſecond parliament of that reign; and notwithſtanding he ſubmitted to that appointment, yet even when he was actually ſitting upon the bench in the diſcharge of his office, a writ was put into his hands removing him from the place of Cuſtos Rotulorum, by the intereſt of the Duke of Buckingham [*H*]. Thus perſecuted
as

‘ ſo in a ſort quit the greater and the King's ſervice for a Subject's and a leſs: Therefore as a novelty it is rather to be followed than to begin it, and as a ſtranger to be admitted as a probationer, and to be embraced upon further acquaintance. For my part, I ſhall be glad, if Sir Edward Coke and Sir Robert Phillips can make their undertaking good; and I could wiſh Sir Francis Seymour were a Burgeſs, ſo you were not ſeen in it: and if any of them, without your knowledge or conſent, ſhall confer any ſuch place upon you, you are no way in fault thereby; and yet Cæſar's wife muſt be free from ſuſpicion: ſo, as I may conclude, it is not good to ſtand within the diſtance of abſolute power. But I ſee the iſſue; the queſtion will fall between the King and the Parliament; the Houſe will demand her Member, and the King denies his Officer, and the King's election was prior; ſo as in concluſion ſome drops of diſpleaſure may fall upon the Borough, whoſe Charter is always in the King's reach. But this is my Chimæra, and the Lion may be leſs terrible than the picture. Howſoever, this well ſucceeding, will put the Courtier out of his Trick, ſecure the Parliament better, and the Subject in general, and make great ones more cautious in wreſtling with that High Court. Yet as you write, Son, this buſineſs is of ſuch a nature, as it is much better to be a Spectator than an Actor. And in this I give you no opinion; I only confirm yours (38).’—This letter, which lets us into the true motives of his compliance with the appointment, was abſolutely deciſive. Accordingly he entered upon the office; but in no good humour. He knew from what quiver this ſhaft againſt him was taken, and did not ſpare to declare it in his firſt ſpeech from the Sheriff's chair, as follows.

‘ GENTLEMEN,

‘ After having had the honour to repreſent you twice in parliament, I have now the honour of ſerving you out of it. The buſineſſes indeed are of a different kind, yet in both there is room to ſhew that warm regard for the advantage and benefit of this county, which hath and ſhall always be the rule of my conduct in public matters, be the employment given by yourſelves or enjoined me by my Sovereign. Since his Majeſty hath been induced to appoint me to this office, I ſhall not any ways ſhew myſelf refractory, as if I declined to ſerve my country, by whomſoever appointed. A deep ſenſe of the miſeries and calamities brought upon theſe nations by ſome evil minded perſons, and out of hopes conceived by me, that it may prevent the further proſecution of ſuch meaſures as are plainly inconſiſtent with the juſt rights of the people, under which they now ſuffer, and in a view of reſtoring them to quietneſs and happineſs, to make his Majeſty's goverment graciouſly intended by him a bleſſing to us, deliver the kingdom in general from thoſe ſlaughters, depredations, rapines, and ſpoils, which always accompany a war, encourage the ſubjects and others with comfort to betake themſelves to trade, traffick, commerce, manufacture, and all other things, which uninterrupted may encreaſe the wealth and ſtrength of the kingdom, beget in all his Majeſty's ſubjects of this kingdom a perfect unity among themſelves, after the too long continued diviſions among them. So his Majeſty aſſures himſelf, that all his ſubjects of this his kingdom, duly conſidering the great and ineſtimable bleſſings which they may find in theſe appointments, will with all duty render due obedience thereunto. And we, in his Majeſty's name, do hereby declare, that all perſons ſo rendering due obedience to the ſaid peace, ſhall be protected, cheriſhed, countenanced, and ſupported by his Majeſty and his royal authority (39).’

[*H*] *He was diſplaced by the intereſt of the Duke of Buckingham.*] Notwithſtanding all the courtly compliments made to Sir Thomas by his Grace in the letter above cited *, yet we find Sir John Savile was in reality never out of his favour; and tho' he could not then, without hurting himſelf, reſtore him to a poſt which had been reſigned purely to avoid the diſgrace of a removal, yet, when occaſion offered, he took care to revenge his quarrel, and contrived to return the blow given to Sir John in the loſs of the Cuſtos-ſhip, by throwing Sir Thomas out of the ſaddle in the moſt diſgraceful manner. His diſmiſſion was preſented to him in the open county court, where he was diſcharging the office of High Sheriff, into which he had been thruſt by the Duke's means. How he reſented it, appears by his ſpeech on the occaſion, as follows.

‘ My Lords and Gentlemen,

‘ I have here, even as I ſit, received his Majeſty's writ for putting me out of the Cuſtos-ſhip I held in the Commiſſion of the Peace, which ſhall by me be dutifully and cheerfully obeyed: yet I could wiſh they who ſucceed me had forborn this time this ſervice; a place in ſooth ill choſen, a ſtage ill prepared, for venting ſuch poor, vain, inſulting humour. Nevertheleſs, ſince they will needs thus weakly breath upon me a ſeeming diſgrace in the public face of the County, I ſhall crave leave to wipe it away as openly as eaſily, ſeeing I deſire not to overlive the opinion of an honeſt man amongſt you, which in the courſe of the world we ſee others regard ſo little.

‘ Shortly then; I have for divers years ſerved the laſt King, of ever bleſſed memory, his Majeſty that now is, and this Country, in the Commiſſions of Oyer and Terminer, that of the Peace and Counſel. I have been employed from hence in Parliament as oft as moſt men of my age, and now attend, albeit unworthy, as Sheriff. Thorowout, I am ready, under the great goodneſs of God, yet with all humility and modeſty, to juſtify myſelf, in ſpite of any detraction or calumny, even upon the price of my life, never to have declined forth of the plain and open ways of loyalty and truth towards their Majeſties, never to have falſified in a tittle the precious and general truſt of my country, never to have injured or overborn the meaneſt particular under the diſguiſed mark of Juſtice or Power.

‘ Therefore, ſhame be from henceforth to them that deſerve it: for I am well aſſured now to enjoy within myſelf a lightſome quiet, as formerly. The world may well think I knew the way, which would have kept my place: I confeſs, indeed, it had been too dear a purchaſe, and ſo I leave it, not conſcious of any fault in myſelf, nor yet guilty of any vertue in my ſucceſſor, that ſhould occaſion this removal (40).’ Thus effectually did he take care to prevent any ill impreſſions that might be made in the County to his prejudice by this affront ſo publicly put upon him. Neither did he reſt contented here. This perſecution by the prime miniſter gave him ſuch an opportunity of proving the connexion which he ſtill retained with another courtier, as could not be neglected. He therefore addreſſed himſelf the very next day to his friend at Court, Sir Richard Weſton, Knt. Chancellor of the Exchequer, in theſe terms.

‘ SIR,

‘ I have been beholden to you for many curteſies, which in your own particular I will undoubtedly ever thankfully acknowledge. Give me leave then to put you in remembrance of ſome things wherewith you formerly have been acquainted; as alſo to give you an account of ſome things which have happened ſince.

‘ At the diſſolved parliament in Oxford, you are privy how I was moved from and in behalf of the Duke of Buckingham, with promiſe of his good eſteem and favour; you are privy that my anſwer was, I did honour the Duke's perſon, that I would be ready to ſerve him in the quality of an honeſt man and a gentleman; you are privy, that the Duke took this in good part, ſent me thanks, as for reſpects done him; you are privy, how during that ſitting, I performed what I had profeſſed. The conſequence of all this was, the making me Sheriff the winter after. It is true, the Duke, a little before Whitſuntide laſt, at Whitehall, in your preſence, ſaid, it was done without his Grace's knowledge;
‘ that

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(38) Ibid. p. 31.

(39) Ibid. p. 33.

* In Remark [E].

(40) Strafforde's Letters, p. 36.

as he was by that Minion, he perſevered to oppoſe, with the forementioned temper, the unparliamentary proceedings of the Court. Whereupon, in May 1627, he was firſt impriſoned in the Marſhalſea, and ſix weeks afterwards confined within a circle of two miles from the town of Dartford in Kent, for refuſing to comply with the loan, which had been impoſed without conſent of Parliament [*I*]. After ſix months baniſhment being releaſed, he was elected Knight of the ſhire for the county of York in the third parliament of King Charles I. (*p*) when he applied the whole weight of his influence in promoting the famous *Petition of Right*; but that being granted in its full extent, he was ſatisfied, and freely declared his diſlike and even deteſtation of every inſtance where he obſerved any animoſity againſt the King (*q*). In this diſpoſition, being reconciled to the Duke of Buckingham, an offer was made him of the Peerage. This he gladly accepted, and was accordingly created Baron Wentworth, Newmarſh, and Overſley, July 22d, 1628 (*r*). So ſudden a leap from the country gentleman to the courtier, made a great noiſe among people of all ſorts, which alſo grew much greater in a few months, when he was raiſed to the degree of a Viſcount, taken into the privy council, and likewiſe made Lord Preſident of the court and council of the North (*s*) [*K*], in the room of the Lord

(*p*) Radcliffe's Eſſay. See alſo a letter of his brother in law, Denzil Holles, to him, in the collection, p. 40, 41.

(*q*) See Rema [*H*], as befor

(*r*) Radcliffe's Eſſay.

(*s*) Idem, ibid.

'that he was then in Holland. At Whitehall, Eaſter 'term laſt, you brought me to the Duke; his Grace 'did before you contract (as he pleaſed to term it) a 'friendſhip with me, all former miſtakes laid aſleep, 'forgotten. After, I went at my coming out of town, 'to receive his commands, to kiſs his Grace's hands, 'where I had all the good words and good uſage 'which could be expected, which bred in me a great 'deal of content, a full ſecurity. Now the conſequence here again is, that even yeſterday I received 'his Majeſty's Writ, for the diſcharging me of the 'poor place of Cuſtos Rotulorum, which I held here, 'whoſe good pleaſure ſhall be cheerfully obeyed: 'yet I cannot but obſerve, as ill luck of it, that the 'reward of my long, painful, and loyal ſervice to 'his Majeſty in that place is to be thus caſt off, without any fault laid to my charge that I hear of, and 'that his Grace too was now in England. I have 'therefore troubled you with this unartificial relation, 'to ſhew you the ſingleneſs of my heart, reſting in 'all aſſurance juſtly confident, you ſhall never find 'that I have for my own part in a tittle tranſgreſſed 'from what hath paſſed betwixt us. All which I 'confeſs indeed to this bare intent and purpoſe and 'no other, that I might preſerve myſelf in your opinion a man of plainneſs and truth; which obtained, 'I have fully my end. And ſo I reſt in the conſtant 'condition of

'Your truly affectionate friend
'To diſpoſe of,
'TH. WENTWORTH (41).'

The policy of this addreſs, in the view of cultivating his intereſt as much as poſſible at court, needs no comment to illuſtrate it. But he puſhed the occaſion ſtill farther in a ſecond letter to the ſame friend, as follows.

'SIR,

'Calling to mind the faithful ſervice I had the honour to do his Majeſty now with God, how graciouſly he vouchſafed to accept and expreſs it openly 'and ſundry times, I enjoy with myſelf much comfort and contentment. On the other ſide, albeit 'therein ſtill ſtrongly dwell intire intentions, and by 'God's goodneſs ſhall with me to my grave, towards 'his ſacred Majeſty that now is, yet I may well apprehend the weight of his indignation, being put 'out of all commiſſions, wherein formerly I had 'ſerved and been truſted. This makes me ſenſible of 'my misfortune, tho' not conſcious of any inward 'guilt which might occaſion it; reſting infinitely ambitious not of any new employment, but much rather 'to live under the ſmile than the frown of my Sovereign. In this ſtreight, therefore, give me leave to 'recommend to you the protection of my innocence, 'and to beſeech you at ſome good opportunity to 'repreſent unto his Majeſty my tender and unfeigned 'grief for his diſfavour. My fears alſo that I ſtand 'before his juſtice and goodneſs clad in the malevolent interpretations and prejudiced by the ſubtle inſinuations of my adverſaries; and laſtly, my only 'and humble ſuit, that his Majeſty will princely 'deign, that either my inſufficiency or fault may be 'ſhewn me; to this only end, that if inſufficiency, I 'may know where and how to improve myſelf, and 'be better enabled to preſent hereafter more ripe and 'pleaſing fruits of my labours in his ſervice; if a 'fault, that I may either confeſs my error and beg 'his pardon, or elſe, which I am moſt confident I 'ſhall do, approve myſelf throughout an honeſt, 'well affected, loyal ſubject, with full, plain, and upright ſatisfaction to all, that can by the greateſt malice or diſguiſed untruth be objected againſt me. 'The contentment of others in my actions is but 'ſubordinate, and conſequently neither my principal 'ſtudy nor care. Thus have I preſumed upon you, 'further than any particular intereſt of mine can warrant, out of a general belief in your wiſdom and 'nobleneſs; the rather too, becauſe I conceive you 'can beſt witneſs the opinion, nay I might ſay, the 'eſteem his late Majeſty held of me. All which nevertheleſs, as in good manners and diſcretion I 'ought, I ſubmit wholly to your beſt pleaſure, without importunately preſſing further herein, than may 'ſtand with your conveniency, your other reſpects, 'and however retain with me the laſting truth of

'Your Honour's
'Moſt humbly and readily to be commanded,
'TH. WENTWORTH (42).'

After reading this addreſs, it will hardly be controverted, that during the courſe of his oppoſition to the meaſures of the miniſtry, our Stateſman kept an undeviating eye upon the view of puſhing his fortune at a convenient opportunity with the King.

[*I*] *He refuſed to pay the loan, &c.*] In this ſtep he withſtood the warmeſt ſollicitations of ſome of his friends and relations, who earneſtly preſſed him to comply (43). But they ſeem all to be reconciled to his conduct after the ſpeech that he made on this occaſion at the Council-board. We are ſo unfortunate as not to have the ſpeech, which is probably loſt; but from the obſervations of his friends upon it we may collect, that his refuſal was tempered with all poſſible reſpect and deference to his Sovereign, and ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his beſt ſervices to relieve his wants in a parliamentary way (44). His commitment to the Marſhalſea was matter of great triumph to his rival and antagoniſt, Sir John Savile. 'It was ſuppoſed 'this humour of committing had been ſpent,' ſays Lord Haughton to him, 'till that your antagoniſt did 'revive it, who, I hear, brags he hath you in a Toil 'or Dilemma; if you refuſe, you ſhall run the fortune 'of other Delinquents; and if you come at the laſt 'hour into the Vineyard, he hopes it will leſſen you 'in the country.' No doubt the Duke of Buckingham was at the head of the counſel who adviſed this arbitrary proceeding; and in this letter of Lord Haughton there is a particular relating to his Grace, which muſt not be omitted. 'The Duke's [Buckingham's] going '[on the expedition to Rochelle], ſo often adjourned, 'makes men ſuſpect he will not ſtir at all: And I 'heard from a good hand, he moved the King to that 'purpoſe, who would not conſent unto it; ſaying, 'his honour was engaged, the eyes of the kingdom 'were upon him; whereupon his Grace grew melancholy (45).'

[*K*] *He was made a Baron, Privy Counſellor, and Preſident of the North.*] This change, ſo ſudden to outward appearance, from the country gentleman to the courtier, was variouſly cenſured. Among others, it could not eſcape the notice of that great dealer in news, James Howell, who indeed was particularly concerned

(41) Letters, p. 34, 35.

(42) Ibid. p. 35, 36.

(43) See two letters to him from Lord Clifford, and two from Lord Baltimore, in State papers, vol. I. p. 36. to p. 39.

(44) His friend and relation, Mr (afterwards Sir) Chriſtopher Wandesford, informs him, that Sir Arthur Ingram ſaid, the Preſident [of the Council] reported well of his carriage at the Table. Ibid. p. 39.

(45) Ibid. p. 37. in a letter, dated from St Bartholomews, May 19, 1627.

Lord Scrope (afterwards Earl of Sunderland) who reſigned, and whoſe remiſſneſs in that poſt threw an uncommon weight of buſineſs upon his ſucceſſor [*L*]. This was a

lucky

concerned in the laſt of theſe promotions. In a letter to his miſtreſs the Counteſs of Sunderland (46), dated Auguſt 5, 1629, he writes thus. ‘Sir Thomas Wentworth and Mr Warnsford are grown great Courtiers lately, and are come from Weſtminſter-Hall * to Whitehall (Sir John Savile their countryman having ſhewn them the way with his white ſtaff (47). The Lord Weſton tampered with one, and my Lord Cottington took pains with the other, to bring them about from their violence to the prerogative. And I am told, the firſt of them is promiſed my Lord's place at York, in caſe his ſickneſs continues (48).’ In another letter to his father, dated December 30, 1630, he begins with theſe words, ‘Sir Tho. Wentworth hath been a good while Lord Preſident of York, and ſince is ſworn Privy Counſellor, and made Baron and Viſcount. The Duke of Buckingham himſelf flew not ſo high in ſo ſhort a revolution of time. He was made a Viſcount with a great deal of high ceremony upon a Sunday in the afternoon at Whitehall. My Lord Powis, who affects him not much, being told, that the Heralds had fetched his pedigree from the blood royal, viz. from John of Gaunt, ſaid, *Dammy, if ever he comes to be King of England, I will turn rebel* (49).’ Mr Howell's news in the firſt part of the letter is confirmed by one from Lord Wentworth himſelf to Weſton, wherein he aſcribes his advancement to the Preſident's poſt in the North chiefly to that friend, *As he was then altogether a ſtranger to the King* (they are his own words) *in ſervice and perſon* (50). And as to his deſcent, mentioned in the latter, the preamble of his patent actually ſets forth that he was lineally deſcended from John of Gaunt, and from the ancient Barons of Newmark, Overſley, &c. and that his anceſtors either by father or mother had matched with diverſe houſes of honour, as with Maud Counteſs of Cambridge, daughter to the Lord Clifford of Weſtmoreland; with Margaret, daughter and heir to the Lord Philip de Spencer; the Lords D'Arcy of the North; Latimer, Talboys, Ogle, Ferrers Earl of Digby, Quincy Earl of Wincheſter, Beaumont Earl of Leiceſter, Grantmeſnil Baron of Hincley and Lord High Steward of England, Peverel Earl of Nottingham, Leofric Earl of Mercia, and from Margaret Dutcheſs of Somerſet, grandmother to Henry VII. (51) Thus it was thought proper to diſplay his pretenſions to the peerage from his deſcent, ſince his perſonal merit to the crown could not, as himſelf acknowledges, be at this time alledged. He had been indeed well received at the court of King James, and in 1620 had thrown the whole weight of his intereſt to procure the election of Sir George Calvert (*a*), then Secretary of State, to repreſent the county of York in parliament, together with himſelf (52); but this appears to be done purely in oppoſition to his inveterate Enemy and Rival, Sir John Savile, and conſequently to Buckingham, with regard to whom his conduct was ſteady and uniform. It cannot however be denied, that as the natural warmth of Sir Thomas's temper was far from being unapt to kindle into violent reſentments, which to be ſure were not cooled by ſuch reflections as his fortune and family would ſuggeſt; ſo it is not improbable that the oppoſition he ſupported in the Houſe of Commons againſt that Minion's meaſures, might in ſome degree be more inflamed by this reſentment. Nor is it to be imagined that the Duke was leſs ſuſceptible of that paſſion. Friends on both ſides laboured to cloſe the breach; and we ſee it was brought ſo far in 1625, that the Duke at Oxford ſhook hands with him, and profeſſed an obliteration of all that had paſſed, and hearty good-will for the future. But this was a meer political reconciliation, far enough removed from a hearty liking of each other; and accordingly the rupture between them ſoon broke out again. Now at laſt indeed, if we may believe Sir George Radcliffe, all their animoſity was extinguiſhed (53); and no doubt the Duke was not without a ſhare in the merit of raiſing Sir Thomas to the Peerage, at leaſt negatively, by not oppoſing it. Yet, upon occaſion of the Duke's death, we find, after all, Sir Thomas's principal friend at Court, Weſton, who was then become Lord Treaſurer, ſuggeſting, that now (and not before) the great Bar between him and the Royal favour was removed (54).

After all, from what has been already ſaid, there is too much reaſon to think that the Earl of Strafforde's change of ſides was the natural growth of the innate loftineſs of his temper, which prompted high ambition and a fondneſs of power. When viewed in this light, his conduct appears altogether ſteady and uniform. In this natural diſpoſition we ſhall find motives enough for the extraordinary change of his meaſures in regard to the prerogative, the full height of which he ſupported in every inſtance after this change, ſo far, as even to exact the ſhip-money with rigour in all parts that came within his juriſdiction †. The ſame principle, a fondneſs for power, will account too for his procuring thoſe unlimited powers in the commiſſion of the Preſident's court at York, which has been ſhewn before (55) to be the cauſe of aboliſhing that court. It is obſervable that this ambitious principle was ſo notoriouſly the prompter of his change, that the Editor of his Letters, &c. under the inſpection of his Lordſhip's lineal deſcendant, in making an apology (which therefore we may conclude is the beſt that can be made) for it, found it neceſſary to draw the reader's eye from it by the following artifice. Having taken notice of his Lordſhips ſufferings for the cauſe of liberty in conjunction with thoſe friends he had now left, he proceeds thus: ‘Sir Edward Coke might have his particular diſguſt, Sir John Elliot his warmth, Mr Selden his prejudice to the Biſhops and Clergy, and others farther deſigns upon the conſtitution itſelf, which might cauſe them to carry on their oppoſition; but Sir Thomas Wentworth, who was a true friend to epiſcopal government in the church, and to a limited monarchy in the ſtate, could have no reaſon, when the *Petition of Right* was granted, to refuſe to bear his ſhare of toil and pains in the ſervice of the public, or to withſtand the offer of thoſe honours his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to make him, eſpecially when it gave him an opportunity of ſetting an example of a wiſe and juſt and ſteady adminiſtration. This was his only view, and there could be no other temptation to a gentleman to accept of thoſe offers, who was born to an eſtate, which deſcended to him thro' a long train of anceſtors, who had matched with many heireſſes of the beſt families in the North, worth at that time ſix thouſand pounds a year (56).’

[*L*] *His predeceſſor's remiſſneſs threw an extraordinary weight of buſineſs upon him.*] It is true, this remiſſneſs of his predeceſſor had afforded matter of juſt complaint, as is evident from the ſtate in which he left the affairs of the North: the militia never muſtered, and the Recuſants never queſtioned; both which were immediately put under a more exact œconomy by

Lord

(46) Wife to Emanuel Scroop, Earl of Sunderland, Preſident of the North, to whom Mr Howell was Secretary. See his Article.

* See this explained above.

(47) He was created Baron of Pontefract, July 24. 4 Car. I. Ducat. Leod.

(48) Epiſtolæ Ho-ellianæ, § 5. No. xxv. edit. 1650.

(49) Idem, ibid. No. xxxiv.

(50) Letter, dated at York, 21 Octob. 1632. in Strafforde's letters, vol. I. p. 79.

(51) Peerage of England, ubi ſupra.

(52) See a great number of letters to his friends on this occaſion, from p. 8. to p. 13. incluſive, in Strafforde's letters, &c. vol. I.

(53) His words are: 1628, June, the parliament ended: Reconciled to the Duke of Buckingham. July; he was made Baron Wentworth, &c. But the Lord Savile was made Baron before him. Ibid. vol. II. p. 430.

(54) Letter, dated September 8. 1628. in Strafforde's letters, &c. vol. I. p. 47.

† His letter to Secretary Windebank. Idem, vol. II. p. 393.

(55) Under the Earl of Clarendon's Article, vol. IV. p. 2723.

(56) Strafforde's letters, in the dedication to the Earl of Malton, edit. 1739.

(*a*) The following letter to this friend by Sir Thomas lets us into a part of his character, that muſt not be omitted.

‘Sir Thomas Wentworth, Bart. to Sir George Calvert, Knt.
‘Principal Secretary of State.

‘Sir,

‘I have written to my couſin Wandesford, as being a Statiſt, how that at Rufford the French match was broken, and Marquis Fiat reputed a weak man; that after at Derby the match not only knit again, but finally concluded, and the Ambaſſador held of able parts. But here with you I have matters of other gueſs ſtuff to relate, that our harveſt is all in, a moſt fine ſeaſon to make fiſh-ponds, our plumbs all gone and paſt, peaches, quinces, and grapes almoſt fully ripe, which will I trow hold better reliſh with a Thiſtleworth palate, and approve me how to have the ſkill to ſerve every man in his right cue. Theſe only we countrymen muſe of, hoping in ſuch harmleſs retirements for a juſt defence from the higher powers, and poſſeſſing ourſelves with contentment, pray with Dryope in the Poet:

Et ſiqua eſt pietas, ab acuto vulnere falcis,
Et pecoris morſu, frondes defendite noſtras.

‘Thus you ſee Ovid ſerves us at every turn: how bold we are with you, ſince you entred our Liſt, and how we take time, while time ſerves. For, Michaelmas once come, and your Secretary's cloak on your ſhoulders, I truſt you ſhall find us better manner'd than to interrupt your ſerious hours with our toys. God bleſs you in all your ways, and that they may all terminate in your heart's deſire, which will be, I dare ſwear, juſt and noble.

‘Your Honour's
‘Moſt humbly, moſt readily to be commanded,
‘Th. Wentworth.’

‘Gawthorp, Aug. 31, 1624 *.

* Strafforde's letters, vol. I. p. 24.

lucky criſis for a perſon of Lord Wentworth's active ſpirit. He had now fixed his reſolution to devote himſelf wholly to his Majeſty; and the unexampled induſtry, unvarying fidelity, and unaſſoiled wiſdom, which appeared in his management of this important truſt, ſet his diſtinguiſhed worth in the moſt favourable light before his Majeſty, who preſently took him into his neareſt counſels and confidence, having lately loſt the Duke of Buckingham. It was about this time that our Stateſman contracted that intimate, entire, and unreſerved friendſhip with Archbiſhop Laud [*M*], for which both became ſo conſpicuouſly remarkable. In October 1631, he loſt his much-beloved conſort, the Lady Arabella Holles (*t*), after ſhe had brought him three lovely children. This loſs touched him very nearly, and was exceedingly lamented by him to the laſt period of his life. However, his grief at this misfortune in his private domeſtic affairs was much alleviated, and even in a manner diſſipated, by an overballance in the happineſs of his public ſtation, through the kindneſs of his Royal Maſter, with whom he grew daily more and more into

(*t*) Sir G. Radcliffe tells us, he took his Lordſhip out of bed, and carried him to receive his laſt bleſſing from her.

Lord Wentworth. Yet much of this remiſſneſs may be aſcribed to the bad ſtate of Lord Scroop's health for ſome years before his reſignation, which he did not long ſurvive. It is certain, that whatever faults may have been laid to his charge, they were overlooked by the King, who created him Earl of Sunderland while he held this poſt, and upon his reſignation declared, he was never better ſerved, nor with more exactneſs of fidelity and juſtice by any; and therefore intended to ſet a ſpecial mark of his favour upon him, when his health would ſerve him to come to Court (57). What ſhall be ſaid then for thoſe coarſe reflections which are caſt upon this Lord by Mr Wandesford, who compliments his kinſman, our Viſcount, on this promotion, in theſe terms. 'You tell me, God hath bleſſed you much in theſe late proceedings. Truly I believe it; for by theſe circumſtances we know, we may gueſs at them we know not. The opportunity of this ſucceſſion adds no ſmall comfort to the thing itſelf. Your predeceſſor, like that candle hid under a buſhel, while he lived in this place, darkned himſelf and all that were about him, and dieth towards us (excuſe me for the phraſe) like a ſnuff unmannerly left in a corner.' What follows is penned in the ſtrain of adulation. 'The Papiſts,' continues he, 'already hang their heads like bulruſhes, and think themſelves like water ſpilt upon the ground, which cannot be gathered up again: They ſay plainly, their days of ſecurity and quietneſs, in which they were lulled aſleep by the indolence of the laſt, muſt now be turned into anxiety and watchfulneſs to defend themſelves from the vigilancy of your Juſtice (58).' Accordingly we find ſeveral complaints were made of his Lordſhip's ſharp proceedings the following year, of which he was friendly advertiſed by his Patron Weſton. 'Your proceedings,' ſays this friend to him, 'with the Recuſants is here, where it is well underſtood, well taken, tho' there be different rumours. For it is ſaid, that you proceed with extreme rigour, valuing the goods and lands of the pooreſt at the higheſt rates, or rather above the value, without which you are not content to make any compoſition. This,' continues he, 'is not believed, eſpecially by me, who know your wiſdom and moderation. And your laſt too gave much ſatisfaction, even to thoſe who informed me, when they ſaw thereby that you had compounded with none but to their own contentment (59).' In reality, theſe complaints in general ſeem to be nothing more than the genuine effects of what Mr Wandesford had remarked concerning the Recuſants; and as for this laſt mentioned accuſation in particular, the author of it, Sir David Fowlis, was proſecuted thereupon by our Preſident; and the charge being found to be groundleſs, he was puniſhed for it as a malicious calumny (60). On the other hand, the Preſident's compoſitions were with no greater juſtice complained of as being too eaſy, ſo that the Recuſants increaſed by his indulgence (61). His Lordſhip abſolutely denies this to be fact, and ſays, he is confident he had done more towards a reformation, ſo far as a pecuniary mulct inflicted could effect it, than any that went before him in the Preſident's poſt of the North (62). The truth is, his conduct with regard to the Papiſts, eſpecially in Ireland, was ſo far from being rigorous, that his character has ſuffered by the imputation of being too much a friend to them, as is obſerved by the editor of his letters (63).

[*M*] *He contracted a friendſhip with Archbiſhop Laud, &c.*] This friendſhip was connected by all the ties which Cicero reckons up as requiſite to compleat that dear union. They were exactly of the ſame temper, had the ſame paſſions, the ſame inclinations, the ſame principles with regard to public affairs, and the ſame ſpirit directed in the ſame method of acting up to thoſe principles. The correſpondence between them, as far as it appears in the collection of Strafforde's letters, is perhaps the moſt intereſting part of that collection. Much hath been written upon the characters of both; but there are ſome characteriſtic life ſtrokes in each to be found in their own letters, that have eſcaped the diligence, or mocked the utmoſt art and ſkill, of all other hands; nor indeed is it poſſible for any other pencil beſides their own exactly to hit them. Some ſpecimens, therefore, may be expected here, which take as follows.

The Archbiſhop to the Lord Deputy [of Ireland].

'My very good Lord,

'I heartily thank your Lordſhip for all your love, and for the joy you are pleaſed both to conceive and expreſs for my tranſlation [from London] to Canterbury: For I conceive all your expreſſions to me are very hearty, and ſuch I have hitherto found them; and now, ſince I am there (for my tranſlation is to be on Thurſday, Sept. 19.) I muſt deſire your Lordſhip not to expect more at my hands, than I ſhall be able to perform, either in church or ſtate, and this ſuit of mine hath a great deal of reaſon in it; for you write, that ordinary things are far beneath that, which you cannot chuſe but promiſe yourſelf of me in both reſpects. But, my Lord, to ſpeak freely, you may eaſily promiſe more in either kind, than I can perform: for as for the church, it is ſo bound up in the forms of the common law, that it is not poſſible for me or for any man to do that good which he would, or is bound to do. For your Lordſhip ſees, no man clearer, that they which have gotten ſo much power in and over the church, will not let go their hold; they have indeed fangs with a witneſs, whatſoever I was once ſaid in paſſion to have. And for the ſtate, indeed, my Lord, I am for *Thorough*, but I ſee that both thick and thin ſtays ſomebody, where I conceive it ſhould not; and it is impoſſible for me to go thorough alone. Beſides, private ends are ſuch blocks in the public way, and lye ſo thick, that you may promiſe what you will, and I muſt perform what I can, and no more.—— Now, my Lord, why may you not write as whilom you did to the Biſhop of London? The man is the ſame, and the ſame to you; but I ſee you ſtay for better acquaintance, and till then you will keep diſtance. I perceive alſo my predeceſſor's awe is upon you, but I doubt I ſhall never hold it long, and I was about to ſwear by my Troth, as you do, but that I remember oaths heretofore were wont to paſs under the Privy Seal, and not the ordinary ſeal of Letters *. Well, wiſer or not, you muſt take that as you find it; but I will not write any long letters, and leave out my mirth; it is one of the recreations I have always uſed with my Friends, and it is hard leaving an old cuſtom, neither do I purpoſe to do it; though I mean to make choice of my friends, to whom I will uſe it (64).'—The Deputy, in his anſwer (no ſhort one) to this letter, not yet venturing out of the ordinary rules of prudence in common life, which imply ſuch a reſtraint as is inconſiſtent with the intire and unreſerved confidence of a generous friendſhip, was reminded of it by his Grace in his next, which begins thus: 'In all your Lordſhip's very large letter, which I lately received——

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(57) Howell's letters, § v. No. xxiv. where he obſerves that Lord Carleton, who delivered him the King's letter for the Earl, told him, he never remembered, that his Majeſty wrote a more gracious letter.

(58) This letter is dated Decemb. 29, 1628, ſoon after his Lordſhip's appointment to the Preſident's place. Strafforde's letters, vol. I. p. 49, 50.

(59) Idem, p. 52. in a letter, dated Octob. 13, 1629.

(60) Id. p. 91. 145, 146. 189. Howell, as before, where having mentioned Wentworth's being made Deputy of Ireland, and that he had a mighty ſtroke at court, ſays, there had been ſome claſhing between him and Lord Pembroke lately with others at court, and divers in the North, and ſome, as Sir David Fowle [for Fowlis] have been cruſhed.

(61) Strafforde's letters, vol. I. p. 156. in a letter of the Abp Nov. 15, 1633.

(62) Ibid. p. 173. in a letter to the Abp in Dec. 1633.

(63) In the dedication.

* A genteel rebuke this; and it is obſervable, that his Grace in this letter ſwears by Archbiſhop Uſher's ſtockings, and in another by St. Dunſtan's tongs, manifeſtly in ridicule of common ſwearing.

(64) Strafforde's letters, vol. I. p. 110, 111. in a letter from Fulham, Sept. 9. 1633.

into favour. Inſomuch that he was made Lord Deputy of Ireland this ſame year (u); the Lord Viſcount Falkland being removed from that poſt to make way for him (w), and this too at a juncture when he could not be ſpared to take poſſeſſion of the Iriſh ſword. He ſtill held as it were *in commendam* the preſidency of the North, and the ſervices he was doing the crown there (x) were judged to be of ſuch importance, that his ſtay in England ſome time longer could not be diſpenſed with. In the mean time the care of Ireland was not neglected. He preſently drew up a plan for regulating the government of that kingdom in the civil, military, and eccleſiaſtical ſtate (y), whereby he propoſed to improve the King's revenue there, to provide a ſurer fund for the payment of the army upon that eſtabliſhment, and to reform both the doctrine and diſcipline of the church, and improve its temporalities. In the midſt of theſe weighty public concerns, he found time to conſider of his private domeſtic affairs; and reſolving upon a third wife, he married, in October 1632, Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Godfrey Rhodes [N]; which

(u) Viz. in Jan. 1631. Radcliffe. The Lord Viſcount Wilmot was one of his competitors. Strafforde's letters, vol. I. p. 161.

(w) See the King's letter to the Lords Juſtices of Ireland, in Strafforde's letters, &c. vol. I. p. 78.

(x) He raiſed the revenue to the crown of that poſt to 9500 *l.* a year from 2000 *l.* which it only produced when he came to it.—Letter to Weſton, dated 9th June 1633. Ibid. p. 90.

(y) Idem, from p. 62 to 95.

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received——there is not one word of your wonted recreation: ſo it may be either you are not well enough acquainted at Lambeth, or elſe you are afraid that ſome ſouer ghoſt walks there. But to that which you have written, I ſhall give your lordſhip a very clear anſwer, and as free as I uſed to do.'——Having accordingly gone through ſeveral particulars relating to the bad ſtate of the churches both in England and Ireland, and ſeveral amendments of the latter begun to be made by the deputy, he proceeds thus: ‘ My lord, when I ſay, the leſs aſſiſtance, the more merit, I did not put you off with a compliment, for my anſwer was real. 'Tis true, able and well-affected men are brave aſſociates, and great ſervices are done at eaſe by ſuch inſtruments. But wot you what? Where many are employed at once, and all very able, there uſually proves to be in ſome a fretting canker-worm of ambition, and that for particular aims makes ſuch a diviſion, as gives far greater impediment to the greateſt affairs, than any want of ſufficiency can make: and therefore by your lordſhip's leave, the conceit, which you expreſs, of being all able, and all hearty, and all running one way, and none caring for any ends ſo the King be ſerved, is but a branch of Plato's commonwealth, which flouriſhes at this day no where but in *Utopia*, and thither I have no purpoſe to ſend your Lordſhip (65).' The principal ſubject of their correſpondence being the reformation of the Iriſh church, reducing it to the model of the church of England, wherein the deputy conſtantly followed the inſtructions of the archbiſhop as much as poſſible in every particular, and at length being brought alſo to follow him in ſeaſoning buſineſs with mirth, he is congratulated thereupon by his grace in theſe terms: ‘ Since you have learnt the way to be a little merry, I would you and your couſin Sibbes had been the other day at the council-table, where I never heard, you know whom, in a better mood verily.' He then enters upon the buſineſs as follows: ‘ I am very glad to read your lordſhip ſo reſolute, and more to hear you affirm, that the footing of them, which go *thorough* for our maſter's ſervice, is not now upon Fee, as it hath been. But you are withall upon ſo many *ifs*, that by their help you may preſerve any man upon Fee, be it ever ſo ſlippery. As firſt, *if* the common lawyers may be contained within their ancient and ſober bounds; *if* the word *Thorough* be not left out (as I am certain it is); *if* we grow not faint; *if* we ourſelves be not in fault; *if* it come not to a *Peccatum ex te Iſrael*: *if* others will do their parts as *thoroughly* as you promiſe for yourſelf, and juſtly conceive of me. Now, I pray, with ſo many and ſuch *ifs* as theſe what may not be done, and in a brave and noble way? But can you tell when theſe *ifs* will meet, or be brought together? Howſoever I am reſolved to go on ſteadily in the way which you have formerly ſeen me go, ſo that (to put in one *if* too) *if* any thing fail of my hearty deſires for the King, and the church's ſervice, the fault ſhall not be mine.' His grace afterwards expreſſes the higheſt ſatisfaction in the deputy's proceedings. ‘ My Lord,' writes he, ‘ I did not take you to be ſo good a phyſician before, as I now ſee you are; for the truth is, a great many Church-Cormorants have fed ſo full upon it, that they are fallen into a fever: and for that no phyſick better than a vomit, if it be given in time; and therefore you have taken a very judicious courſe to adminiſter one ſo early to my Lord of Cork. I hope it will do him good, though perchance he thinks not ſo, for if the fever hang long about him or the reſt, it will certainly ſhake either them or their eſtates in pieces. Go on, my Lord, I muſt needs ſay this is *thorough* indeed, and ſo is your phyſick too; for a vomit never ends kindly, that doth not work both ways, and that is *thorough* (66).' In his anſwer to this, the deputy, among other things, writes as follows. ‘ For the *ifs* your Lordſhip is pleaſed to impute unto me, you ſhall hereafter have more poſitive doctrine. I know no reaſon then but you may as well rule the common lawyers in England, as I poor beagle, do here; and yet that I do, and will do in all that concerns my maſter's ſervice, upon the peril of my head. I am confident that the King, being pleaſed to ſet himſelf in the buſineſs, is able by his wiſdom and miniſters to carry any juſt and honorable action *thorough* all imaginable oppoſition, for real there can be none; that to ſtart aſide for ſuch panick fears, phantaſtick apparations as a Prynn or an Elliot ſhall ſet up, were the meaneſt folly in the whole world; that the debts of the crown taken off, you may govern as you pleaſe; and moſt reſolute I am, that work may be done without borrowing any help forth of the King's lodgings, and that is as downright a *Peccatum ex te Iſrael*, as ever was, if all this be not effected with ſpeed and care (67).' Accordingly, in a letter to the ſame friend, wrote within a year after, having obſerved, that he had gallantly overcome all difficulties in ſettling the affairs there, both in church and ſtate, he concludes thus: ‘ So as now I can ſay, the King is as abſolute here as any prince in the whole world can be, and may be ſtill, if it be not ſpoiled on that ſide. For ſo long as his Majeſty ſhall have here a deputy of faith and underſtanding, and that he be preſerved in credit and independent upon any but the King himſelf, let it be laid as a ground, it is the deputy's fault, if the King be denied any reaſonable deſire (68).' We need not mention, that it was this *thorough* principle which brought the heads of both to the block.

[*N*] *He married a daughter of Sir Godfrey Rhodes.*] He was ſomewhat aſhamed of this unequal match*, and made an apology for it to his laſt-mentioned ghoſtly father, who in return declared himſelf entirely ſatisfied therewith. ‘ And now, my Lord,' writes he to the Deputy, ‘ I heartily wiſh you and your Lady all mutual content that may be, and I did never doubt, that you undertook that courſe but upon mature conſideration, and you have been pleaſed to expreſs to me a very good one, in which God bleſs you and your poſterity, tho' I did not write any thing to you as an Examiner (69).' He did not think proper to carry her over with him to Ireland, but left her to the care of his truſty friend, Sir G. Radcliffe, who brought her ladyſhip thither in January 1633 (70). She behaved very dutifully, and he lived very well with her; nor indeed would the noble generoſity of his honour have ſuffered him to treat her ill, if there had been provocation ſufficient for it. This is one good effect of ſupreme pride, in diſdaining every thing that may any ways diſparage the dignity of that union, which makes the wife one fleſh with her huſband. We are able to pleaſure the reader with ſeveral of his letters to this lady, which have been copied by us from the originals in *Muſæo Thoreſbeiano*, and which are the more curious as they have never yet appeared in print, are not in the collection of his printed letters and ſtate papers, and probably not in the poſſeſſion of any of his family. The firſt was apparently wrote ſoon after the marriage, which being performed in ſo private a manner, he imagined ſome ſcruples and uneaſy thoughts

(65) Ibid. p. 124, 125.

(66) P. 155, 156. Letter is dated from Lambeth, Nov. 15. 1633.

(67) p. 173. in a letter dated Dublin-Caſtle, this —— Dec. 1633.

(68) p. 344. This letter is dated Dec. 16, 1643.

* He had declined an offer made to him by the Earl of Cork of a daughter, who was afterwards married to Geo. Goring, ſon to the Earl of Norwich. Idem, vol. I. p. 86.

(69) p. 25. in a letter dated Lambeth, Oct. 14. 1633.

(70) Appendix to vol. II. No. 1. Radcliffe's eſſay, &c. vide p. 157.

which being a match ſomewhat beneath his preſent dignity, the ceremony was performed in private, and he kept as much as poſſible the marriage from tranſpiring till he had croſ-
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thoughts might poſſibly ariſe in her mind about the validity of it, and ſome doubts of his fidelity in obſerving it, therefore to free her from any ſuch jealouſies he ſent her the following addreſs:

‘ MADAM:

‘ I have in little much to ſay to you, and in ſhort terms to profeſs that which I muſt appear all my life-long, or els one of us muſt be much to blame. But in truthe I have that confidence in you, and that aſſeurance in myſelf, as to reſt ſecure, the faulte will never be made on either ſide. Well then; this little and this much, this ſhort and this long, which I aim at, is no more, than to give you this firſt written teſtimony, that I am your huſbande, and that huſbande of yours, that will ever diſchardge thoſe dutyes of love and reſpect towards you, which good women may expectt, and are iuſtly due from good men to diſchardge them with a hallowed care and continued perſeverance in them; and this is not only much, but all which belongs me; and wherein I ſhall treade out the remaindure of life, which is left me; more I cannot ſay; nor perform much more for the preſentt, the reſt muſt dwell in hope, untill I have made it up in the ballance, that I am and muſt be noe other than your ever loving huſbande,

Yorke, this 30th of October, 1632. ‘ WENTWORTH.’

‘ If you will ſpeak to my couſin Radcliffe for the paſte I told you on for your teeth, and deſire him to ſpeak to Dr Moore in my name for 2 potts of it, and that the doctor will ſee it be good, for this laſt indeed was not ſoe, you may bring me one downe *, and keepe the other yourſelf.’

On the back of this letter are theſe words in a woman's hand:

‘ Tom was borne the ſeventeenth of September, being Wedneſday, in the morning betwixt two and three o'clock, and was chriſtened of the ſeventh of October 1634.’

Having received an acknowledgment of this kind letter from her, drawn up, as he thought, in ſomewhat too humble a ſtrain, he returned the following anſwer:

‘ DEAR BESSE:

‘ Your firſt lines were wellcum unto me, and I will keepe them, in regard I take them to be full, as of kindneſſe, ſoe of truth. It is noe preſumption for you to write unto me, the fellowſhippe of marriadge ought to carry with itt more of love and equality than any other apprehenſion. Soe I deſire itt may ever be betwixt us, nor ſhall it breake of my partte. Vertue is the higheſt valew we can ſett upon ourſelves in this world, and the cheafe which others are to eſteeme us by. That preſerved, we becum capable of the nobleſt impreſſions which can be imparted unto us. You ſucceed in this family two of the rareſt ladies of their time; equall them in thoſe excellent diſpoſitions of your minde, and you becum every wayes equally worthy of any thing that they had, or that the reſt of the world can give: And be you ever aſſeured to be by me cheriſhed and aſſiſted the beſt I can thorow the whole courſe of my life, whearein I ſhall be noe other to you, then I was to them, to witt,

‘ Your loving huſbande,

Yorke, the 19th day of November 1632. ‘ WENTWORTH.’

The next letter to her is dated from Sligo, July 27, 1635, wherein he ſends his bleſſing to little Tom. It is about domeſtic affairs; as is alſo the next, dated from Caſha, 6th September, 1638. He ſet out for England in 1639, in a bad ſtate of health; therefore he had no ſooner croſſed the ſea, and entered Cheſter, than he diſpatched a letter to her from that city, dated Eaſter Tueſday, three o'clock in the afternoon, wherein having given her a particular account of the ſtate of his health, occaſioned by the gout, and a flux, he concludes with God's bleſſing to the child. In the next letter, which is dated from Whitehall, December 19th, 1639, he acquaints her with the time of his intended return to Ireland; ‘ When,’ concludes he, ‘ God willing, by his good pleaſure you will ſee the Lieutenant of Ireland, but never like to have a Deputy of Ireland to your huſbande any more.’——The next is dated from Covent Garden, 16th February, 1639, wherein, after ſome other domeſtic affairs, he writes thus: ‘ The two wenches are in perfect health, and now at this inſtant in this houſe, lodged with me, and rather deſirous to be ſoe, then with their grandmother *. I am not yet fully reſolved what to do with them.’ The next is dated October 8, 1640, but no place is mentioned, and the ſuperſcription is loſt, he concludes with his bleſſing to the baby, and his three ſiſters: ‘ Tell ſuch of them,’ ſays he, ‘ as can ſpeak, I will write to them by George Carré: howbeit, this paſſage I write to nobody but their mother.’

He was taken into cuſtody of the black rod on his general impeachment, Nov. 11, and in a few days after he wrote to his lady as follows:

‘ SWEET HART:

‘ You have heard before this what hath befallen me in this place: but be you confident, that if I fortune to be blamed, yet I will not by God's help be aſhamed. Your carriage upon this misfortune I ſhould adviſe to be calm, not ſeeming to be neglective of my trouble, and yet ſo as there may appear no dejection in you. Continue on the family as formerly, and make much of your children. Tell Will, Nan, and Arbella, I will write to them by the next. In the mean time I ſhall pray for them to God, that he may bleſs them, and for their ſakes deliver me out of the furious malice of my enemies, which yet I truſt through the goodneſſe of God ſhall do me no hurt. God have us all in his bleſſed keeping.

‘ Your very loving huſbande,

16 Nov. 1640. ‘ STRAFFORDE.’

The articles of his impeachment being carried up to the lords, he was committed to the Tower, Nov. 25. And on the 13th of December he addreſſed his lady in theſe endearing terms:

‘ SWEET HART:

‘ I never pityed you ſo much as I do now, for in the death of that great perſon the Deputy, you have loſt the principal friend you had there, whilſt we are here riding out the ſtorm, as well as God and the ſeaſon ſhall give us leave. Yet I truſt Lord Dillon will ſupply unto you in part that great loſs, till it pleaſe God to bring us together again. As to my ſelf, albeit all be done againſt me, that art and malice can deviſe, with all the rigour poſſible, yet I am in great inward quietneſſe, and a ſtrong beliefe God will deliver me out of all theſe troubles. The more I look into my caſe, the more hope I have, and ſure, if there be any honour and juſtice left, my life will not be in danger, and for any thing els, time I truſt will ſalve any other hurt which can be done me. Therefore hold up your heart, look to the children and your houſe, let me have your prayers, and at laſt by God's good pleaſure we ſhall have our deliverance, when we may as little look for it, as we did for this blow of misfortune, which, I truſt, will make us better to God and man.

‘ Your loving huſbande,

13 December 1640. ‘ STRAFFORDE.’

‘ I praiſe God my health is very good, ſo is Sir Geo. Radcliffe. We now expect Sir Robert King daily.’

The next is dated Tower of London, 16th of Jan. 1640. It is to the ſame purpoſe as the preceding one. Among other things he makes the following remark: ‘ Sir George Radcliffe,’ ſays he, ‘ is charged for treaſon, but has as good an opinion of my caſe as of his own.’ He writes to her again from the Tower in theſe terms:

‘ It is now long ſince I wrote to you, for I am here
‘ in

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* This expreſſion intimates her Ladyſhip to be then in London, where probably the marriage rite was performed.

* He had ſent them to their grandmother Lady Clare, at her own requeſt. See Rem. [F].

ſed the ſea into Ireland, which was not before the latter end of July the following year, 1633 (z). He brought with him a ſet of inſtructions, which were drawn by himſelf, and which inveſted him with power to the full extent of his wiſhes [O] at that time; yet upon his arrival in Ireland we find him applying for a farther enlargement of his power [P]. However at the ſame time he ſet himſelf immediately upon the execution of the forementioned plan, and in a few days obtained the council's conſent to make ſuch a proviſion for the ſupport of the army, as had been declared by themſelves before his arrival to be an impoſſible work (aa). He had carried this point purely by the hopes he gave them of having a parliament. The meeting of a parliament was a matter of the laſt conſequence, and the niceſt delicacy (bb), and the Deputy's conſummate abilities ſhine forth in no part of his adminiſtration with greater luſtre than they do in compaſſing the King's conſent to have one called, and in the conducting the courſe of it to the deſired iſſue (cc). His Majeſty had conceived an utter diſguſt and even dread of thoſe aſſemblies, and had reſolved to govern England without them, nor had there been one for many years in Ireland. But all obſtacles of every kind were removed by the Deputy. The

'in ſuch a trouble as gives me little or no reſpit. The 'charge is now come in, and I am now able, I praiſe 'God, to tell you, that I conceive there is nothing 'capital, and for the reſt, I know at the worſt His 'Majeſty will pardon without hurting my fortune, and 'then ſhall be happy. Therefore comfort yourſelf, 'for I truſt theſe clouds will away, and that we ſhall 'have fair weather afterwards. Farewell.

'Your lovinge huſbande,

Tower of London,
Feb. 4, 1640.

'STRAFFORDE.'

His laſt letter to her is dated likewiſe from the Tower, 19 April, in which he ſays, his trial as to fact was at an end, and there only remained matter of law to be ſpoken to; that the king continued very gracious to him, and his friends increaſed rather than leſſened; he truſts all will end well, and prays her to be of good cheer.

In his laſt letter to his only ſon (71), he recommends her to his kindneſs in theſe terms; 'Be ſure you give 'all reſpect to my wife, that hath ever had a great 'love unto you, and therefore will be well becoming 'you'——— She ſurvived his untimely end many years, and did not die till the 10th of April, 1688. One of her daughters by his Lordſhip, namely, Lady Margaret Wentworth, died unmarried *.

[O] *He obtained ſome extraordinary powers for the government of Ireland.*] They were drawn up by himſelf, as propoſitions to be conſidered of by his Majeſty, and are as follows: (1.) That his Majeſty may declare his expreſs pleaſure, that no Iriſh ſuit by way of reward be moved for by any of his ſervants or others, before the ordinary revenue there become able to ſuſtain the neceſſary charge of that crown, and the debts thereof be fully cleared. (2.) That there be an expreſs caveat entered with the ſecretaries, ſignet, privy ſeal, and great ſeal here; that no grant of what nature ſoever concerning Ireland be ſuffered to paſs, till the deputy be made acquainted, and it hath firſt paſſed the great ſeal of that kingdom, according to the uſual manner. (3.) That his Majeſty ſignify his pleaſure, that eſpecial care be taken hereafter, that ſufficient and credible perſons be choſen to ſupply ſuch biſhopricks as ſhall fall void, to be admitted of his privy council, to ſit as judges, and ſerve of his learned council there: That he will vouchſafe to hear the advice of his council, before he reſolve of any in theſe caſes: That the deputy be commanded to inform his Majeſty truly and impartially of every man's particular diligence and care in his ſervice there, to the end his Majeſty may timely and graciouſly reward the well-deſerving, by calling them home to better preferments here. (4.) That no particular complaint of injuſtice or oppreſſion be admitted here againſt any, unleſs it appear the party made his firſt addreſs to the deputy. (5.) That no confirmation of any reverſion of offices within that kingdom be had, or any new grant of a reverſion hereafter do paſs. (6.) That the places in the deputy's gift, as well of the civil as of the martial liſt, be left freely to his diſpoſe; and that his Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed not to paſs them to any upon ſuit made unto him here. (7.) That no new office be erected within that kingdom before ſuch time as the deputy be made therewith acquainted, his opinion firſt required, and certified back accordingly.

To theſe were added the following private propoſitions upon the ſame ſubject. (1.) That all propoſitions moving from the deputy, touching matters of revenue, may be directed to the lord treaſurer of England, without acquainting the reſt of the committee for Iriſh affairs. (2.) That the addreſs of all other diſpatches for that kingdom be by ſpecial direction of his Majeſty applied to one of the ſecretaries ſingly †. (3.) That the Lord Viſcount Falkland be required to deliver in writing in what condition he conceives his Majeſty's revenue and the government of that kingdom now ſtand, together with a particular of ſuch deſigns for advancing his Majeſty's ſervice as were either unbegun or unperfected by him, when he left the place, as alſo his advice how they may be beſt purſued and effected. (4.) That his Majeſty would be pleaſed to direct, that ſo much as his wiſdom approves of the publick propoſitions, may be delivered to the ſecretary to be read at the board, with order that the ſame there approved may be entered in the council-book, that his Majeſty's pleaſure may be publickly known, and uniformly obeyed. Out of theſe private propoſitions Mr Secretary Coke taking ſo much as he held fit to be entered, gave direction that the ſame, together with the ſeven former propoſitions, ſhould be entered in the council-book; which ſeven propoſitions firſt entered, were read and approved at the council-board the 17th of February 1631 (72). After which both the public ones, approved at the council-table, and the private, allowed by the King himſelf, were by his order entered in the council-book, to be conſtantly obſerved. The whole being ſigned by Mr Secretary Coke, who before his departure for Ireland ſent him, by the King's command, the following advices: 'Your inſtructions, as you know, as well as 'the eſtabliſhment, are changeable upon occaſions for 'the advancement of the affairs. And as you will be 'careful not to change without cauſe, ſo when you 'find it neceſſary, his Majeſty will conform them, by 'his wiſdom to that he findeth fit, upon your advice. (73)'

[P] *We find him applying to his friend the Treaſurer for a ſtill farther enlargement of power.*] 'I find them, 'in this place,' writes he to this ſure friend, 'a company of men the moſt intent upon their own ends 'that ever I met with, and ſo as thoſe ſpeed, they 'conſider other things at a very great diſtance.

'I take the crown to have been very ill ſerved, and 'altogether impoſſible for me to remedy, *unleſs I be 'intirely truſted, and lively aſſiſted and countenanced by 'his Majeſty*; which I am bold to write unto your 'lordſhip once for all, not for any end of my own, 'but ſingly for his Majeſty's ſervice.

'Beſides, what is to be done muſt be ſpeedily exe'cuted, it being the genius of this country to obey a 'deputy better upon his entrance than upon his de'parture from them, and therefore I promiſe your 'lordſhip, I will take my time: For whilſt they take 'me to be a perſon of much more power with the 'King, and of ſtronger abilities in myſelf, than indeed 'I have reaſon, either in fact or right, to judge my'ſelf to be, I ſhall, it may be, do the King ſome ſer'vice: But if my weakneſs therein once happen to 'be diſcovered by them in this kingdom, for the love 'of God, my lord, let me be taken home; for I ſhall 'but loſe the King's affairs, and my own time after'wards, and my unprofitableneſs in the former, I 'confeſs, will grieve me much more than any preju'dice that may happen to my own particular by the 'expence of the latter.'

(z) Radcliffe, who carried her into Ireland in January following.

(aa) Strafforde's letters, &c. vol. I. p. 71. The army had been paid from 1628 out of a grant of 120,000 *l.* to be raiſed by contribution; which being nearly exhauſted, he obtained the grant of a new contribution of 20000 *l.* to pay the army till Dec. 31. 1632. Ib. p. 99.

(bb) Idem ibid. p. 134. Before his departure from England he had obtained the conſent thereto of his Majeſty, who after the Deputy's arrival in Ireland confirmed that conſent, and the Deputy at his requeſt ſettled the plan of it entirely to his ſatisfaction. Ibid. p. 113. & ſeqq.

(cc) Which at laſt by the additional collections from the clergy and nobility, amounted ſoon after to 54000 *l.* each.

(71) Strafforde's letters, vol. 2. p. 416. The letter is dated Tower, 11th of May, 1641, the day before his execution.

* Thoreſby's Ducatus Leodienſis, p. 91 and 141. But we have not found any account of the reſt.

† *This I will have done by Secretary Coke*, ſo written by the King himſelf upon the original paper, whereby it alſo appears that the firſt and third of theſe private propoſitions were added by his Majeſty's ſpecial command.

(72) Idem, p. 91. in a letter dated 11th June 1633.

(73) It is ſomewhat remarkable, that among the names of the counſellors is that of Lord Viſcount Falkland, who was removed from the government of Ireland, and ſucceeded by our Deputy, whom under a fair outſide he laboured all he could to diſparage, which was equally reſented by Wentworth. See vol. I. letters in p. 102. 138. 179. and 162, 163.

(74) p. 96. Letter dated Dublin 3d Aug. 1633.

King expreſsly approved his conduct [Q], and having received freſh aſſurances of his Majeſty's countenance and protection [R], he ſent out ſummons on the 2d of June 1634, for the meeting of a parliament on the 14th of July following. They met accordingly on that day, and with the greateſt ſplendor and ſtately magnificence Ireland had ever ſeen [S]. Next morning (for the former day was wholly ſpent in the ceremonial) the Deputy

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[Q] *The King expreſsly approved his conduct.*] Having ſent a full account of his proceedings in every particular to Secretary Coke, he received the following anſwer. ‘ Your letter, dated the 3d of Auguſt, containeth that large declaration of your proceedings which you promiſed in the end of the former. Your lordſhip's civil viſit made to the juſtices that morning before you took your oath and the ſword, is very much commended. Your calling a full board the next day, and your effectual expreſſion of his Majeſty's juſt offence and reſolution for the puniſhment of the inſolence committed by the Biſhop of Kilfanora, by the Lord Balfour, and others (75); the charge and proofs given by Mr Radcliffe, and avowed by Sir William Reeves, and the order given thereupon for proceeding againſt them by information, or *ore tenus*; and particularly the preſſing of the Lord Balfour to his anſwer, are all approved by his Majeſty as good and worthy ſervices. As are alſo both the charge and the letters given to the judges *, and your reſolution to require an account at their return, by which you may make your directions to be obeyed. But your maſter peece followeth, in procuring the contribution to be continued for the army, which formerly was cried down as an impoſſible work (76). The neceſſity was well grounded upon their own counſels (77), and the manner well referred to their ſeveral opinions to be given in ſuch ſort as you might repreſent them to the King: the time alſo was well granted for mature deliberation; and the particular recommendation to thoſe that had commands in the army was no leſs important; and all theſe his Majeſty underſtandeth as moſt pertinent to his good ſervice. So the entrance made the next day upon the commiſſion for defective titles was alſo to good purpoſe, that no time might be loſt. That your lordſhip next recites is the debate of the main buſineſs at the appointed time, wherein the teſtimony you give to Sir Adam Loftus, who firſt brake the ice, and adviſed the continuance of the contribution for a year longer, with the deſire of a parliament (78) in the mean time, hath given his Majeſty ſo good an aſſurance of his affection for his ſervice, that he requireth you to let him know how well he doth accept it, and that he will be mindful of him, as there ſhall be cauſe. The doubts which ſome made, not pertinent to the buſineſs (79) are interpreted as diverſions out of an ill intent to embroil the debate, and to make good thoſe former letters, which were written in the ſame ſtyle: and this his Majeſty will be ſenſible of, when he thinketh fit. But whatſoever the meaning was, they were bravely encountered by your lordſhip's wiſe and preſent reſolution to undertake of yourſelf to make the army ſubſiſt: whereby you did not only ſtop any further adherence to oppoſition, but confirmed the well-affected, and drew all the reſt to a conformable ſenſe, which produced a general conſent to that fair propoſition, of making offer to his Majeſty under their hands of this next year's contribution, with deſire of a parliament. This offer his Majeſty hath accepted moſt graciouſly from them all, and with particular thanks to the Lord Chancellor, the Earls of Ormond and Corke (80), and the Lord Mountnorris, for their forwardneſs above the reſt.

‘ It remaineth that like offer be procured from the Popiſh party, which your lordſhip aſſureth will be obtained in a ſhort time: and ſo to ſettle the ordinary payments for a year and a half longer, which his Majeſty eſteemeth as a work worthy of that truſt and confidence he repoſeth in you, and as a pledge of that fruit in your government there, which he doth expect. And by this beginning he diſcerneth the difference in the carriage of his affairs, when ſuch a deputy reſideth upon the place.

‘ For the parliament which is deſired, your lordſhip knoweth, that his Majeſty hath had it heretofore in his intention, and now on this occaſion will in ſhort time declare his pleaſure in it, and expecteth your opinion within the appointed time. The laſt clauſe of this letter declareth the help you have at the council-board by the Maſter of the Rolls [Sir Chriſtopher Wandesford] and Mr [afterwards Sir George] Radcliffe: of whoſe good ſervices his Majeſty taketh notice, and according to your deſire hath ſigned a warrant to ſwear Mr Radcliffe of the council there, which Mr Railton * will ſend unto you (81).’ There cannot be a more conſpicuous proof of the entire harmony that at this time ſubſiſted between the King and his deputy, than is furniſhed by theſe two letters, of which the latter is a complete echo to the former, as is obſerved to be the caſe of the addreſſes of the parliament upon his Majeſty's ſpeech at the opening of every ſeſſion, while the like harmony ſubſiſts between them.

[R] *Received freſh aſſurances of encouragement from the King.*] The letter begins in theſe terms:

‘ May it pleaſe your lordſhip:

‘ Your large heart and generous pen are well met, and it were pity that ſo much nobleneſs ſhould ever want ſuch full expreſſions. Their only misfortune is, that they are beſtowed upon an object ſo much below them, which yet will be repaired, if not in the honour that reverts to your lordſhip in deſcending ſo much from yourſelf, for my ſake, yet I am ſure in that which remains upon me. I preſent my humble thanks to your lordſhip for this ſingle favour, and wiſh I were able to lend that light to the ſun, which it is contented to borrow from me. Any interpoſition of mine muſt rather cauſe an eclipſe, which his Majeſty's ſervices in thoſe miſty and cloudy parts (eſpecially as your lordſhip finds them, and as affairs have been managed heretofore) have little need of. Yet becauſe your lordſhip adjures me by ſo high and ſacred an obligation as the true friendſhip you do me the honour and right to promiſe yourſelf from me, I will take the liberty (rather than diſobey your lordſhip) to repreſent unto you ſome particulars concerning your carriage in that great and weighty ſervice, which are come to my knowledge.’

‘ Firſt, My Lord, his Majeſty obſerves, and hath expreſly commanded me to let you know it, that he finds you very able and dextrous, and as direct and entire in all his affairs there, and that through your judicious carriage and diligence, he doubts not but to reduce that kingdom into a flouriſhing eſtate, and to raiſe the revenue thereof to a fair improvement. To which purpoſe beſides this gracious acceptance, he hath been pleaſed likewiſe to will me to aſſure your lordſhip, you ſhall have no impediments, but all encouragement and furtherance, from his Majeſty; and therefore, what letters ſoever may be won from him by importunity, his expreſs pleaſure is, that you depart not from ſuch rules and inſtructions as have been given you, or you have ſettled to yourſelf, for the advancement of his ſervice. Only to free his Majeſty from harſh and flat denials, you muſt be contented to take upon you the refuſing part, as you did in the buſineſs of the Earl of Carliſle to his Majeſty's extreme ſatisfaction (82).’ Mr Secretary Coke alſo ſent him a letter of the ſame date, with the fulleſt aſſurances of the King's entire ſatisfaction with every particular of his proceedings, the army and plantations, which are there run over, and a freſh engagement to ſupport him therein (83), which was alſo confirmed by a letter to him from the King himſelf (84).

[S] *The parliament met in great ſtate*, &c.] The manner of their proceeding was ſo extraordinary, that the following particular account thereof it is ſuppoſed will be acceptable. They proceeded then in this order:

One foot company.
Two Trumpets.
One Troop of Horſe.
Two Meſſengers.
Gentlemen, two and two.

Eſquires,

(75) For refuſing to pay their ſhares of the contribution for the ſupport of the army. Poſtſcript of Deputy's letter to Lord Cottington in p. 88.

* To vindicate in their charges on the circuits the continuance of the contribution, and the iſſuing out a commiſſion of defective titles. See Deputy's letter, p. 97—100. to which this is the anſwer. The judges on their return reported, that the people had expreſſed their ſatisfaction in both, p. 133.

(76) See the King's letter dated April 14, 1632. to the Lords Juſtices of Ireland in p. 71.

(77) In a letter to the Deputy from the Lords Juſtices, Adam Loftus and R. Corke, dated at Dublin-Caſtle, Feb. 26. 1631. p. 67—70.

(78) It was the hopes of a parliament that drew their conſent to the contribution, in the view of preventing it from being entailed annually upon them for ever. See the Deputy's letter as before.

(79) Principally Sir Will. Parſons, Maſter of the wards, whom the Deputy charges with having penned the letter referred to in note (77). Letters, p. 99.

(80) This Earl was ſilent in the debate, till the Deputy propoſed a parliament, and then he effectually concurred with the reſt. Deputy's letter. He had oppoſed the deſign of continuing the contribution, and preſſed the levying the 12d. a Sunday upon the recuſants with diligence. p. 75.

* This gentleman was a faithful agent of the Deputy's, as appears through the whole courſe of his letters.

(81) P. 114, 115. Letter from Secretary Coke to the Deputy, dated Sept. 20, 1633.

(82) p. 160.—The letter is dated Nov. 20, 1633. Secretary Coke had aſſured him before, that however his ſeverity was apprehended before his going over, yet he had heard no exception, but much applauſe of his juſtice and moderation, as well as his integrity and induſtry in advancing the King's ſervice. p. 138. letter of Oct. 24, 1633.

(83) p. 158—160.

(84) p. 164, 165.

puty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech to both houſes, declaring what his Majeſty expected from them, to wit, an hundred thouſand pounds debt to be diſcharged, and twenty thouſand pounds a year conſtant and ſtanding revenue to be ſettled for payment of the army: That his Majeſty intended to have two ſeſſions of this parliament, the one for himſelf, the other for them; ſo as if they without condition ſupplied the King in this, they might be ſure his Majeſty would go along with them in the next meeting through all the expreſſions of a gracious and good King. All which he fortified (they are his own words) *(dd)* with the beſt reaſons and in the mildeſt manner he could, not departing from the dignity of the perſon he had the honour to repreſent [*T*]. Conformably to this ſpeech he proceeded to urge the ſupply, and moſt ſurprizingly worked them up to paſs a grant for no leſs than ſix ſubſidies of thirty thouſand pounds each, to be paid within the ſpace of four years. Prompted by the merit of this important ſervice, and encouraged by the conſtant ſupport in all his meaſures by his Majeſty, who had yielded to every requeſt he had made for the enlargement of his powers in the exerciſe of his poſt, he ventured to petition for an Earldom. But here for the firſt time he met with a repulſe [*U*]; which yet

(dd) Straffordeʼs ſpeeches, &c. vol. I. p. 288.

Eſquires, two and two.

The ſix Clerks of the Chancery, two and two.

Clerk of the Council, and Clerk of the Houſe of Commons, Clerk of the upper Houſe, and Clerk of the Crown.

Secretaries two. *They went in another place, being Troopers.*

Steward and Comptroller.

The King's Puiſne Serjeant at Law.

Maſters of the Chancery.

The King's Sollicitor and Attorney.

The King's ancienteſt Serjeants at Law.

Knights Bachelors.

Barons of the Exchequer.

Judges of the Common Pleas.

Judges of the King's Bench.

Two Trumpets.

Two Meſſengers.

Privy Counſellors not Barons, viz.

Knights, according to the ſeniority of their Knighthood.

The Baronets.

The principal Secretary.

The Maſter of the Ordnance. *His Lordſhip went in another place, being a Baron.*

The Maſter of the Rolls.

The Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

The Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas.

The Maſter of the Court of Wards.

The Lord Chief Juſtice of the chief place.

The Treaſurer at War. *He being a Baron, went elſewhere.*

The Vice Treaſurer. *He alſo walked elſewhere, being a Baron.*

The Marſhal, *He walked among the Viſcounts, being one of them.*

The Lord Preſident of Munſter.

Two Meſſengers.

Barons in their Robes, two and two; youngeſt foremoſt. *There were in all* 39, *preſent and abſent.*

Biſhops, *according to their conſecration, two and two, the youngeſt foremoſt, except the* Biſhop of Meath, *who precedes the reſt, without reſpect to conſecration. There were* 20 *of theſe.*

Two Trumpets.

Athlone Purſuivant at Arms.

Viſcounts *in their Parliament Robes, two and two, the youngeſt foremoſt; theſe preſent and abſent amounted to* 44.

Earls in their Parliament Robes, two and two, the youngeſt foremoſt. Of theſe were 16 preſent and abſent. But the Earls of Corke, Ormond, and Kildare, walked in another place: the firſt being Lord Treaſurer, the ſecond bore the Sword, and the third bore the Cap of Eſtate.

Lord Treaſurer,
Archbiſhop of Tuam.
Archbiſhop of Caſhell.
Archbiſhop of Dublin.
Archbiſhop of Ardmagh, Lord Primate of Ireland.

The Lord Chancellor, with the Seal, alone.

A Gentleman Uſher.

Ulſter King at Arms.

A Gentleman Uſher.

A Serjeant at Arms.
A Serjeant at Arms to flank the ſword
The SWORD,
born by
The Earl of ORMOND.
A Serjeant at Arms to flank the ſword.

A Cap of Eſtate, borne by the Earl of Kildare.

Footmen.
Yeomen of the Horſe.
The
LORD DEPUTY.
His Train borne up by
the Lord Brabazon,
Sir Robert Loftus, and
Mr Arthur Jones.
A Secretary of Foot.
Footmen.
Yeomen of the Horſe.

The Gentleman of the Horſe, leading an Horſe of Eſtate.

The Colonel.

The Guard.

Two Trumpets.

A Troop of Horſe.

And thus they proceeded to church.

The Lord Deputy being arrived at St Patrick's church, was received by the dean, prebendaries, and choriſters, going before the Lords Archbiſhops of Tuam and Caſhell, ſinging *Te Deum laudamus*; and when the Lord Deputy was come into his ſeat, then the Lords took their places which were prepared for them; the Biſhops by themſelves, and the Temporal Lords by themſelves: but all the Lords did ſtand till the Lord Deputy was placed in his ſtate. Sermon ended, they returned to the Caſtle in the ſame manner that they went to church (85).

(85) p. 285, 286.

[*T*] *Not departing from the dignity of the perſon he had the honour to repreſent.*] The following paragraph in this ſpeech is ſomething remarkable. ‘Let me adviſe you,’ ſays he, ‘ſuffer no poor ſuſpicions or jea‘louſies to vitiate your judgments, much rather become ‘you wiſe by others harms. You cannot be ignorant ‘of the misfortunes theſe meetings have run of late ‘years in England; ſtrike not therefore upon the ſame ‘rock of diſtruſt, which hath ſo often ſhivered them. ‘For whatever other accident this miſchief may be ‘aſſigned unto, there was nothing elſe that brought it ‘upon us, but the King's juſt ſtanding to have the ho‘nour of our truſt, and our ill-grounded obſtinate ‘fears, that would not be ſecured. This was that ſpi‘rit of the air that walked in darkneſs, abuſing both; ‘whereon if once one beam of light and truth had ‘happily reflected, it had paſſed over, as clouds with‘out rain, and left the King far better contented with ‘his people, and them much more happy, albeit as ‘they are (thanks to God and his Majeſty) the hap‘pieſt of the whole world (86).’

(86) p. 289.

[*U*] *He met with a repulſe.*] His addreſs on this occaſion to the King begins thus:

‘May it pleaſe Your Sacred Majeſty:

‘So many have been your Majeſty's conſtant favours yet was tempered with ſo much goodneſs, beſides a freſh aſſurance of protecting him in the further proſecution of his meaſures, that how much ſoever he laid the diſappointment (as he really did) to heart, yet he reſolved to go on with unabated vigour in the ſervice of his royal Maſter, and in the next ſeſſions of parliament which met for the redreſs of grievances in the beginning of October the ſame year, he managed with ſo much dexterity, that every motion for any grant from the crown, which was deemed to treſpaſs in the leaſt upon the prerogative, was immediately ſtifled in the birth (*ee*), and no graces paſſed but ſuch as both in the matter and manner of granting them, eſtabliſhed the King's abſolute and unconditioned ſovereignty. The parliament being ſo well affected, and compoſed as it was, was ſuffered to continue ſitting, with ſome prorogations, till the middle of April 1635 (*ff*) [*W*], when it broke up, and left the Deputy in a broken ſtate of health, through the fatigue he underwent in managing it. But he comforted himſelf with the full perſuaſion that it was the happieſt parliament Ireland ever had, having done more for the King, more for the church, and more for the ſettling and ſecuring of the ſubject than any that had gone before it. 'Very confident,' ſays he, 'I am, his Majeſty hath now made himſelf more abſolute maſter of this kingdom by his wiſdom, than any of his progenitors were ever able to do by their ſwords (*gg*).' But ſuch extraordinary changes being never wrought without creating ſome malecontents, the Deputy did not reap his glorious harveſt without a mixture of ſuch tares. He was informed that the Jeſuits and friars in particular threatened him with a Felton or a Raviliac [*X*]. Theſe however were not his

moſt

(*ff*) Several of the Deputy's letters ſoon after.

(*ee*) One of theſe was a motion for repealing Poyning's act, which was abſolutely denied by the Deputy, p. 345. who entered his proteſt againſt it in writing.

(*gg*) Letter of Deputy to Lord Danby, p. 414.

'vours towards me, as I find a great conflict in myſelf to become a ſuitor for any thing to be added, where it is not in me to merit the leaſt of thoſe already received; nor could I have been drawn to the boldneſs of ſuch a requeſt, but that the conſideration of your Majeſty's ſervice doth partly harden me thereunto.

'The affairs here, as I conceive, are in a very proſperous way, and under your ſovereign power and wiſdom by few other means ſo much to be improved, as by the credit you ſhall vouchſafe to him that hath the truſt to ſerve your Majeſty in this place. Believe me, Sir, if I do not much miſtake myſelf, there fall into conſideration very great ſervices to be done in this kingdom, far greater than either are yet effected, or by me tranſmitted, or than indeed I dare propound, till I have a little better prepared them for your Majeſty's judgment. In the interim, the ambition which moves me powerfully to ſerve your Majeſty, as my obligations are above thoſe that preceded in this employment, ſuggeſt unto me an hope I may be more enabled in thoſe reſtleſs deſires of mine, if I might before our meeting again in parliament receive ſo great a mark of your favour as to have this family honoured with an earldom. I have choſen therefore with all humbleneſs to addreſs theſe lines immediately to yourſelf, as one utterly purpoſed to acknowledge all to your princely grace, and without deriving the leaſt of the privity or thanks elſewhere. And yet retaining ſo much modeſty, as I ſhall with an equal and contented ſubmiſſion expect your Majeſty's good pleaſure, fully ſatisfied, if either you ſhall be pleaſed to grant my ſuit, or vouchſafe ſo to ſilence me herein, as no other perſon know hereafter, your Majeſty found it in your wiſdom not fit to be done,' &c. (87)

(87) p. 301, 302.

Notwithſtanding the caution herein given for privacy, the deputy applied to Archbiſhop Laud (his other ſelf) to further his ſuit (88). But the King anſwered that to himſelf in theſe terms:

(88) p. 331.

'WENTWORTH,

'Before I anſwer any of your particular letters, I muſt tell you, that your laſt public diſpatch has given me a great deal of contentment, and eſpecially for keeping off the envy of a neceſſary negative from me of thoſe unreaſonable graces, that people expected from me, not in one particular diſſenting from your opinion (that is of moment as I remember) but concerning the tallow, and that but *ad referendum* neither. Now I will begin concerning your ſuit, though laſt come to my hands; and firſt for the form, that is to ſay, in coming to me not only primarily, but ſolely, without ſo much as acquainting any body with it, the bearer being as ignorant as any: This I do not only commend, but recommend to you to follow always hereafter, at leaſt in what concerns your own particular. For to ſervants of your quality (and ſome degrees under too) I allow of no mediators, tho' friends are commendable; for the dependence muſt come merely from me and to me. And as for matter, I deſire you not to think, that I am diſpleaſed with the aſking, though for the preſent I grant it not. For I acknowledge that noble minds are always accompanied with lawful ambitions. And be confident that your ſervices have moved me more than it is poſſible for any eloquence or importunity to do. So that your letter was not the firſt propoſer of putting marks of favour on you; and I am certain that you will willingly ſtay my time, now ye know my mind ſo freely, that I may do all things *a mi modo*; and ſo I reſt

'Your aſſured friend,

Hampton-Court, the 23d
of October 1634.

'CHARLES R. (89)'

(89) p. 331, 332.

[*W*] *The parliament continued ſitting till April* 1635.] The deputy had prevailed for continuing their ſeſſion ſo long, againſt the firſt intention and mind of the King, who gave order for their diſſolution in January 1634 (90). 'My reaſons, ſays his Majeſty, are grounded upon my experience of them here. They are of the nature of cats, they ever grow curſt with age, ſo that if ye will have good of them, put them off handſomely, when they come to any age; for young ones are ever moſt tractable. And in earneſt you will find, that nothing can more conduce to the good beginning of a new, than the well ending of the former parliament; wherefore now that we are well, let us content ourſelves therewith.'——The deputy, writing about this aſſembly after its concluſion, has theſe remarkable words: 'The parliament is ended here; the King, I truſt, well ſatisfied, and the ſubject too, which indeed is the happy effects of parliaments, and yet this is the only ripe parliament that hath been gathered in my time; all the reſt have been a green fruit broken from the bow [bough] which, as you know, are never ſo kindly or pleaſant.

(90) In a letter to the Deputy, dated 22d Jan. 1634. p. 365.

'Happy were it, if we might live to ſee the like in England; every thing in its ſeaſon; but in ſome caſes it is as neceſſary there be a time to forget, as in others to learn; and howbeit the peccant (if I may without offence ſo term it) humour be not yet wholly purged forth, yet do I conceive it in the way; and that once rightly corrected and prepared, we may hope for a parliament of a ſound conſtitution indeed: but this muſt be a work of time, and of his Majeſty's excellent wiſdom, and this time it becomes us all to pray for, and wait for, and when God ſends it, to make a right uſe of (91).'

(91) Deputy to his couſin Mr George Butler, dated Dublin, May 6, 1635. p. 420.

[*X*] *The friars threatened him with a Felton.*] The deputy, before and after his firſt going to Ireland, had made his court to the Papiſts out of policy. He had for inſtance forborne to levy the 12d. a Sunday, in the view of winning them to a compliance with the contribution of the ſupport of the army, &c. In fabricating the parliament afterwards, he endeavoured to procure ſuch a number of them to ſit in the houſe of commons as might be a ſufficient balance to curb any ill humour of the Proteſtants there (92), but as ſoon as he found himſelf able to carry all his points by theſe alone, againſt the will and weight of the former, he put on another countenance, and took care to counter-work all their deſigns of getting the ballance of power to

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(92) p. 186. in Deputy's letter to the King, containing his opinion concerning a parliament, in which he propoſes to make as many officers of the army burgeſſes as he can for the ſame purpoſe, but that was diſapproved by his Majeſty, p. 187.

moſt dangerous enemies. He had in the courſe of his adminiſtration given great offence to ſome of the prime nobility, by proceeding ſharply againſt them on certain occaſions *(bb)*; particularly the proſecution, even to a ſentence of death againſt the Lord Mountnorris [*Y*] this year 1635, was univerſally complained of, and even cenſured by the Governor's turn in their favour (93). At the ſame time he did his utmoſt to ſtop the pernicious practices of the Friars and Jeſuits to abſolve before-hand any witneſs in a court of juſtice from the ſin of taking a falſe oath in favour of the party, as alſo their ſending large ſums of money out of Ireland to ſupport their friends and adherents abroad.

[*Y*] *A ſentence of death againſt Lord Mountnorris.*] As this ſentence lies the heavieſt on the Deputy's memory of any part of his adminiſtration, it will be proper to give the ſubſtance of it as follows After a ſuitable preface, containing the King's declaration of the heinouſneſs of the offence in general, the neceſſity of making *reparation* to the Deputy, and empowering the council to bring him to his trial, and puniſh him accordingly for it, the ſentence proceeds thus; ‘ In obedience to his Majeſty's command, We, the Lord Deputy called a council of war, who being this day aſſembled, We the Lord Deputy, in the preſence of the ſaid Lord Mountnortis, did charge him with this offence, that within three or four days, or thereabouts, after the end of the parliament, it being mentioned at the Lord Chancellor's table, that after We the Lord Deputy had diſſolved the parliament then ſitting down in the preſence-chamber, one of our ſervants in moving a ſtool happened to hurt our foot, then indiſpoſed through an acceſſion of the gout; that one then preſent at the Lord Chancellor's table, then ſaid to the Lord Mountnorris, being there likewiſe, that it was Anneſley, his Lordſhip's kinſman, and one of the Lord Deputy and General's gentlemen uſhers that had done it: whereupon the Lord Mountnorris then publickly, and in a ſcornful contemptuous manner anſwered, Perhaps it was done in revenge of that publick affront which my Lord Deputy had done him formerly, but he has a brother that would not take ſuch a REVBNGE. Which charge being ſo laid, the Lord Mountnorris was required by this council of war to make anſwer thereunto, who going about to anſwer it, and yet neither confeſſing nor denying the words, this council, after ſome time ſpent therein, required him to anſwer the ſaid charge, either negatively or affirmatively, yet he would not confeſs or deny them. Whereupon the witneſſes vouched for proof thereof were called, namely, the Lord Viſcount Moore and Sir Robert Loftus, ſon to the Lord Chancellor, who upon their oaths affirmed the ſaid words to be ſo ſpoken, at the time and place aforeſaid, where and when they were preſent. Whereupon the Lord Mountnorris ſubmitted himſelf at laſt to the judgment of this council, proteſting, that what interpretation ſoever his words might have put upon them, he intended no prejudice or hurt to the perſon of us the Deputy and General, affirming, that by theſe words, *But he hath a brother that would not take ſuch a revenge,* his Lordſhip meant only, that he the ſaid brother would die before he would give us the ſaid Deputy and General occaſion to give him ſuch a rebuke. We fell,’ continue they, ‘ in the next place to conſider, as of the nature of the offence, ſo of the puniſhment due thereunto. And firſt, for the nature of the offence, we conceive it to contain firſt a calumny againſt the perſon of us the Deputy and General of the army, inſinuating that by theſe words, *the public affront, or the diſgrace which my Lord Deputy had done him formerly*, that indeed there had been ſuch an affront or diſgrace put upon him by us the Lord Deputy; whereas in truth it was nothing ſo, but that which was pretended by the Lord Mountnorris to have been the ſaid diſgrace or affront to his kinſman, was this; That his ſaid kinſman being one of the horſe troop commanded by us the Lord Deputy, in the time of exerciſing the ſaid troop, was out of order on horſeback, to the diſturbance of the reſt then in exerciſing: for which we the Lord Deputy in a mild manner reproving him, as ſoon as we turned aſide from him, we obſerved him to laugh and jeer us for our juſt reproof of him, which we diſliking, returned to him, and laying a ſmall cane which we then carried, on his ſhoulder, yet without any blow or ſtroke then given him therewith, told him, that if he did ſerve us ſo any more, we would lay him over the pate *. Which ſaid act was by this whole council adjudged to have been a far milder proceeding with Anneſley, than ſuch an inſolence and diſobedience to any commander, much more to his General, merited. And therefore it was a ſpeech ſavouring doubtleſs of malice, to inſinuate that as an affront or diſgrace which was indeed a juſtly-merited, but mild and modeſt reprehenſion and admonition. Secondly, we conceive the offence to contain an incitement to a REVENGE in theſe words, *But he has a brother that would not take ſuch a revenge:* which incitement might have given encouragement to that brother, being then and now in this kingdom, and Lieutenant of the ſaid Lord Mountnorris's foot-company, to the ſaid Anneſley himſelf, being continually ſo near the perſon of us the Deputy and General, or to ſome other, to have taken up reſolutions of dangerous conſequences. And the manner of ſpeaking the words does ſo far aggravate them, as there is no place left for any indulgent conſtruction, but ſuch as renders the ſpeaker a delinquent in an high and tranſcendent manner againſt the perſon of his general, and his Majeſty's authority, whence we derive our power †. And the revenge thus inſolently vaunted to have been taken upon him being done, when we the Deputy and General had that great and high honour (which we always eſteem ourſelf in ourſelf far unworthy of) to be apparelled and robed with his Majeſty's own robe of majeſty and ſovereignty. We conſidered likewiſe the time when theſe words were ſpoken, when part of the army was in motion, and when there were diverſe companies of foot and troops of horſe in town, and daily in exerciſing and training, whereat for the moſt part We the ſaid Deputy were preſent, and the town full of people from all parts of the kingdom, as then unreturned back to their own dwellings, from their ſitting in parliament.

‘ In the next place, for the puniſhment due to this offence, We judge it to be an apparent breach and contempt of the 41ſt article of the printed laws and orders of war ‡, eſtabliſhed for the good conduct of the ſervice of Ireland, dated 13th of March 1633, and publiſhed in print by us the Lord Deputy, ſoon after our acceſs to this government; and which is more, in like breach and contempt of the 13th article of the ſaid printed laws and orders of war §. Which articles are no other than the very ſame articles this army had always been governed by in the time of the late Lord Falkland, Lord Wilmot, and other generals before them. And therefore this council of war, in conformity to his Majeſty's gracious pleaſure ſignified as aforeſaid, and as well to vindicate the honour of us his Majeſty's Deputy and General of his army from the wrong and contempt under which we now ſuffer, to the ſcandal of this government, and to the ill example of others; as alſo to deliver over to all which bear office, or are liſted as members of the army under the rule and government of us his general, an example of juſtice for them to take warning by, how they preſume to offend againſt the authority intruſted with us by his Majeſty, do adjudge hereby, order and decree, that the ſaid Lord Mountnorris ſtands juſtly and deſervedly liable to undergo the cenſures, pains, and puniſhments, by the ſaid 41ſt and 13th articles provided againſt the breakers of all good diſcipline, and the tranſgreſſors againſt thoſe orders: And therefore according to the ſaid articles this council do unanimouſly with one joint conſent (not one of us being of other opinion) adjudge the ſaid Lord Mountnorris, for his ſaid high and great offences to be impriſoned, to ſtand from henceforth deprived of all the places, with the entertainments due thereunto, which he holds now in the army, to be diſarmed, to be baniſhed the army, and diſabled for ever bearing office therein hereafter, and laſtly to be ſhot to death, or to loſe his head at the pleaſure of the General.

(*bb*) Particularly the Earls of Corke, St Albans, Wilmot, and others, who ſuffered greatly in their eſtates by the Deputy's ſtrict execution of the new law for examining into defective titles.

(93) The particulars are contained in Deputy's letter to Secretary Coke, dated Dec. 16th, 1634. p. 350, 351, 352.

* The truth of which was witneſſed by two captains, the Lord Kirkudbright and Sir Fred. Hamilton, Knt. who then ſaw the manner, and now ſat as members of this council.

† This council alſo took it into conſideration, that if the like words had been ſpoken of the King, they had amounted to little leſs than high treaſon, which by ſome rule of relation apply themſelves over to his Majeſty, being directed to the perſon of his Deputy.

‡ The words of which are, That no man ſhall offer any violence or contemptuouſly diſobey his commander, or do any act, or ſpeak any words, which are like to breed any mutiny in the army or garriſon, or impeach the obeying of the general or principal officer's directions, upon pain of death.

§ Viz. in theſe words, No man ſhall give any diſgraceful words or commit any act to the diſgrace of any perſon in his army or garriſon, or any part thereof, upon pain of impriſonment, public diſarming, and baniſhment from the army, as men for ever diſabled to carry arms.

vernor's beſt friends. At the ſame time he was known to be in ſuch high favour with his Majeſty, that Weſton Earl of Portland, Lord High Treaſurer of England, dying this year, the White Staff in the general opinion was adjudged to the Deputy; but he declined making any application to his Majeſty for that office [Z]. He well knew his preſence was moſt uſeful and neceſſary to his Maſter in Ireland, and therefore determined to complete by a ſuitable execution thoſe ſervices which had been ordained in parliament. In this reſolution he puſhed the proceedings on the commiſſion for defective titles, with the natural activity of his vigour, and particularly procured the King's right to be aſcertained to all the lands in the four counties of Connaught, Sligo, Roſcommon, and Galway (*ii*), the profits thereof brought a conſiderable revenue to the crown. He was wholly intent upon this buſineſs, when he received the news of his principal ſteward's death in Yorkſhire (*kk*), which requiring his preſence there to look after his private affairs, he obtained leave to come to England. He arrived in June 1636 at London, and preſently before the King in full council at Hampton Court, gave an account of his government in Ireland, concerning the reſtitution of the rights of the church, the eſtabliſhing of Engliſh laws, the reformation of the army, the King's revenue, and the diſcharge of his debts, the ſecuring of the ſea, and the advancement of trade, &c. with ſome future deſigns for the King's ſervice in that kingdom (*ll*). This contained a liſt of the ſeveral articles completed ſince his employment there, together with other particulars wherein the ſaid revenue might

(*ii*) Strafforde's letters, vol. *I.* paſſim, particularly from p. 450 to 459.

(*kk*) See a letter wrote by him to Mr Grenewoode on this occaſion, inſerted in Rem. [*C*].

(*ll*) Letter to Sir Chriſtopher Wandesford, in Vol. II. p. 13 to 23. incluſive, and Radcliffe's Eſſay, p. 431, in the Appendix, No. 1.

‘ Given at his Majeſty's Caſtle of Dublin, the ‘ twelfth day of December 1635.

‘ VALENTIA,
‘ THO. CROMWELL,
‘ R. RANELAGH,
‘ R. DILLON,
‘ LAWR. EDMOND,
‘ KIRKUDBRIGHT,
‘ JO. BORLASE,
‘ CHA. COOTE (94).’

THO. WEINMAN,
ARTH. TERRINGHAM,
ART. BLUNDELL,
FAITH. FORTESCUE,
ROBERT FARRER,
JO. BORLASE,
THO. ROPER.

(94) p. 499, 500, 501.

The whole proceeding was univerſally condemned, and the ſentence beyond all example ſevere. The Deputy himſelf was apparently conſcious of it, and was at the pains of drawing up a declaration in his own defence. But this was far enough from ſtopping the cry againſt him, which indeed was ſo great, that his true friend Mr G. Garrard thought fit to lay before him the particulars. ‘ Your declaration,’ ſays that friend to him, ‘ I have ſeen. It gave me much ſatisfaction, yet others make ſome queries, and more we ‘ ſhall hear of after it is ſpread abroad; every man is ‘ covetous of it. They except, that you were preſent ‘ at the cauſe which concerned yourſelf: they aſk ‘ why he [Mountnorris] was called no ſooner to a ‘ marſhal's court, ſince the King's letter of the 31ſt ‘ of July commands your Lordſhip ſpeedily to do it. ‘ The word *Reparation* mentioned in his Majeſty's letter ſticks much with ſome, for they conceive by that ‘ word, that his acknowledgment of his fault, with ‘ his ſubmiſſion on his knees to you the Lord Deputy ‘ was the fartheſt extent of that word. With the ſentence your Lordſhip hath nothing to do, but to ſee ‘ the execution thereof, ſo that they are a little bolder ‘ with your captains and council of war. 'Tis held ‘ by many a ſevere ſentence. They ſay, if he had ‘ meant any ill, or that any ſhould have come thereof, ‘ he would have whiſpered thoſe words in corners ‘ amongſt ſwordſmen, and not been ſo great a fool as ‘ to utter them at the Lord Chancellor's table, a great ‘ officer, and counſellor of the kingdom. They wonder, that the Viſcount Moore ſhould be a witneſs ‘ and a judge. And in fine conclude that it cannot be ‘ parallelled in any time, *conſideratis conſiderandis*, that ‘ any man for the like words, no enemy in the country, ſo long time after, ſhould be adjudged to die (95).’ Thus does this friend, obſerving his diſtance of ſtation, communicate to his Lordſhip his own concurrence in the general cenſure of this action. And in the ſame friendly diſpoſition, though pointed with a ſmart rebuke, he proceeds to contraſt it with an account of the very different ſpirit ſhewn lately at the Iſle of Rhé by the Duke of Buckingham, who was King's General there, which has been already related (96).—— Upon the whole, it is obſervable, how much pains are taken, and how many words ſpent, in order to aggravate the charge, by enlarging upon ſuch circumſtances attending it, as are culled out for the purpoſe, even ſo far as expreſly to ſet it cloſe to (if not quite within) the border of high treaſon.— Was there not a divine Nemeſis then in his Lordſhip's loſing his head by a proſecution for that crime, in the ſupport of which his ſentence againſt Mountnorris was made an article?

(95) p. 510. in a letter dated Jan. 25. 1635.

(96) Viz. in the article of George Villiers, firſt Duke of Buckingham of that name.

[Z] *He declined the treaſurer's place.*] Among others who courted him to apply for that place, was his couſin Sir George Butler, to whom he wrote a letter which begins with ſuch an account of himſelf in this particular, as he manifeſtly deſired at leaſt ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity, thus:

‘ SIR,

‘ This ſhall be in anſwer of yours of the 5th of ‘ April laſt, wherein I find you retain me in your memory, albeit remote and abſent, for which I pay ‘ you many and hearty thanks.

‘ It is true, I hear of the death of the Treaſurer, ‘ and my Lord Cottington's being maſter of the wards. ‘ This death (the great and final ſilencer of all our ‘ words and thoughts) hath laid the former to reſt, but ‘ ſo has not this office the latter, for by that which I ‘ hear his aim is at the ſtaff, in which purſuit he ſhall ‘ have no oppoſite of me directly or indirectly, and if ‘ his Lordſhip be but in himſelf ſatisfied that really it ‘ is ſo, I have what I look for upon the death of the ‘ other. Believe me, I have no ambition, nay, no ‘ inclination to that place; for it is moſt certain I ‘ have an inward and obſtinate averſion from it. I ‘ do not ſerve the King out of the ordinary ends that ‘ the ſervants of great princes attend them with; ‘ great wealth I covet not; greater powers than are ‘ already intruſted with me by my Maſter, I do not ‘ deſire; I wiſh much rather abilities to diſcharge ‘ theſe I have as becomes me, than any of thoſe I ‘ have not. Again, I ſerve not for reward, having ‘ received much more than I ſhall be ever able to deſerve. Beſides, there ſhould, and I truſt in God there ‘ ſhall be a time for me in ſtillneſs and repoſe to conſider myſelf, and theſe other more excellent and ‘ needful duties, than thoſe momentary trifles below, ‘ which the treaſurer's place admits not, at leaſt to ‘ my ſatisfaction; for this is certain, that a treaſurer ‘ muſt die ſo, or be diſhonoured, if not altogether ‘ ruined. And to be tyed to the importunity of affairs all my life, in good faith, all the preferments, ‘ and what elſe ſoever men moſt eſteem in this world, ‘ ſhall, I truſt, never ſo far lay aſleep or infatuate the ‘ ſenſe I ought to have of that much better which ‘ remains after his life. Hence it is, that I have not already writ to any of my friends ſince the treaſurer's ‘ death, to ſhew them that they might forget him that ‘ forgets himſelf. And it is my misfortune that there ‘ ſhould be ſuch a dearth of men, as that ſo unfit a ‘ man as myſelf ſhould once come to be thought of ‘ for ſuch a place, and that no friend I have can do ‘ me a greater favour than to rectify this common ‘ error, that I am a perſon qualified for that employment; for in good faith I am not, or to be thought ‘ of for it, by any other more than I am by myſelf, ‘ which as I am a Chriſtian is not at all; and ſo you ‘ have inwards and outwards a full account of me in ‘ this matter (97).’

(97) p. 419, 420. in a letter dated Dublin this 6th of May, 1635.

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be yet further increaſed [*AA*]; all which being accepted in the moſt gracious manner, he ventured to apply once more for an Earl's patent before his return to his government, but had the extreme mortification to have his ſuit again denied [*BB*]. This unexpected

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[*AA*] *The particulars in which the King's revenue was increaſed,* &c.] The note was in theſe terms:

Upon the commiſſion of defective titles	500 0 0
Licences to keep alehouſes, ſettled by act of parliament —— ——	3000 0 0
Licences for tranſportation of pipe-ſtaves	1500 0 0
The manor-lands and rectory of Athlone to be reſtored to the Lord Wilmot	500 0 0
The caſual revenue increaſed ——	2000 0 0
Found in Connaught an over-number of quarters of land, which formerly ought and muſt now pay compoſition-rent as much as one pound five ſhillings a quarter comes to ——	500 0 0
Five eighth parts of the farm of the cuſtoms of Ireland, will be, if the peace continue, at leaſt —— ——	10000 0 0
Sum total of the revenue already increaſed —— ——	18000 0 0

Other particulars, whereupon the committee of the revenue adviſes the raiſing of a revenue by purchaſing them into the crown, for which there will be money ſpared forth of the ſubſidies.

The licence of yarn to Mr Weſt —	1400 0 0
The licence of wine and aqua vitæ, which is in the aſſignees of the late Earl of Carliſle —— ——	1000 0 0
The leaſe of the impoſt of wines, now in the Counteſs of Carliſle ——	2000 0 0
The Lady Ducheſs of Buckingham rent forth of the cuſtoms ——	4550 0 0
	8950 0 0

Particulars whereon I conceive Your Majeſty's revenue may be yet further increaſed.

Upon the plantations, if rightly diſpoſed, including the territory of the Brines	20000 0 0
Londonderry —— —	5000 0 0
Court of Wards will improve, by reaſon of the new ſtatute of wills and uſes	4000 0 0
To be raiſed upon the commiſſion of defective titles ——	4500 0 0
For the peremption and licences of tobacco —— —— ——	8000 0 0
Salt, if peace with France ——	10000 0 0
Sum total —— ——	51500 0 0

To be ſaved, which is now ſpent.

Forth of the army, according as I have ſhewn your Majeſty ——	15000 0 0
By victualling and furniſhing the ſhips for guarding the Iriſh coaſt, as appears by my propoſition ——	3000 0 0
Total —— ——	18000 0 0
So the total of all improvements and ſavings comes to —— —	96450 0 0

Beſides this crown eaſed of ſeven thouſand pounds charge for the ſhipping appointed to the guard of that coaſt; and powder for the ſervice of that kingdom; which ſtood his Majeſty in 500l. per annum.

‘ If your Majeſty be pleaſed to lay this paper by you, within a few years it will appear whether I be deceived in my opinion of thoſe affairs, which indeed I truſt will be in that time effected (98).’

[*BB*] *He applied again for an Earldom, and was again denied.*] His letter to the King was as follows:

‘ May it pleaſe Your Sacred Majeſty:

‘ In purſuit of the command received at Rufford, I have effectually both in publick and private recommended the juſtice and neceſſity of the ſhipping-buſineſs, and ſo clearly ſhewed it to be not only for the honour of the kingdom in general, but for every man's particular ſafety, as I am moſt confident the aſſeſſment this next year will be univerſally and cheerfully anſwered throughout this whole juriſdiction.’

He then mentions a complaint of my Lord Marſhal's againſt him, from which having vindicated himſelf, he proceeds in theſe terms:

‘ If this were the only diſpleaſure I had contracted in ſerving faithfully (as I ſhall ever do) it might be born eaſily and ſilently; but it is much otherwiſe with me, as I have heard ſince I attended Your Majeſty. My carriage on this ſide hath been towards all ſo circumſpect and obſervant, as I well truſted there had not been the leaſt offence or ſcandal given or taken: Yet it ſeems I have left ſome great and powerful perſons in ſuch a diſtemper towards me, and themſelves, as in a manner every where to avow a reſolution ſet for my ruin.

‘ It is likewiſe diſcourſed much to my prejudice, as they think, that my return muſt be without any mark of Your Majeſty's favour, whereby my innocency and juſt acquittal might be declared to the hearing of others, or myſelf ſtrengthened or graced in the courſe of my ſervice; albeit they ſay, I had been defamed for barbarous and cruel uſage of the late Earl of St Albans, and the Lord Mountnorris; ſlanted upon by Sir James Gallway and Mr Barr, in their propoſition to your Majeſty, as a cozener and impoſtor in the cuſtoms, under a pretence of doing great ſervice: charged by Sir Piers Croſby with an horrid murder, the ſilly man daily countenanced and fomented by ſome at court in his ſenſeleſs calumnies, and in a word, reported to all the world rather for a Baſhaw of Buda, than the miniſter of a pious and Chriſtian King.

‘ Little do I find myſelf moved with any or all of theſe; I can ſmile at their vanity, that glorify themſelves in being reported the contrivers and procurers of this imputed coldneſs and diſregard, nay, eſteem them as little powerful as they would be thought almighty in ſuch a caſe; and, which is far above all the reſt, ſecurely repoſe myſelf, and humbly wait upon Your Majeſty's gracious promiſe, that I ſhall receive ſuch a mark of your favour, as will ſilence theſe ſpirits, and ſet me right again, as well in the opinion of others, as for your own ſervice.

‘ Yet where the ſtorm ſets ſo dark upon me, and my abſence likely to be of ſome continuance, I cannot conceal that there are many things upon this occaſion which I deſire to offer, ſome for the proſperity of your affairs, ſome for my own defence and ſafety, and all of them fitter to be diſcourſed than written. So as if it be poſſible, and that Your Majeſty will admit me thereunto, I purpoſe to wait at court a day or two in my paſſage towards the charge Your Majeſty intruſteth me with in Ireland, and there attend your future commands with and through all the expreſſions of

‘ Your Majeſty's

‘ Moſt faithful and moſt humble

‘ ſubject and ſervant,

Wentworth-Woodhouſe,
23d Aug. 1636.
‘ WENTWORTH (99).’

He likewiſe deſired the Archbiſhop to back his ſuit for the ſame reaſons: ‘ Upon the whole matter’ (ſays he to this ſure friend, ſpeaking of the complaints againſt him) ‘ I foreſee that the uttering of this coin, how falſe or adulterate ſoever, by perſons not well affected towards me, will ſharpen and ſtir ill humours, and put a huge prejudice upon me in the ſervice of the crown. And therefore I beſeech your Grace, taking your hint from theſe grounds, to move his Majeſty that I may receive ſome mark of his favour, and that it may be conferred upon me ſome ſuch way, as ſhall render it comely and publick. I ſubmit it to your Grace's wiſdom, whether you ſhall be pleaſed to move in the general, or for an earldom in the particular, which, if I flatter not myſelf too far, I may without offence pretend unto.

‘ Whatever the ſucceſs be, I will ſerve his Majeſty by the help of God with the ſame diligence, labour, and faith, as formerly; yet to confeſs a plain truth to your Grace, with whom I neither muſt nor can ever diſſemble, with leſs cheerfulneſs in myſelf hereafter.

‘ Wentworth-Woodhouſe,
‘ 26th of Aug. 1636. (100).’

The Archbiſhop did accordingly move his Majeſty fully, both in general, and particularly for the Earldom.

(99) p. 26, 27.

(100) p. 28.

pected blow did at firſt ſhake his reſolution, and he had ſcarcely recovered it, when he ſet out on his return to Ireland, where he arrived in November the ſame year 1636, and proceeded in his adminiſtration with the ſame diligence and fidelity to his Majeſty as ever, though not with the ſame cheerfulneſs in himſelf *(mm)*. In this diſpoſition he had actually made a good progreſs toward completing his promiſes in the further increaſe of his Majeſty's revenue *(nn)*, and in improving the ſtrength and condition of that kingdom, both in church and ſtate, when the troubles breaking out in Scotland, put an end to all his deſigns for Ireland. That unfortunate affair drew his thoughts off from cultivating the arts, and ripening the fruits of peace, to the diſagreeable care of guarding againſt the dangers and miſchiefs of a civil war. This however gave him, though againſt his will, an occaſion of diſplaying his excellent talents in the military, as he had already done in his civil capacity. He found means to keep the Iriſh quiet, notwithſtanding the continual attempts of their Scottiſh friends and neighbours, as they are particularly to thoſe in the province of Ulſter, who were in general of Scottiſh extraction *(oo)*, and intirely united in principles to that Kirk [*CC*]. The Deputy therefore having procured a petition

(*mm*) Radcliffe, and the Letters. See Remark [*BB*].

(*nn*) Before the end of 1638 he had bettered it 50,000*l*. per ann. p. 270.

(*oo*) Their numbers amounted to no leſs than 60000, not ten hours ſail from Scotland: but they were awed by a corps of 400 horſe placed round them, p. 270.

dom. His Majeſty's anſwer was, that he would do that which ſhould ſtrengthen the Deputy enough againſt any practiſing at court: but that for the particular and all that concerned it, he would give the Deputy an anſwer himſelf, ſo ſoon as he came to his next place of leiſure (101). He did ſo in the following terms:

(101) Wrote by the Archbiſhop from Oxford, Aug. ult. 1636. p. 31, 32.

‘ Wentworth,

‘ Certainly I ſhould be much to blame not to admit ſo good a ſervant as you are to ſpeak with me, ſince I deny it to none that there is not a juſt exception againſt; yet I muſt freely tell you, that the cauſe of this deſire of yours, if it be known, will rather hearten than diſcourage your enemies; for if they can once find that you apprehend the dark ſetting of a ſtorm, when I ſay no, they will make you leave to care for any thing in a ſhort while, but for your fears. And believe it, the marks of my favours that ſtop malicious tongues are neither places nor titles, but the little welcome I give to accuſers, and the willing ear I give to my ſervants: This is not to diſparage thoſe favours (for envy flies moſt at the faireſt mark) but to ſhew their uſe; to wit, not to quell envy, but to reward ſervice; it being truly ſo, when the maſter without the ſervant's importunity does it, otherwiſe men judge it more to proceed from the ſervant's wit, than the maſter's favour. I will end with a rule that may ſerve for a ſtateſman, courtier, or a lover, Never make a defence or apology before you be accuſed. And ſo I reſt

‘ Your aſſured friend,

Lindhurſt, 3d Sept. 1636. ‘ Charles R.

‘ For my Lord Marſhall, as you have warned me, ſo I warrant you (102).’

(102) p. 32.

How the Deputy ſtomached this denial, in ſome meaſure appears by his anſwer thereto, which begins thus:

‘ May it pleaſe Your Sacred Majeſty;

‘ The letter vouchſafed me from Lindhurſt awakens me with your gracious favour to expreſs myſelf farther in ſome few particulars, leſt perchance my deſires and the grounds of them, might be conceived otherwiſe than I meant.

‘ The dark ſetting of a ſtorm was not with the leaſt apprehenſion that your Majeſty's gracious and cheerful favours were either leſſened or languiſhing towards me, but had relation merely to ſome near your Majeſty, who publickly profeſs my ruin.

‘ Nor was or ever can this or any other the like ſtorm be able to affright or ſhake me from the duties or faith I owe unto your Majeſty's commands. I truſt ſuch a poverty of ſpirit ſhall not be imputed unto a mind long ſince reſolved freely to ſacrifice a life, as often as required, for the leaſt of your good pleaſures. It is indeed altogether impoſſible I ſhould begin to care leſs for your ſervice, meanly or at all to weigh my greateſt dangers, when your Majeſty's ſmalleſt intereſts are concerned; much leſs under favour to care for nothing but my own fears. And yet (I find it) this immoveable purpoſe doth conſiſt well enough with a moderate foreſight ſo to provide for a ſafety, as it may be without your trouble, judging otherwiſe my being or well being leſs in value, than that it ſhould coſt your Majeſty ſo much as a diſpute to preſerve me.

‘ Whatever your Majeſty appoints ſhall pleaſe me moſt, it being certainly beſt for me rather really to live in your gracious good opinion, than only to be thought ſo by others: Yet better for your affairs in Ireland, I might ſeem and appear ſo to them on that ſide. So then whilſt I did moſt confidently truſt, through your Majeſty's goodneſs, that I had the beſt for myſelf, it will, I hope, be very pardonable, if I did deſire to better my condition alſo, as I ſtood in relation to thoſe affairs, and the greatneſs of the ſervice now in view amongſt them.

‘ As for wit or importunity, in the former I did never affect other than a ſingle plainneſs, nor is my nature poſſibly to be hardened into the latter. Beſides, I too well know, and more reverence your Majeſty's wiſdom and courage, than (had I been that way inclined) to attempt you by either. And I do moſt earneſtly beſeech you, Sir, to be aſſured that I never went diſguiſedly forward with you in all my life, nor could I ever yet ſo far value any thing as to proſtitute modeſty for it.

‘ And therefore conſidering nothing can more comfort me, or be more for my advantage than to be rightly underſtood by your Majeſty, I do moſt humbly acknowledge your favour in admitting my attendance at court for a few days in my paſſage for Ireland, where I ſhall not only ſet my own thoughts again at eaſe and liberty, but withal ſettle ſome of your buſineſs, which otherwiſe myſelf at Dublin may not chance to find any other ſollicitor that can attend upon them, undiſtracted by other your Majeſty's affairs (103).’

[*CC*] *United in principles with that Kirk.*] The principal fomenter of this rebellion, it is well known, was the Earl of Argyle, whoſe eſtate bordering upon Ireland, the greateſt danger to that kingdom aroſe from him. The Deputy therefore reſolved to try how far the force of his eloquent pen might work upon him to deſiſt. Several letters paſſed between them on this occaſion, but Argyll was immoveably fixed and rooted in his rebellious principles. It will not be amiſs to ſee the grounds which led him to that deſperate courſe, as they are laid open by himſelf in the laſt letter he wrote to the Deputy, as follows:

‘ My very honourable good Lord:

‘ Your Lordſhip's of the 25th of November came not to my hands till the 4th of this inſtant, whereby I find a new occaſion to thank your Lordſhip for the continuance of your good opinion; and although your Lordſhip's modeſty will not ſuffer you to aſſume any thing to yourſelf, yet I have your Lordſhip's wiſdom in ſo great eſtimation, that I think your Lordſhip will do nothing in vain; ſo whether in general or particular, your Lordſhip being pleaſed to take notiſh of me by your letter, I find it my duty to thank your Lordſhip. And although I do not undertake to excuſe any thing his Majeſty is pleaſed to diſallow, yet with your Lordſhip's favour I believe you ſhall find, that the complaints of that presbytery your Lordſhip mentions, which we call our Church or General Aſſembly, is concerning very eſſential differences betwixt the reformed church and that of Rome; and ſo far only againſt Biſhops, as they tranſgreſs the laudable laws and conſtitutions of this church and kingdom. For whether or not that be

‘ any

petition for the purpoſe of ſeveral lords, knights, and gentlemen, and others of the Scottiſh nation to the number of 42, inhabiting in the kingdom of Ireland, proceeded to paſs an act of council (*pp*), commanding all perſons of the Scottiſh, of the age of 16 years and upwards, who inhabited and had any eſtate whatſoever in Ireland, to take the following oath: I N. *do faithfully ſwear, profeſs, and promiſe, that I will honour and obey my Sovereign Lord King Charles, and will bear faith and true allegiance unto him, and defend and maintain his royal power and authority; and that I will not bear arms or do any rebellious or hoſtile act againſt him, or proteſt againſt any his royal commands, but ſubmit myſelf in all due obedience thereunto: And that I will not enter into any covenant, oath, or band of mutual defence and aſſiſtance againſt all ſorts of perſons whatſoever, or into any covenant, oath, or band of mutual defence and aſſiſtance againſt any perſons whatſoever by force, without his Majeſty's ſovereign and regal authority. And I do renounce and abjure all covenants, oaths, and bands whatſoever, contrary to what I have herein ſworn, profeſſed, and promiſed. So help me God in Chriſt Jeſus.* He alſo diſpatched a regiment of five hundred foot-ſoldiers, for the garriſon of Carliſle before the pacification; after which, when the Scots began to move again, the King commanding his preſence in England [*DD*], he repaired thither in September 1639, and on the

(*pp*) This act was paſſed May 16, 1639. and the proclamation thereupon on the 21ſt of the ſaid month, p. 345, 346. and 1000 foot troops with 500 horſe were diſpoſed into proper places of Ulſter, p. 337. an able pinnace was likewiſe ſent to cruize upon that coaſt, p. 361, 362.

any fundamental point in religion, is not here queſtioned nor determined; nor what is fundamental excluſive do I think any man will preſume to define ſo as it may be ane ſufficient rule for others.

‘ So I ſhall be very ſorry to wrong the memory of theſe reverend men, who ſealed their departure from Rome with their bloods. And I think I do it not, though I ſay, they were not arraigned becauſe they allowed ſuch things as are queſtioned here, but rather becauſe they would not allow much more; yea, even ſuch things as are complained of and diſallowed here; for it is the cauſe, and not the pain, that makes the martyr. And theſe men were only in *eccleſia conſtituenda*; and thought it a great journey for the firſt day (as it fares with all other travellers) to leave ane good town, with many friends and acquaintances, wher they had lived for many years; but we have ours conſtitute by her laudable aſſemblies, wherein your Lordſhip will find great difference.

‘ So with your Lordſhip's good leave, I muſt ſay ſtill, your Lordſhip is miſtaken, if you think the book that was offered and preſſed here was only the Engliſh ſervice, for in the very reading ane man may ſee the contrair.

‘ Yet truly I think all his Majeſty's ſubjects ought to thank God for his Majeſty's paternal care of his own children. And as all (I hoip) we acknowledge it to proceed from his Majeſty's own goodneſs, ſo I believe they are the loather to come under the hands of indiſcreet Pedantis, or rude Taſk-Maiſters, that wants the affection and moderation of a Father.

‘ And I am very ſorry, with your Lordſhip's favour I ſay it, that you wreſt the meaning of theſe your Lordſhip mentions, in their expreſſion of ſincerity and want of hypocriſy, as if they oppoſed them to their obedience to the lawful and undeniable ſubjection which they owe to their gracious ſovereign, when truly they only oppoſe voluntair and conſtrained actions in religious duties in relation to Him who requires cheerfulneſs at our hands, which I hoip no Chriſtian will deny.

‘ Nor beleive I any man will eſteem of antiquity, but where it is warranted with verity, and no verity is ſure in religion, but ſcripture. So I will not deny to your Lordſhip, if ſuch antiquity be not their warrant, they deſerve to have their portion with hypocrites, and to be unto every good work reprobate. Bot it ſeems they deſire rather to be like Moſes, who would not ſuffer any huiſe to remain in Egypt, leſt it ſhould give occaſion to return, nor the people that longed for the fleſh-pots again; or like Lot that durſt not look bak to Sodom, nor his wife that got her reward; or like Paul when he was converted, adviſing no mair with fleſh and blood, nor Ananias and Sapphira ſtill keping bak ſomething.

‘ So I wiſh your Lordſhip and all others of the reformed church (not knowing the conſtitutions of this) were as charitable to it, and meddled as little in diſquieting her peace, as (I hoip) they have cairfully prevented that fault by their proceedings here: And whoſoever is guilty of this treſpaſs, I pray God they may both repent it and mend it according to their power, and not bring upon us all greater evils which we may all repent when it cannot be ſo eaſily mendit. And ſo I reſt,

‘ Your Lordſhip's

‘ Moſt humble ſervant,

Inverraray, Feb. 20, 1638. ‘ ARGYLL.’ (104)

This earl actually appearing in arms ſoon after, the Deputy wrote to him for the laſt time, and ſent incloſed the King's proclamation, in a letter dated 19th March 1638. charging his former letters with maintaining Jeſuitical principles (105). In the mean time the Marquis of Antrim, who had an eſtate joining to that of Argyll, propoſed to raiſe ſome forces there to oppoſe the earl, and for that purpoſe applied to his Majeſty for aſſiſtance from the Deputy in Ireland, and being encouraged therein, he was very troubleſome to the Deputy, who never approved his propoſal, as being made purely out of vain-glory, by a perſon who was far enough from having means to compaſs it, and of a character not to be truſted. This was the unkindneſs complained of by the Marquis's conſort the Ducheſs of Buckingham, in a letter inſerted in that duke's article (106).

[*DD*] *The King ſent for him, &c.*] His Majeſty's letter on this occaſion runs thus:

‘ WENTWORTH,

‘ Hen. Bruce hath delivered yours of the 3d of July, and had likewiſe had full diſcourſe with me of all thoſe affairs; and though I eſteem him a better ſoldier than a ſtateſman, yet he has made ſome propoſitions in the politick way, ſomewhat mixed with the martial, not to be deſpiſed, yet not to be haſtily embraced without ſuch a good commentaire as you are able to make on them.’

‘ This cauſe only I confeſs were too ſleight to draw you, though but for a time, from your weighty charge; but I have much more, and indeed too much to deſire your counſel and attendance for ſome time, which I think not fit to expreſs by letter more than this. The Scots covenant begins to ſpread too far: Yet for all this I will not have you take notice that I have ſent for you, but pretend ſome other occaſion of buſineſs, as to be preſent at the hearing of the chancellor's appeal *, or what you will elſe; whom ſince I have named, I muſt tell you freely, I would wiſh ye would ſend him over without delay, if he have performed moſt, though not all (his friends pretend all) which I enjoyned him to do before his departure; if yet he ſtood not in ſome high contempt, which if it be, were moſt fit to be made clearly appear. It is very well done to go on with the Scotſmens oaths. So I reſt

‘ Your moſt aſſured friend,

Berwick, 23 July 1639. ‘ CHARLES R.’ (107)

‘ Received 5th of Auguſt at Naas.’

The proſecution here ſignified of the Lord Chancellor Sir Adam, Lord Viſcount Loftus of Ely, was a proceeding which, next to that againſt Lord Mountnorris, raiſed the greateſt clamour, and created the moſt ill blood againſt the deputy. What his firſt offence was, is ſeen in the following paper drawn up by the deputy and council for him to ſubſcribe, under the title of

(104) p. 290, 291.

(105) p. 299, 230.

(106) Several letters in the collection, vol. II. towards the concluſion, particularly p. 266. 278.

* He did make uſe of that pretence in a letter to the Lord Conway, dated 13th Auguſt 1639, p. 381, 382.

(107) p. 372, 373.

the 12th of January following was raiſed to his long coveted title, and created Earl of Strafforde, &c [*EE*]. And at the ſame time raiſed alſo from the title of Deputy to that of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. When the ſcene of affairs was opened unto him, it was

The humble Petition of Adam *Viſcount* Loftus, *Lord Chancellor of Ireland.*

'To the Right Honourable the Lord Deputy and Council,

Whereas I Adam, Viſcount Loftus, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, did on the 24th of July laſt openly at this board charge the Lord Deputy to be principal in the decree paſt, and principal in the proſecution againſt me in the cauſe depending at the council-board, wherein Sir John Gifford Knight, is plaintiff againſt me and my ſon, Sir Edward Loftus, defendants; which proſecution being denied by the Lord Deputy otherwiſe than as a perſon intruſted to ſee his Majeſty's authority in the acts of his council board obeyed, I did then ſay again, *I wiſh to God I had not found it ſo.*

Now better recollecting myſelf, I do humbly acknowledge to have ſpoken thoſe words very unadviſedly in regard of the place and joint reſpect, which I owe to the dignity of the Lord Deputy and council, with ſcandal and diſreſpect to the particular perſon of his Majeſty's Deputy, thus upon my own ſurmiſes, without proof to impute unto his lordſhip the undue making himſelf a proſecutor, conſequently a party, in a cauſe where his lordſhip had been and was to be a judge; as alſo thus (his lordſhip denying the proſecution) unwarrantably to diſaffirm that which the Lord Deputy had ſo publickly affirmed, and by conſequence tacitly and injuriouſly imputing to his lordſhip the ſpeaking of an untruth.

And whereas I did the ſame day, in the ſame place confidently ſay, that *one of the deputy's ſervants had ſolicited and perſuaded Edward Jacob to complain againſt me, that the then petitioner Jacob had told me ſo in preſence of divers witneſſes, that I could name that ſervant and prove it*; whereupon the ſaid Jacob then called to the board, did abſolutely in my preſence deny that ever he had been ſolicited or perſuaded by any of the Lord Deputy's ſervants to the preferring of that or any ſuch complaint; and that he never told me any ſuch thing as I affirmed: whereunto I replied, that Jacob had told me, he had been dealt with by perſons of power to complain, and that ſome of my ſervants had told me Jacob had ſaid ſo.

I do humbly acknowledge, that this latter juſtification doth much vary, and not at all ſupport, though it were granted to be true, what at firſt I ſo confidently affirmed; and that in ſuch my aſſertions and informations to the board, I have through want of due circumſpection in my words, tranſgreſſed againſt that juſt regard I owe to truth, to the dignity and reverence becoming the Deputy and board ſitting in open council, and to that tender care which ought to be had by a perſon of my quality and place, to the employment and honour which his Majeſty intruſted and graced me withal.

Whereas I at the ſame time and place ſo diſavowed by Jacob did nevertheleſs again affirm, that the Lord Deputy's ſervants had wooed forty more beſides that petitioner, to exhibit petitions againſt me, without fixing upon any one particular, howbeit then called unto, and required by, the Lord Deputy:

I do humbly acknowledge it did not become me, ſo great a magiſtrate, to the evil example of others, ſtill to take the liberty to caſt ſo foul a ſcandal of maintenance upon the ſervants and family of the Deputy at large. And ſo the prejudice of ſuch a ſcandal not only reſt with them, but even in ſome degree reflect alſo upon the perſon of the Deputy.

Finally, whereas I did the ſame day in the debate of that buſineſs often and at ſeveral times interpoſe and interrupt the Lord Deputy, whilſt his Lordſhip was ſpeaking, hardly permitting his Lordſhip to come to a period in ſuch things as he then offered to ſpeak:

I do humbly acknowledge, I did therein very miſbeſeemingly tranſgreſs againſt the reverence I ought to his Lordſhip, then ſet in council, and ſo immediately repreſenting his Majeſty's perſon, as alſo againſt that juſt regard due to the dignity and gravity of the reſt of the Lords, and others then in council alſo.

All which my ſeveral miſcarriages, injuries, neglects, and incivilities, as I do humbly acknowledge, ſo I do hereby profeſs I am ſorry for the ſame; and do very heartily and humbly hereby petition and crave the pardon of the Lord Deputy and council in that behalf, promiſing for the future that I will have more attention and regard to what I ſhall affirm or alledge at the board, and more care to the reſpect and obſervance which both myſelf and all others ought to afford and perform before ſo high and ſupreme an authority as the Lord Deputy and council are intruſted with.'

This paper was ſent incloſed in a letter from the Deputy and Council to the King's ſecretary Coke, and dated 20th of December 1638 (108). It was afterwards ſigned by the chancellor in the view of obtaining his releaſe from impriſonment, in which he had been confined near half a year; but ſome other leſſer offences being brought againſt him (109), and purſued with the ſame temper as the firſt, he did not obtain his liberty before Auguſt the next year 1639. (110). Whereupon having appealed to the King and council in England, he went thither, where the cauſe of his appeal was heard before himſelf and the Deputy then preſent, and adjudged to be groundleſs, and an order of the Engliſh privy council was made accordingly at Whitehall, 19th of November 1639, confirming the decree made in Ireland, and requiring both the chancellor, and his ſon Sir Edward Loftus, to give due obedience thereunto (111), which they preſently complied with.

[*EE*] *His ſpeech on his creation.*] It is in theſe terms:

'Sir,

'It is acknowledged with reverence and truth, that Kings on the throne are ſacred pictures of divine Majeſty, but no where more expreſſive, than when excellent princes are delighted in themſelves, and magnified by others, rather through their favours than corrections.

'Nor doth ſovereignty at any time more eminently diſtinguiſh and exalt itſelf, than when we find power and will in contention, *or rather in conſent*, for doing of good more *effectually* and in larger meaſure, than can conſiſt with the condition of a ſubject to accompliſh.

'This method kept by great and magnanimous Kings hath bequeathed them famous and glorious to poſterity; and amongſt theſe Your Majeſty hath the preheminence; for ſuch is the caſe; the propenſeneſs, and, I may ſay, the tranquillity of your goodneſs, that what in them were habits acquired by long obſervation and practice, ſeems to be coeſſential to Your Majeſty's nature.

'Nor ſhall I need fetch an evidence to this truth forth of myſelf: a grateful mention only of the progreſs of your multiplied favours towards me your humble ſervant, will ſufficiently and clearly evince it.

'Your Majeſty of your mere and free grace made me a baron, when you had ſcarce heard of me, and that too rather by ill report than good.

'Not many days after, you were pleaſed to prevent any pretence of merit, in me, indeed to exceed my thoughts, through a gracious promiſe to make me viſcount and preſident of your council in the north, which was royally fulfilled within a few months after.

'Succeſſive to theſe you did me the honour to call me to your council-board; a deputy I was of your own choice; and at this preſent created an earl.—Theſe, Sir, in themſelves are exceeding great and laſting honours; yet are unto me in no relation ſo well pleaſing, as when I conſider myſelf by theſe degrees here upon my knees humbly at your feet, to attend the honour of your commands, and to be informed by your wiſdom.

'And I do moſt humbly beſeech Your Majeſty, that you may vouchſafe the continuance of theſe dear pledges unto me, and that I may from your inſtructions ſtill borrow light how to guide and direct myſelf in the future courſe of my ſervice to that which may be of moſt advantage to your affairs (112).'

(108) p. 260, 261.

(109) Theſe are mentioned in a letter from Deputy and council to Secretary Coke, dated 11th July 1639. p. 369, 370, 371.

(110) P. 381.

(111) p. 389.

(112) p. 390.

new and ſurprizing: he had ſpent his time theſe laſt ſix years in Ireland, and the Scotch affairs had been managed againſt his opinion by a cabinet-council of their own countrymen. His Lordſhip finding the Scotch had gone too far to be brought to reaſon and obedience by gentle means, adviſed a war. He then moved the King for a parliament, there, which was inſtantly ſummoned, and afterwards for a parliament in England againſt the beginning of the next year 1640. In Lent he returned into Ireland, where he ſtaid about a fortnight, in which time he ſat in parliament, had four ſubſidies given there, appointed a council of war, and gave orders to levy eight thouſand foot there, which together with two thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, which was the ſtanding army in Ireland, and five hundred horſe to be joined with them, were to be ſent into Scotland under his Lordſhip's command. At the ſame time the Earl of Northumberland was to be general over 30,000 foot and 3000 horſe to be levied in England for the Scottiſh expedition, and James, then Marquis, afterwards Duke of Hamilton, was appointed to command a fleet of ſhips for the ſame deſign (*qq*). On the 3d of April 1640, being Good Friday, he imbarked again for England, being ſick of a flux and the gout, ſo that he was not able to reach London, and that in a litter, before the middle of that month. There he found the parliament, which he had adviſed, ſitting. Every one knows the ſpeedy and unlucky iſſue of that which was called The Short Parliament. In the mean time, the Earl's ſickneſs increaſing, brought him to ſuch a weakneſs, that he was not able to ſit up out of his bed half an hour in a day. Upon his recovery, the Earl of Northumberland fell ſick; whereupon the Earl of Strafforde was ſtayed from going into Ireland, and made Lieutenant General of the Engliſh forces, and ſent into the North to that army. But before his arrival they were defeated at Newborne under the command of Viſcount Conway. In November a new parliament, ſince called The Long one, begun to ſit in England, where our ſtateſman was firſt generally, afterwards particularly, impeached of ſundry facts, in the whole charged to amount to Treaſon. He came up from the northern army to the parliament, was committed by the Lords firſt to the black rod, and ſhortly after to the Tower. What his charge and anſwers were, appear beſt by the copies of both printed in his trial. He was allowed witneſſes, and the warrant to ſummon them was granted on the Friday next before his trial, which was on the Monday following; the witneſſes being moſt of them in Ireland, and for things alledged to be done in that kingdom. He had council alſo allowed, not to aſſiſt him in diſproving any matter of fact objected againſt him, but for matter of law, to make it good, if they could, that his charge did not contain treaſon (*rr*). But the proceeding in a judicial way againſt him was at laſt laid aſide, the reaſons whereof were declared in a ſpeech of Mr St John's in print. One reaſon was, that ſince the beginning of Henry IV. when a law was made againſt trials for treaſon in parliament, there had been no precedent of any man that had been condemned in parliament. Mr St John in that ſpeech ſaid, *that unto Wolves and Beaſts of Prey no law was to be given.* Hereupon a bill of attainder was provided. When it came to the queſtion in the Commons houſe, ſome members gave negative votes, and their names were preſently ſet upon poſts through the city as Straffordians: One gentleman came to a friend of his Lordſhip, aſking pardon for giving his affirmative vote for the bill, ſaying, He did it againſt his opinion, for he thought him not guilty; but he deſired to preſerve his credit in the houſe, being confident that neither King nor Lords would paſs the bill, and ſo his vote might do him no hurt. The reader's patience muſt not be abuſed by repeating a trial ſo well known. We ſhall only mention the evidence of Sir Henry Vane, becauſe it is referred to in a remark upon the caſe of Lord Mountnorris. It was concerning theſe words, ſuppoſed to be directed to the King in council, *You have an army in Ireland to reduce them.* None of the committee could teſtify theſe words. Sir Henry Vane twice examined, remembered them not, but the third time he did call them to mind, which made the Lord Digby declare in the Commons houſe, that he was not ſatisfied (*ss*); howbeit the words were voted by the Lords to be proved, and the word *them* (TO REDUCE THEM) was interpreted to be meant of the people of England, not of Scotland; whereas mention was made before of war with Scotland, and a ſupply from England to maintain that war. When the King ſigned the commiſſion to paſs the bill, he ſaid with tears, that *My Lord of Strafforde's condition was more happy than his* (*tt*). On the Friday before, my Lord writ to the King, releaſing all his former promiſes and engagements to ſave his life* [*FF*], which his Lordſhip thought would be the beſt diſcharge of the King's conſcience (*uu*). He prepared himſelf for death with ſingular piety: Dr Carre his antient chaplain ſaid, that he was the moſt ſevere judge of himſelf that ever he knew: He had great humility and charity towards his enemies beyond expectation, which being much above his natural ſtrength, gave him great com-

(*qq*) General hiſtory of England.

(*rr*) There was an order made by the Lords in parliament in the beginning of the King's reign in the Earl of Briſtol's caſe, that peers accuſed of treaſon ſhould have both counſel and witneſſes, but the Earl of Straſforde had not a copy of that order.

(*ss*) This Lord declared of the Earl, that God had given him excellent parts, but the Devil gave him the uſe of them. Gen. hiſtory of England.

(*tt*) He paſſed it contrary to the dictates of his own conſcience.

(*uu*) Yet Whitelocke in his memoirs tells us, that when news was brought to him that the King had paſſed the bill by commiſſion, he cried out in the words of the Pſalmiſt, *Put not your truſt in princes, nor in any child of man, for there is no help in them.*

* Though all agree he did write ſuch a letter, yet they differ in the date, ſome fixing it on the 4th of May, others, with Sir Geo. Radcliffe, on the 7th. But the letter has not yet been found. Knowler, in a letter to myſelf.

[*FF*] *The King's promiſes to ſave his life.*] His Majeſty's letter to him on this occaſion remarkably ſhews by the careleſs ſpelling, his great diſturbance and trouble of mind, as follows:

'STRAFFORDE,

'The misfortune that is falen upon you by the 'ſtrange miſtaking and conjunctur of theaſe tymes 'being ſuch that I muſt lay by the thought of em'ploing you heereafter in my affaires; yet I cannot 'ſatisfie my ſelf in honnor or concience without aſ'ſeuring you (now in the mideſt of your trobles) that 'upon the word of a King you ſhall not ſuffer in lyfe, 'honnor, or fortune: This is but juſtice, and therefore a verie meane rewarde from a maiſter to ſo 'faithefull and able a ſervant as you have ſhewed 'yourſelf to bee: yet it is as much as I conceave 'the preſent tymes will permitt, though none ſhall 'hinder me from being

'Your conſtant faithfull Friend,

'CHARLES R. (113)'

(113) P. 416.

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fort [*GG*], as was teſtified by the Archbiſhop of Armagh. Of all perſons he was freeſt from fear, going to death without the leaſt perturbation that way. He cauſed his chaplain to ſay prayers upon the ſcaffold, according to the common prayer book, and made uſe of the 25th pſalm in proſe, praying God to forgive his enemies. In his laſt ſpeech he foretold part of the enſuing troubles which this kingdom felt afterwards. He dyed like a gentleman and a chriſtian, a martyr for the church and King. His Majeſty in December following by letters patent reſtored his ſon William to all his dignities and titles; and after the reſtoration the bill of attainder was reverſed, as a ſtain to the juſtice of the nation (*ww*). His ſon dying without iſſue, made his nephew the honourable Tho. Watſon, third ſon of Edward Lord Rockingham, by Anne, eldeſt daughter of Thomas Earl of Strafforde, heir of his eſtates in England and Ireland, requiring him to take the name of Wentworth. He was generally called his honour Wentworth, and by his great benefactions to the clergy, his numerous augmentatious of ſmall livings, and his endowment of ſchools for the inſtruction of youth in proteſtant principles, made the name of Wentworth dear to every Engliſh heart (*xx*). Our ſtateſman's character is drawn with remarkable diligence by Sir George Radcliffe, who knew him intimately. He tells us then, that in the managing of his eſtate and domeſtic affairs, he uſed the advice of two friends, Ch. Gr. [Charles Greenwoode] and G. R. [George Radcliffe] and two ſervants, Richard Marris his ſteward, and Peter Man his ſolicitor. Before every term they met, and Peter Man brought a note of all things to be conſidered of, which being taken into conſideration one by one, and every one's opinion heard, reſolution was had, and ſet down in writing, whereof his Lordſhip kept one copy, and Peter Man another. At the next meeting an account was taken of all that was done in purſuance of the former orders, and a new note made of all that reſted to be done, with an addition of ſuch things as did ariſe ſince the laſt meeting, and were requiſite to be conſulted of. His whole accounts were ordered to be made up twice every year, one half-year ending 20th of September, the other the 20th of March. For by that time the former half-year's rents were commonly received, or elſe the arrears were fit to be ſought after, it being no advantage either to the tenant or landlord to ſuffer arrears to run longer. He never did any thing of any moment concerning either political or domeſtic buſineſs without tak-

(*ww*) Gen. hiſt. of England.

(*xx*) Thoreſby's Ducatus Leodinenſis.

[GG] *Before his death he had great humility and charity towards his enemies*, &c.] His letter to his ſon William, afterwards Earl of Strafforde, is ſome proof of this. It is dated Tower, 11th of May 1641, and runs thus:

‘ My dearest Will:

‘ Theſe are the laſt lines that you are to receive from a Father that tenderly loves you. I wiſh there were a greater leiſure to impart my mind unto you; but our merciful God will ſupply all things by his grace, and guide and protect you in all your ways; to whoſe infinite goodneſs I bequeath you; and therefore be not diſcouraged, but ſerve him, and truſt in him, and he will preſerve and proſper you in all things. Be ſure you give all reſpect to my wife, that hath ever had a great love unto you, and therefore will be well becoming you. Never be a wanting in your love and care to your ſiſters, but let them ever be moſt dear unto you; for this will give others cauſe to eſteem and reſpect you for it, and is a duty that you owe them in the memory of your excellent mother and myſelf. Therefore your care and affection to them muſt be the very ſame, that you are to have of yourſelf, and the like regard muſt you have to your youngeſt ſiſter; for indeed you owe it her alſo, both for her father and mother's ſake.

‘ Sweet Will, be careful to take the advice of thoſe friends, which are by me deſired to adviſe you for your education. Serve God diligently morning and evening: and recommend yourſelf unto him, and have him before your eyes in all your ways. With patience hear the inſtructions of thoſe friends I leave with you, and diligently follow their counſel; for till you come by time to have experience in the world, it will be far more ſafe to truſt to their judgments than your own.

‘ Loſe not the time of your youth, but gather thoſe ſeeds of virtue and knowledge, which may be of uſe to yourſelf, and comfort to your friends for the reſt of your life. And that this may be the better effected, attend thereunto with patience, and be ſure to correct and refrain yourſelf from anger. Suffer not ſorrow to caſt you down, but with cheerfulneſs and good courage go on the race you have to run in all ſobriety and truth. Be ſure with an hallowed care to have reſpect to all the commandments of God, and give not yourſelf to neglect them in the leaſt things, leſt by degrees you come to forget them in the greateſt: For the heart of man is deceitful above all things. And in all your duties and devotions towards God, rather perform them joyfully than penſively; for God loves a cheerful giver. For your religion, let it be directed according to that which ſhall be taught by thoſe which are in God's church the proper teachers therefore, rather than that you ever either fancy one to yourſelf, or be led by men that are ſingular in their own opinions, and delight to go in ways of their own finding out: For you will certainly find ſoberneſs and truth in the one, and much unſteadineſs and vanity in the other.

‘ The King, I truſt, will deal graciouſly with you, reſtore you thoſe honours and that fortune which a diſtempered time hath deprived you of, together with the life of your father. Which I rather adviſe might be by a new gift and creation from himſelf than by other means, to the end you may pay the thanks to him, without having obligation to any other.

‘ Be ſure to avoid as much as you can to enquire after thoſe that have been ſharp in their judgments towards me; and I charge you never to ſuffer thought of revenge to enter your heart. But be careful to be informed who were my friends in this proſecution, and to them apply yourſelf to make them your friends alſo; and on ſuch you may rely, and beſtow much of your converſation amongſt them. And God Almighty of his infinite goodneſs bleſs you and your childrens children; and his ſame goodneſs bleſs your ſiſters in like manner, perfect you in every good work, and give you right underſtandings in all things. Amen.

‘ Your moſt loving father,

‘ T. Wentworth.’

‘ You muſt not fail to behave yourſelf towards my Lady Clare your grandmother with all duty and obſervance: for moſt tenderly doth ſhe love you, and hath been paſſing kind unto me. God reward her charity for it! And both in this and all the reſt, the ſame that I counſel you, the ſame do I direct alſo to your ſiſters, that ſo the ſame may be obſerved by you all. And once more do I from my very ſoul beſeech our gracious God to bleſs and govern you in all, to the ſaving you in the day of his viſitation, and join us again in the communion of his bleſſed ſaints, where is fulneſs of joy and bliſs for evermore. Amen. Amen (114).’

(114) p. 416, 417.

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ing advice; not ſo much as a letter written by him to any great man of any buſineſs, but he ſhewed it to his confidents, if they were near him. The former part of his life Ch. Gr. and G. R. were conſulted with; and in the latter part Chr. Wandesforde came in Chr. Greenwoode's room, he deſiring not to be taken away from his cure. They met almoſt daily, and debated all buſineſſes and deſigns *pro & con.* By this means his own judgment was very much improved, and all the circumſtances and probable conſequences of the things conſulted were diſcovered and conſidered; a courſe which ſome great men have practiſed, and is very efficacious to make a wiſe man, even though he adviſe with much weaker men than himſelf: For there is no man of ordinary capacity that will not often ſuggeſt ſome things, which might elſe have been let ſlip without being obſerved; And in the debatings of things a man may give another hints and occaſions to obſerve and find out that which he that ſpeaks to it perhaps never thinks on. *Fungor vice cotis exors ipſe ſecandi.*

He was exceeding temperate in meat and drink and recreations, being no whit given to his appetite; though he loved to ſee good meat at his table, yet he ate very little of it himſelf. Beef or rabbits were his ordinary food, or cold powdered meats, or cheeſe and apples, and in moderate quantity. He was never drunk in his life, as I have often heard him ſay, and for ſo much as I had ſeen, I had reaſon to believe him. Yet he was not ſo ſcrupulous, but he would drink healths where he liked his company, and be as ſociable as any of his ſociety, and yet ſtill within the bounds of temperance. In Ireland, where drinking was grown a diſeaſe epidemical, he was more ſtrict publickly, never ſuffering any health to be drunk at his publick table, but the King's, Queen's, and Prince's on ſolemn days. Drunkenneſs in his ſervants was, in his eſteem, one of the greateſt faults.

He loved hawking, and was a good falconer: yet in his later days he got little time to ſee his hawks fly, though he always kept good ones. He played excellently well at *Primero* and *Mayo*, and for company's ſake in Chriſtmas and after ſupper he would play ſometimes; yet he never was much taken with it, nor uſed it exceſſively, but as a recreation ſhould be uſed. His chief recreation was after ſupper, when if he had company which were ſuitable to him, that is, honeſt cheerful men, he would retire into an inner room, and ſit two or three hours, taking tobacco, and telling ſtories with great pleaſantneſs and freedom. And this he uſed conſtantly with all familiarity in private, laying then aſide all ſtate, and that due reſpect, which in publick he would expect. He loved juſtice for juſtice itſelf, taking great delight to free a poor man from a powerful oppreſſor, or to puniſh bold wickedneſs, whereof there are ſundry inſtances to be given, both at York and in Ireland. This loſt him ſome mens good will, which he thought better to be loſt than kept upon thoſe terms. One perſon of quality, whom he had ſeverely puniſhed at York, came to be one of his judges in the Lords Houſe, and there did him all juſtice and favour (as the caſe then ſtood) in his laſt troubles; who therefore deſerves to be honoured, eſpecially by us that had relation to him.

He was excellently well ſtudied in that part of the Engliſh laws which concerns the office of a juſtice of peace; inſomuch as one of the judges of aſſize, a great lawyer, was well pleaſed to learn his opinion in a matter about the poor, and the ſtatutes made concerning them. By conſtant attendance at the *Star-Chamber* for ſeven years together, he learned the courſe of that court, and many directions for his carriage towards the publick. This in thoſe days was a moſt pleaſant and uſeful employment for a young gentleman, who is like to have any part in the government of his country.

He bore a particular perſonal affection for the King; and he was always a lover of monarchy, although ſome that have obſerved him in former parliaments, thought not ſo; but they little knew with what reſpect and kindneſs King James had uſed him; ſo as certainly that prince thought him no enemy to his power: It is true, he was a ſubject, and ſenſible enough of the people's liberties; and he always thought, that regal power and popular privileges might well ſtand together, and then only they were beſt preſerved, when they went hand in hand, and maintained one another. He always diſliked the abuſe of regal authority to the oppreſſion of ſubjects for private ends and intereſts; yet it being moſt hard and difficult to keep the intereſts of the King and People from incroaching one upon another, the longer he lived, his experience taught him, that it was far ſafer the King ſhould increaſe in power, than that the people ſhould gain advantages on the King: *That* may turn to the prejudice of ſome particular ſufferers; *This* draws with it the ruin of the whole.

His prudence and diligence are beſt ſhewn by the government of Ireland, wherein he never undertook any buſineſs, that he would give it over till he had finiſhed it. He was conſtantly at work himſelf, and ſet out able inſtruments in every kind proper for his aſſiſtance. To them he gave little reſt, ſtill calling on and encouraging them to be doing, and to give accounts of what they had done, and rewarding plentifully all that deſerved it. If thoſe he employed were diligent and dextrous to diſpatch the King's buſineſs, they needed not ſtudy for ſuits for themſelves; his watchfulneſs and bounty would prevent them, wherein I could give a multitude of inſtances.

The particulars of all theſe affairs he duly gave account of to the King, by the ſecretary of eſtate in England, and other miniſters (yy). The copies whereof fairly written out are a treaſure to him that hath them.

(yy) Moſt of theſe are printed in Strafforde's letters, &c. eſpecially in thoſe to the King, the Archbiſhop, the Lord Treaſurer, and Secretary Coke. January 1633.

In the compaſs of ſeven years, whereas the King's revenue in that kingdom before he came thither had fallen every year ſhort above 20,000l. of defraying the public charge, he brought the King's revenue not only to pay all, but to yield above 60,000l. yearly, above all payments; and it was in a growing condition, ſtill increaſing. He diſcharged the King's debts there, which were great, near 80,000l. He got reſtored to the church lands and tythes, ſacrilegiouſly interverted, above 30,000l. in yearly value. He brought in all the laws in England into force to his time (zz), (except ſome penal laws, which are commonly ſnares to the people, rather than producers of any reformation); for inſtance, he did not exact of the Recuſant the 12 d. a Sunday, but he ſecured the Proteſtant intereſt by more noble and effectual means than penal laws, viz. in repairing churches, and building manſion-houſes for miniſters; introducing a learned clergy, and injoining them ſtrict reſidence; affording them countenance and protection againſt the encroachments of the powerful; reſtoring to them means of hoſpitality, and looking carefully to the education and marriages of the King's wards; ſo as the Iriſh and Engliſh might live together now as one people. He indenized all the *ante-nati Scots*, which were born before Qu. Elizabeth's death; a favour of very great advantage to that nation, which it may be hoped ſome of them will conſider, and remember how ſome of their countrymen reputed that benefit. He ſaw the army compleat, duly paid, duly cloathed, and duly exerciſed, whereof his own eyes every year were his witneſſes. He ſecured the ſeas from pyracies, ſo as only one ſhip was loſt at his firſt coming, and no more all his time; whereas every year before not only ſeveral ſhips and goods were loſt by robbery at ſea, but alſo Turkiſh men of war uſually landed and took prey of men to be made ſlaves. By this means, and other encouragement of merchants, trading did increaſe to full treble of what it was formerly; and for every ton of ſhipping, which he found in Ireland, he left an hundred tons, as may be particularly ſhewed by a liſt of all the ſhipping found and left in every harbour of that kingdom. In the mean time he cauſed the merchants to pay their cuſtoms more duly than they had done; whereof many in corporations were more ſenſible and diſpleaſed at it, than the great ſecurity and benefit which they received in their trading did recompence, in their apprehenſion. But the whole kingdom felt the benefit, inſomuch as all lands throughout Ireland increaſed near double in yearly value and rents within the compaſs of theſe ſeven years; inſomuch as it was generally obſerved that Ireland never lived in that tranquillity and plenty, and liberty from oppreſſion, and other bleſſings that make a nation flouriſh, as it did under his government. That all people ſhould be ſatisfied it is impoſſible; but when the complaints of diſcontented perſons are duly heard and conſidered, they will very eaſily be anſwered by any that knew thoſe times: Indeed generally their frivolous complaints confute themſelves, and generally all the complaints which I have heard were either apparently cauſeleſs, and for the moſt part grounded on hearſay, or the reports of perſons who had ſuffered juſtly for their offences.

(zz) All the beſt laws made ſince the time of Hen. VII. as well as the articles and canons of the Church of England in the ſecond ſeſſion of the parliament appointed, as has been ſeen, for granting graces by the King.

He was naturally exceeding cholerick, an infirmity with which he had great wreſtlings; and though he kept a watch over himſelf concerning it, yet it could not be ſo prevented, but ſometimes upon ſudden occaſions it would break out. He had ſundry friends that often admoniſhed him of it, and he had the great prudence to take in good part their admonitions: Nay I can ſay, that I, one of his moſt intimate friends, never gained more upon his truſt and affection than by this freedom with him, in telling him of his weakneſſes: For he was a man and not an angel, yet ſuch a man as made a conſcience of his ways, and did endeavour to grow in virtue and victory over himſelf, and made good progreſs accordingly.

He was defamed for incontinence, wherein I have reaſon to believe that he was exceedingly much wronged. I had occaſion of ſome ſpeech with him about the ſtate of his ſoul ſeveral times, but twice eſpecially; when I verily believe he did lay open unto me the very bottom of his heart. Once was when he was in a very great affliction upon the death of his ſecond wife, and then for ſome days and nights I was very few minutes out of his company. The other time was at Dublin on a Good-Friday (his birth-day) when he was preparing himſelf to receive the bleſſed ſacrament on Eaſter-day following. At both theſe times I received ſuch ſatisfaction, as left no ſcruple with me at all, but much aſſurance of his chaſtity. I knew his ways long and intimately; and tho' I cannot clear him from all frailties (for who can juſtify the moſt innocent man?) yet I muſt give him the teſtimony of conſcientiouſneſs in his ways, that he kept himſelf from groſs ſins, and endeavoured to approve himſelf rather unto God than unto man, to be religious inwardly and in truth, rather than outwardly and in ſhew.

I need ſay little of his eloquence and abilities in ſpeech: Both Houſes of Parliament in England, and the Star-chamber and Council-table there, as alſo the Preſidential court of York, and the Council-chamber and Star-chamber and Parliament in Ireland, and as much as any of theſe his laſt defence at his trial in Weſtminſter-hall before the King, Queen, Lords, Houſe of Commons, and multitudes of auditors of all ſorts, are moſt full and abundant witneſſes hereof, to omit his private and public letters, which ſhewed that he writ as well as he ſpoke. This perfection he attained firſt by reading well-penned authors in French, Engliſh, and Latin, and obſerving their expreſſions; ſecondly, by hearing of eloquent men, which he did diligently in their ſermons and public ſpeeches; thirdly, by a very great care and induſtry which he uſed when he was young, in pen-

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ning his epiſtles and miſſives of what ſubject ſoever; but above all, he had a natural quickneſs of wit and fancy, with great clearneſs of judgment and much practice, without which his other helps of reading and hearing would not have brought him to that perfection to which he attained. I learned one rule of him, which I think worthy to be remembered; when he met with a well-penned oration or tract upon any ſubject or queſtion, he framed a ſpeech upon the ſame argument, inventing and diſpoſing what ſeemed fit to be ſaid upon that ſubject, before he read the book; then reading the book, he compared his own with the author, and noted his own defects, and the author's art and fulneſs; whereby he obſerved all that was in the author more ſtrictly, and might better judge of his own wants to ſupply them.

But amongſt all his qualities, none was more eminent than his friendſhip, wherein he did ſtudy, and delighted to excel: a ſubject whereon I can worſt expreſs myſelf, though I have moſt to ſay, and greateſt ſcope to enlarge myſelf. For I cannot think of it, without remembring what I loſt in his death; a treaſure which no earthly thing can countervail; ſuch a friend as never man within the compaſs of my knowledge ever had, ſo excellent a friend, and ſo much mine. He never had any thing in his poſſeſſion or power, which he thought too dear for his friends. He was never weary to take pains for them, or to employ the utmoſt of his abilities in their ſervice. No fear, trouble, or expence, deterred him from ſpeaking or doing any thing which the occaſions of his friends required. He was never forgetful, nor needed to be ſollicited, to do or procure any courteſy, which he thought uſeful for, or deſired by, his friends (*aaa*). The Lord Baltimore and the Lord Keeper Coventry both of them on their death-beds gave him a moſt ſingular teſtimony of their ſenſe of his moſt conſtant kindneſs and induſtrious promoting of their intereſt at the Court, above the ordinary courſe of Court-friendſhip. How he beſtirred himſelf in an arbitration between the Earls of Arundel and Surrey and Philip Earl of Pembroke, wherein he was named of the Earl of Arundel's part, the particulars are more than I can well ſet down, and the conſequence thereof I am willing to forget (*bbb*). It will be too long for me to deſign to expreſs the obligations his kindneſs laid on particular men. There are very many, that have cauſe to remember them, and they or their poſterity enjoy the fruit thereof. In fine, he did not ſeek friendſhip with all men; but where he deſired intimacy, his kindneſs did appear much more in effect than in words. He never failed where he did profeſs friendſhip; yet the time was when he might have ſecured himſelf from the great oppoſition raiſed againſt him in parliament, if he would have conſented to have done and forborn to have done ſome things concerning ſome, whom he accounted his friends, which ſome men would not have ſcrupled at: and God knows whether he was repaid again with the like kindneſs and fidelity. His ſon, who was reſtored to the title, leaving no iſſue, that came to William, ſecond brother of our Stateſman (*ccc*). P

(*aaa*) His kindneſs to his nephews, Sir Geo. and Sir Will. Savile, has been already mentioned.

(*bbb*) Mr Howell, as we have ſeen, mentions the Earl of Pembroke's reſentment; and he was one of the 22 Lords that paſſed the bill of attainder againſt Straſforde.

(*ccc*) Radcliffe's Eſſay, p. 433. to p. 436. in Appendix to Straſforde's Letters, vol. II.

WHARTON [HENRY], a very learned Engliſh Divine in the XVIIth century, was born November the 9th, 1664, at Worſtead in Norfolk, of which his father was then Miniſter [*A*]. His education was under his father; who, obſerving in his ſon a great inclination to learning even in his tender years, and withal a happy conjunction of moſt excellent natural parts, gave his utmoſt diligence to cheriſh the one and improve the other; and did ſo thoroughly inſtruct him in the Latin and Greek tongues, that, at his entrance into the univerſity, he had the reputation of an extraordinary young man. On the 17th of February 1679-80, and of his age the ſixteenth, he was admitted Penſioner into Gonvil and Caius college in Cambridge (whereof his father had formerly been Fellow) under the tuition of Mr John Ellys (*a*), one of the ſenior Fellows of the ſame; a perſon of eminent learning, ſingular piety, and ſtrictneſs of life. Under his good care Mr Wharton purſued his ſtudies with an indefatigable induſtry, ſeldom ſpending in them leſs than twelve hours a day. By means of which, and the excellent foundation of learning he had brought along with him, joined to a very good memory and judgment, he improved himſelf much in a little time. He alſo read through moſt of the claſſic authors, particularly the Greek and Latin hiſtorians; beſides ſeveral conſiderable Engliſh writers: and attained to a competent knowledge of the French tongue, a great proficiency in philoſophy, and no mean ſkill in mathematicks. Which laſt was much improved by the kindneſs of Mr (afterwards Sir) Iſaac Newton, then Fellow of Trinity-college, and Lucas-profeſſor, who inſtructed him in that noble ſcience in his own private chamber, amongſt a ſelect company. At Michaelmas 1680, he was unanimouſly choſen by the Fellows into one of thoſe Scholarſhips of the Houſe, which had been founded by his great uncle Mr Matthew Stockys, formerly ſenior Fellow of the ſaid college; the profits of which he continued to receive till Michaelmas 1687, the utmoſt term the ſtatutes could permit, and a favour ſeldom granted to non-reſidents, as he was for ſome part of the time (*b*). He commenced Bachelor of Arts in Hilary-term 1683-4 (*c*), with great reputation: and continued to reſide in the college till about Mi-

(*a*) He was afterwards knighted.

(*b*) The Life of Mr Wharton, prefixed to the firſt volume of his Sermons.

(*c*) Ibid. and from the Univerſity Regiſters.

[*A*] *Of which his father was then Miniſter.*] His father, Mr Edmund Wharton, was Vicar of Worſtead, and afterwards Rector of Saxlingham in the ſame county. He had the great affliction of outliving his valuable ſon, and publiſhed in 1700 The Memorials, or Second Part of the Life, of Archbiſhop Laud, which his ſon had left ready for the preſs.—A. Wood ſays, that he was deſcended from an ancient and genteel family (1).

(1) Athenæ, vol. II. col. 874.

chaelmas 1686; when obſerving no likelihood of the vacancy of any Fellowſhip therein, or, if any ſhould happen, that there were always ſeveral of his ſeniors waiting, who had juſt pretenſions before him, he entertained thoughts of retiring to ſome other place [*B*]. Dr Barker, ſenior Fellow of the ſame college, and afterwards Chaplain to Archbiſhop Tillotſon, being acquainted with his deſign, thought the greateſt kindneſs he could do him, was to procure him the converſation of the beſt men, and acceſs to the beſt books, which he very well knew him ſo admirably prepared for. Accordingly he recommended him to the famous Dr William Cave, whom he aſſiſted in compiling his *Hiſtoria Literaria* [*C*], as that great man acknowledges in his *prolegomena*; teſtifying, that the Appendix of the three laſt centuries was almoſt wholly owing to Mr Wharton, and therefore deſervedly bear his name. In that ſtation, our young Author had the beſt opportunity that could be to improve himſelf: as having not only the benefit of the converſation of ſo learned and communicative a perſon, but alſo the uſe of his library full of the choiceſt and beſt books. That he might be further aſſiſting to that great man, he entered into Deacon's orders in 1687. And in July 1688, he proceeded Maſter of Arts, by proxy; (*d*) which favour was indulged him by the Univerſity, by reaſon of his lying then dangerouſly ill of the ſmall pox. About this time, the reputation he had gained upon ſeveral accounts recommended him to the particular notice of Dr Teniſon, Vicar of St Martin's in the Fields, London, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury; who employed him to prepare for the preſs a Treatiſe againſt the Roman Church [*D*], and likewiſe recommended him to the Lord Arundel of Trerice, as a fit tutor for the education of his only ſon (*e*). Soon after, being preſented to Archbiſhop Sancroft, as a perſon of very pregnant parts [*E*], and uncommon learning for his age (*f*), his Grace put into his hands, April 12, 1688, Archbiſhop Uſher's dogmatical Hiſtory of the Holy Scriptures, in manuſcript, with a command to publiſh it [*F*]: which he performed, with additions. He alſo publiſhed, about the ſame time, ſeveral excellent Treatiſes againſt Popery [*G*]. In June

(*d*) Life, &c. and Univerſity Regiſters.

(*e*) Life, &c. as above.

(*f*) Wood, Ath. ed. 1721. vol. II. col. 874.

[*B*] *He entertained thoughts of retiring to ſome other place.*] During his ſtay in college, he was in all his converſation exemplary for Sobriety and good Government of himſelf, and innocent and obliging in his behaviour, duly obſervant of College-orders, and conſtant in frequenting the Prayers and Sacraments in the Chapel (2).

(2) Life of Mr Wharton, as above.

[*C*] *Whom he aſſiſted in compiling his* Hiſtoria Literaria.] As a work of that extenſive nature required immenſe pains, in reading, digeſting, and methodizing ſuch an infinite number of the ancient Monuments of Learning as are compriſed therein, it could hardly have been brought to the perfection wherein it appears, in the Age of any one Man, without the aſſiſtance of friends: whom therefore the Doctor mentions in his Preface with ſuitable acknowledgments, eſpecially our learned and indefatigable Author. And he was more particularly uſeful then to the Doctor, he being afflicted with a dangerous ſickneſs, which hindered him from proſecuting his deſign any further at that time (3).

(3) Life, &c. as above.

[*D*] *Who employed him to prepare for the preſs a Treatiſe againſt the Roman Church.*] It was a Manuſcript concerning *The incurable Scepticiſm of the Church of Rome*, written in Latin, and after a ſcholaſtical manner, by Mr John Placette of Hamburgh. The Doctor deſired Mr Wharton to epitomize it in a plain way of argumentation, and to tranſlate it into Engliſh.

[*E*] *Soon after, being preſented to Archbiſhop Sancroft, as a perſon of very pregnant parts, &c.*] He ſaith himſelf, that his Grace made him his Chaplain, without any recommendation. — *Qui me nullis meritis, ſed neque amicis intercedentibus commendatum, ad clientelam tuam aſciviſti, rebus ſacris obeundis adhibuiſti* (4).

(4) Angl. Sacr. pars i. in Epiſt. Dedicat.

[*F*] *His Grace put into his hands Archbiſhop Uſher's dogmatical Hiſtory of the holy Scriptures, &c.*] He publiſhed it under this title, *Jacobi Uſſerii Armachani Archiep. Hiſtoria Dogmatica Controverſiæ inter Orthodoxos & Pontificios de Scripturis & ſacris vernaculis.* And his Additions, at the end, were ſtyled, *Auctarium Hiſtoriæ Dogmaticæ Jacobi Uſſerii Armachani de Scripturis & ſacris vernaculis.* Lond. 4to.

[*G*] *He alſo publiſhed, about the ſame time, ſeveral excellent Treatiſes againſt Popery.*] The author of his Life mentions them in the following order. 1. 'The '*Speculum Eccleſiaſticum* conſidered, in its falſe Rea'ſonings and Quotations.' Lond. 1687. 4to. This was an Anſwer to '*Speculum Eccleſiaſticum*: Or an 'Eccleſiaſtical Proſpective Glaſs;' written by T. Ward, a Popiſh ſoldier. Mr Wharton's Anſwer was begun and finiſhed in the ſpace of one day; and he added thereto, by way of Preface, two further Anſwers; the firſt to the *Defender of the Speculum* (for having got a ſight of T. Ward's *Defence* while it was in the preſs, his Anſwer to it came out as ſoon or ſooner than the Defence itſelf); and the ſecond to the half ſheet againſt the *Six Conferences*, concerning the Euchariſt (5).—In November 1687, Mr Wharton was requeſted by ſeveral eminent Divines in London to go down to Cambridge, and tranſcribe ſuch Manuſcripts as were of better note: which, ſo far as the time permitted, he performed by the aſſiſtance of Mr Cory and Mr Sagg, two of the then Fellows of Corpus Chriſti college, and of Mr John Laughton, the Univerſity Library-keeper. At his return from thence he printed one of them, intitled, 2. 'A Treatiſe 'proving Scripture to be the Rule of Faith; writ by 'Reginald Peacock, Biſhop of Chicheſter, before the 'Reformation, about the year 1450.' To which he joined a large and learned Preface, proving the Holy Scriptures to be the adequate Rule of Faith. Lond. 1688. 4to. 3. The next thing he publiſhed, was, 'A Treatiſe of the Celibacy of the Clergy, wherein 'its Riſe and Progreſs are Hiſtorically conſidered.' Lond. 1688. 4to. The *Imprimatur* bears date Nov. 3. 1687. His deſign in this Treatiſe (as he declares in the Preface) was, 'to vindicate the injured Cauſe 'of Marriage, and ſhew that the antient Eſteem of 'Celibacy was neither Rational nor Univerſal; that 'both antient and modern Impoſition of it is unlaw'ful; and that the Antient Uſe of it is no reaſonable 'nor neceſſary precedent of the Modern Practice of 'it; to ſhew the occaſions of that Eſteem and Begin'nings of this Impoſition; and carry the Hiſtory of 'the Celibacy, and Marriage of the Clergy, through 'the ſeveral ages of the Church.'——The ſubſtance of the whole Book is compriſed in theſe four Propoſitions. 'Firſt, Celibacy of the Clergy was not inſti'tuted either by Chriſt or his Apoſtles. Secondly, 'It hath nothing excellent in it, and bringeth no 'real advantage to the Church, or to the Chriſtian 'Religion. Thirdly, The Impoſition of it upon any 'Order of Men is unjuſt, and contrary to the Law 'of God. Fourthly, It was never univerſally im'poſed or practiſed in the Antient Church (6).' More particularly, he ſhews, 'That the extraordinary af'fection and reverence of Virginity, was firſt ſtarted 'and introduced by a Heretick, *Tertullian*; who, de'ceived by the enthuſiaſms of *Montanus*, endeavoured 'to refine the Chriſtian Religion, and advance it into 'a ſyſtem of angelick perfection. He led the way 'to the Writers of the Latin Church, who receiving 'this prejudice from him, propagated it in ſome 'meaſure among the Greeks, although it never was 'by them embraced with that zeal, and purſued with 'that fervour, which always accompanied it in the 'Weſtern Church (7).' He further ſhews, in the Hiſtorical part of his deſign (8), 'That the Celibacy 'of the Clergy was looked upon as a thing indifferent

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(5) See Continuation of the preſent State of the Controverſy between the Church of England and the Church of Rome. Lond. 1688. 4to. p. 63.

(6) p. 4.

(7) p. 13.

(8) p. 50, &c.

June 1688, though as yet no more than a Deacon, he was honoured by the Archbiſhop with a licence for preaching through the whole province of Canterbury; a favour which his Grace never granted to any but him. He moreover admitted him, in the September following, into the number of his Chaplains; at the ſame time, as his cuſtom was, giving him a living. But his inſtitution to it being deferred till he ſhould be of full age, in the mean while a better, namely the Vicarage of Minſter in the iſle of Thanet, became void, to which he was collated November 12, the ſame year (and afterwards to the Rectory of Chartham, September 19, 1689); being firſt ordained Prieſt by the Archbiſhop, on his own birth-day, November 9, 1688. By the advice and encouragement of that generous and learned patron, and of Biſhop Lloyd (g), he undertook his laborious work, intitled *Anglia Sacra* [*H*], of which an account is given below. In 1692, he

‘ in the Two firſt centuries, Propoſed in the Third, ‘ Magnified in the Fourth, and in ſome places im‘ poſed in the Fifth, yet ſo, as that even that impo‘ ſition did infinitely differ from the preſent doctrine ‘ and diſcipline of the Church of Rome; that, how‘ ever commanded in ſome provinces of the Weſt, it ‘ was no where univerſally practiſed; that in a few ‘ ages this impoſition became obſolete, this yoke in‘ tolerable, and marriage univerſally prevailed, till ‘ condemned and forbidden by the Popes of the *Ele*‘ *venth* age; that even their decrees and canons be‘ came ineffectual by an univerſal oppoſition of the ‘ whole Church; and the lawfulneſs of marriage in ‘ the clergy was afterwards allowed and permitted by ‘ many Popes, and one General Council of the Ro‘ man Church; that all this while Celibacy never was ‘ impoſed or practiſed in the *Eaſtern* Church from the ‘ Apoſtles time; but the impoſition of it was rejected ‘ by one, and condemned by another Council of the ‘ univerſal Church; and obtained not even in the ‘ *Weſt*, till the Ambition and Uſurpation of the Popes ‘ drawing to themſelves the diſpoſition of all greater ‘ Eccleſiaſtical preferments, Poverty became neceſſary ‘ to the Married Clergy; which cauſed Marriage to ‘ be wholly laid aſide by them about *Two hundred* ‘ *years* before the Reformation.’ In this Treatiſe, he ſhewed ſuch ſharpneſs of wit, clearneſs of reaſoning, and vaſtneſs of reading, as mightily raiſed his eſteem among all. The learned eſpecially had extraordinary thoughts of him, that a perſon *ſo young*, having hardly yet exceeded *twenty three years of age*, ſhould be able to compoſe ſuch exquiſite works, and to write ſuch excellent diſcourſes as he had done (9). But, to proceed to the reſt of our Author's Tracts againſt Popery, 4. He tranſlated from French into Engliſh, *The Hiſtory of the Inquiſition as it is exerciſed at Goa.* Written in French by Monſieur Dellon, &c. Printed without his name, as the former were. Lond. 1688. 4to. It ſeems to have been done in haſte. 5. He turned ſome ‘ Homilies of St Macarius, the Prologue ‘ and the Epilogue of Eunomius his Apologetick ‘ Treatiſe’ (formerly tranſcribed by him out of a manuſcript of the Rev. Dr Teniſon) with ‘ a Treatiſe of ‘ Pſeudo-Dorotheus,’ found by the learned Mr Dodwell in the Bodleian Library, out of Greek into Latin; and the ‘ famous Bull in *Coenâ Domini*,’ out of Latin into Engliſh, annexing a ſhort Preface, containing ſome Reflexions upon the Bull, and Animadverſions on the late account of the Proceedings of the Parliament of Paris. Lond. 6. He publiſhed, ‘ A ‘ brief Declaration of the Lord's Supper, written by ‘ Dr Nicholas Ridley, Biſhop of London, during his ‘ impriſonment. With ſome Determinations and Diſ‘ putations concerning the ſame argument, by the ‘ ſame Author.’ Together with ſome Extracts from the *Diallacticon*, &c. a Latin Diſcourſe written by John Poynet, Biſhop of Wincheſter, in the time of K. Edward VI. Lond. 1688. 4to. 7. ‘ The Enthuſiaſm ‘ of the Church of Rome demonſtrated in ſome Ob‘ ſervations upon the Life of Ignatius Loyola:’ [founder of the Jeſuits order.] Lond. 1688. 4to. His argument in this Tract, is, That if the moſt admired Saints of the Church of Rome are, in the higheſt degree, guilty of Enthuſiaſm (as he proves Loyola to have been) then the ſo much boaſted Order and Diſcipline of the Church of Rome will be intirely ruined; the certainty of Oral Tradition will be overthrown; and their doctrine of the Invocation of Saints will hence receive a fatal blow. 8. He offered his aſſiſtance likewiſe towards a new edition of, Dr James's ‘ Corruption of the Scriptures, Councils, and Fathers, ‘ by the Prelates of the Church of Rome, for the ‘ maintenance of Popery.’——And, at the requeſt of Mr Watts, he reviewed the Verſion of *Philalethe & Philirene*, fitting it for the preſs. Theſe ingenious and learned performances extorted commendations of him, even from the Romaniſts themſelves; who took no ſmall pains to bring him over to their ſide: To that end, Matthews, a Prieſt, who privately ſaid maſs in Windſor-caſtle, had a conference with him. Others in like manner tried their ſkill; and the beſt of the Popiſh pieces were ſent him out of France, in hopes to make a proſelyte of him, but he remained immoveable. For, as he ſays himſelf, *Quo magis Pontificiorum ſcripta pervolvi, eo leviora ac futiliora illorum argumenta mihi ſemper viſa ſunt*: i. e. the more I have read their writings, the weaker and more trifling did their arguments always appear to me (10).

[*H*] *Anglia Sacra.*] The title of this laborious work (which is compriſed in two volumes folio) ſhews its deſign and nature; viz. *Anglia Sacra, ſive Collectio Hiſtoriarum, partim antiquitus, partim recenter ſcriptarum, de Archiepiſcopis & Epiſcopis Angliæ a prima Fidei Chriſtianæ ſuſceptione ad annum* 1540 (11). i. e. A Hiſtory of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of England, from the firſt planting of Chriſtianity here to the year 1540; partly written by ancient authors, and partly compiled by Mr Wharton himſelf. The *firſt* Part, or *Volume*, contains the Lives of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of thoſe Cathedrals, which were poſſeſſed, or ſerved, by Monks; namely, Canterbury, Wincheſter, Rocheſter, Norwich, Coventry and Lichfield, Worceſter, Bath and Wells, Ely, and Durham. And the chief ancient Authors inſerted therein, are, Stephen Birchington's Hiſtory of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury; Thomas Rudborne's Hiſtory of Wincheſter-Church; Ernulf's, Edmund de Hadenham's, and William de Dene's, Accounts of that of Rocheſter; Bartholomew de Cotton's Annals of the Church of Norwich; Thomas de Cheſterfeld's Hiſtory of the Biſhops of Coventry and Lichfield; the Annals of Worceſter-church, by a Monk there; and the Hiſtory of that of Bath and Wells, by a Canon of Wells; the Hiſtory of Ely-church, by Richard Prior, three Monks, and Robert Stewarde; Account of Durham-church, by an anonymous Monk, Geffrey de Coldingham, Robert de Grayſtanes, and William de Chambre. The *ſecond* Part, or *Volume*, is a miſcellaneous Collection of the Lives of ſeveral Biſhops, chiefly by William of Malmeſbury, Oſbern, or rather John of Tinmouth, Eadmer, Robert de Wycomb, Thomas Chaundler, Girald Cambrenſis; with the Life of Robert Groſthead, &c. He propoſed to have added a *third* Part, or *Volume*, which was to contain the Hiſtory of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of thoſe Cathedrals which were poſſeſſed by Secular or Regular Canons. But the deprivation of his good patron put a ſtop to that deſign (12). A part of it, containing an account only of the Biſhops and Deans of London and St Aſaph, was publiſhed after his deceaſe, with this title, *Hiſtoria de Epiſcopis & Decanis Londinenſibus: necnon de Epiſcopis & Decanis Aſſavenſibus; a primâ Sedis utriuſque fundatione ad ann.* 1540. *acceſſit Appendix duplex Inſtrumentorum quorundam inſignium ad utramque Hiſtoriam ſpectantium.* Lond. 1695. 8vo. The writer of our learned Author's Life, calls this ‘ a work of *incredible pains*, ‘ as muſt needs be acknowledged by any one who ‘ conſiders the *uncommonneſs* of the ſubject, never be‘ fore ſo treated of by any one, the *ſcarcity* and *ob*‘ *ſcurity* of the materials from whence it was to be ‘ collected, and theſe too not to be had but in ſeveral ‘ places, and at vaſt diſtances; yet all theſe difficul‘ ties were overcome by his own *unwearied diligence* ‘ *and patience*, and the kind and generous aſſiſtance of ‘ *Friends*. Among whom were Dr Lloyd, then Biſhop ‘ of St Aſaph (13), Dr John Battely, Archdeacon of he publiſhed A Defence of Pluralities [*I*]: And, the year following, other Books [*K*]; particularly, A Specimen of ſome Errors and Defects in the Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England, written by Gilbert Burnet, D. D. [*L*]. The laſt thing he committed

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(g) Anglia Sacra, pars ii. Epiſt. Dedicat.

(9) Life, as above. See alſo Wood, col. 874.

(10) Life, &c. as above.

(11) Both volumes were publiſhed at London in 1691. fol.

(12) Vide Præf. partis ii. Angliæ Sacræ, p. 30.

(13) Tu etenim primus me ad Opus iſtud aggrediendum incitaſti, vacillantem ſæpe animum & ſub diuturni laboris pondere fatiſcentem confirmaſti, conſilio atque authoritate tua ſuſceptum Opus promoviſti. Epiſt. Ded. Angl. Sacr. p. ii.

'Canterbury, Dr William Hopkins, Prebendary of Worceſter, and Dr Matthew Hutton, Rector of Ayno in Northamptonſhire.'—— The author of his Life further adds,—'This was a work of ſuch excellent deſign, that for it alone, though he had given no other inſtance of his *Induſtry*, and *Zeal for the cauſe of Religion and Learning*, (as he had many) the *Name* of Mr *Wharton* ought always to be dear to the learned world; for the benefit and advantage whereof, ſo many *antient Monuments* of our Nation, relating to Church-affairs, have been brought to light and retrieved from that Obſcurity and Darkneſs, wherein they had lain hid for many ages.'——Biſhop Nicolſon obſerves (14), That in *Anglia Sacra* the Readers 'are ſure to meet with a good view of ſuch old Writers as have treated of the ancient Hiſtory of this or that Dioceſs; or elſe they have (at leaſt) a compoſure of Mr Wharton's, very valuable for the pains that Author took in adjuſting the true chronological ſucceſſion of our Biſhops.' He had not ſpoken ſo favourably of that work, in the Preface to the firſt edition of the *Firſt Part of his Engliſh Hiſtorical Library*; which paſſages however he thought fit to leave out in the ſubſequent edition. What he ſuggeſts in that Preface, as if Mr Wharton had not diligently 'improved the opportunities he had of fitting out all theſe Writers for the preſs, before the misfortunes of his patron had ſpoiled both his deſign and proſpect,' is very falſe and injurious. For, no man could poſſibly improve more diligently the opportunities he had, than Mr Wharton did, conſidering his works, and the ſhortneſs of his life. Moreover, he found fault with our Author's ornamental Diſcourſes, as if they had been ſent abroad too early: particularly '(what he valued himſelf upon as his maſter-piece) the Diſſertation about the two Elfrics (15); which, ſays Mr Nicolſon, is founded on a groſs miſtake in A. Whelock's tranſlating an expreſſion in the Saxon Chronicle (16), which carries no ſuch ſenſe as he puts upon it.' Being made ſenſible of this error, he endeavours, in his *Addenda*, (17) to gain his point by a freſh Argument, aſſuring us, 'that the *Codex optimus Cottonianus* ends the Chronicle at the year 975.'— But a bitterer Enemy to Mr Wharton, was the late Biſhop Burnet, unreaſonably but highly incenſed at our Author's *Specimen of ſome Errors and Defects in the Hiſtory of the Reformation.* After having ſeverely reflected upon him, the Biſhop goes on thus. 'I have a work lying on my table, which ſhews how little regard is due to his Collections. It was ſent me by a worthy perſon in one of the Univerſities, and is a Collating of Ten Pages of his *Anglia Sacra*, with the manuſcript that he vouches: It ſwells indeed to a Book. *Wharton* omits the moſt material paſſage of an inſtrument that blemiſhed one of his Heroes. In ſome places there are errors in every line; and there are three capital errors in one line; and about fifty in that ſmall compaſs (18).' Elſewhere, the Biſhop ſays, (19) 'As for *Anthony Harmer*, ſome have doubted if he could be capable of making Three Capital Errors in one line: And ſince Mr Strype has ſuggeſted to me that, in which I was under ſome reſerve before, as having it from another hand, I am now free to ſet it down. For *Capitulum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis*, he has printed *Epiſtolam Conventus Eccleſiæ Catholicæ*. If the abbreviations may ſeem to excuſe the reading *Epiſtolam* for *Capitulum*, and *Catholicæ* for *Cathedralis*, nothing can excuſe the word *Conventus*, which he thought wanting to make a compleat title; having read the others as he did: ſo I hope I have reaſon to have no regard to any thing that comes from him upon his bare authority.'...The choleric Prelate ſhould have remembered, that Mr Wharton had an *Amanuenſis* (20), and therefore ſhould not have blamed him ſolely; though indeed he was in ſome reſpects blame worthy, for not collating the copies with the originals. But Mr Wharton wrote, and printed, in too great a hurry; which hath rendered his works incorrect.

[*I*] *In* 1692, *he publiſhed A Defence of Pluralities.*] It was occaſioned by a Bill prepared to be offered to Parliament in 1691, *For the reſtraining of Pluralities of Benefices with Cure of Souls* (21). Mr Wharton, in his *Defence*, proves theſe three Propoſitions. 1. 'Plurality of Benefices with Cure of Souls is not *jure divino* unlawful. 2. It is not contrary to the firſt deſign of parochial endowments. 3. It is not inconvenient to the Church.' And in the courſe of his book, he ſhews, that ſome of thoſe who moſt favoured the cauſe of our Diſſenters, [the Biſhops Hoper and Williams in particular] have been the greateſt Pluraliſts (22). To which might be added freſher inſtances of the like nature.... About two years after the publication of Mr Wharton's Defence, there came out an Anſwer to it, intitled, 'The Caſe of Pluralities and Non-reſidence rightly ſtated: in a Letter to the Author of a book, called *A Defence of Pluralities, &c.*' Lond. 1694. 8vo. And, above forty years after, the late Dr R. Newton of Oxford publiſhed a laboured and formal Anſwer to it, contradictory to his own practice, which he called *Pluralities indefenſible, &c.* But, in more places than one, he makes ſuch conceſſions, as make Pluralities appear neceſſary, eſpecially in the preſent circumſtances. 'Conſidering,' ſays he, (23) 'the Devotion of *ancient* Times; with what *Punctuality* the *Tithes* were paid; with what *Liberality* the *Oblations* were made; and with what *Simplicity* the Clergy lived; every endowed Church in the kingdom, with the Tithes and Offerings annexed, could not but be a ſufficient Income for the uſes to which it was to be apply'd....It would have been horrible, indeed, if there ſhould have been *Plurality* of Benefices held by one Prieſt, in thoſe days, in a ſingle inſtance: For, with reſpect to *Maintenance* there could be no occaſion. But the caſe being quite otherwiſe now-a-days, Pluralities are not only tolerable, but even neceſſary.'—Elſewhere he makes this pertinent remark (24). 'Great numbers are invited to dedicate their whole *Time* and *Pains*, and *Fortune*, to qualify themſelves for the clerical profeſſion, by a proſpect of a *Reaſonable Subſiſtence* for the diligent diſcharge of parochial duties. Having bent all their Thoughts and Studies this way, they are become leſs capable of getting a Livelihood by any other Imployment; neither having once enter'd into this, can they well take to any other without a diminution of their character.'—— Now, if they cannot in general get that *Reaſonable Subſiſtence* without Pluralities, muſt Pluralities be called abſolutely Indefenſible?

But the beſt way to bring that point to a ſhort iſſue, and the only means indeed to render Pluralities *unneceſſary*, is, either to make every Benefice a competent Maintenance, by reſtoring Impropriations, &c. or elſe to deſtroy the Wives and Families of Clergymen, and reduce them to a ſtate of Monkery, and withal confine them to the bare Neceſſaries of Life.

Let us hear the ſentiments of the late learned Dr Prideaux upon this ſubject (25)...'As long as there are ſo many ſmall Vicarages, and other impropriated Churches, either wholly unendowed, or elſe inſufficiently provided for, the State of this Church, as it is at preſent, cannot bear an abſolute ſuppreſſion of all Pluralities; and therefore till all impropriated Tithes ſhould be again reſtored, or every Church-Living ſome other way made a Competency, it is neceſſary to proceed in a middle way as to this matter.'——Some Pluralities indeed are unreaſonable; as the having Two Benefices of two or three hundred pounds yearly value each, with a Prebend of Durham, Weſtminſter, Windſor, &c. or the holding a Sine-cure of upwards of 200l. *per annum*, with one, or perhaps two, other good Benefices. In ſuch caſes the abuſe is great, and calls for a remedy. But where two Livings, at a reaſonable diſtance, make but a competent Maintenance for a Family, and due Care is taken of both, no valid or ſufficient reaſon can be given againſt ſuch Plurality.

[*K*] *And, the year following, other Books.*] Namely, Venerable *Bede's Latin Commentaries* on Geneſis, and on the 3d Chapter, or Song, of Habakkuk; together with a Dialogue of Egbert Archbiſhop of York, and Aldhelm, the firſt Biſhop of Shirebourn, his eloquent book of the *Praiſe of Virginity. Bedæ venerabilis Opera quædam Theologica & Hiſtorica, nunc primum edita, &c.* Lond. 1693. 4to.

[*L*] *Particularly, A Specimen of ſome Errors and Defects in the Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England.*]

(14) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, edit. 1714. fol. p. 125.

(15) Anglia Sacra, pars i. p. 125.

(16) Ad ann. 975.

(17) p. 796.

(18) Introduction to vol. III. of the Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. 7.

(19) Preface to the ſame volume, p. 1, 2.

(20) Vide Epiſt. Dedicat. ad part. ii. Angl. Sacr.

(21) See the Draught of that bill, at the end of Dr Prideaux's Original and Right of Tithes. Lond. 1710. 8vo.

(22) Defence of Pluralities, p. 13.

(23) Pluralities Indefenſible, p. 53.

(24) p. 205.

(25) Preface to the Draught of a Bill for reſtraining Pluralities, &c. ſubjoined to his Original and Right of Tithes, &c. 1710.

committed to the preſs was, The Hiſtory of the Troubles and Tryal of Archbiſhop Laud [*M*]. But it muſt not be forgot, that he publiſhed alſo a new edition of the life of Cardinal Pole; with the Conteſt between the Embaſſadors of England and France at the Council of Conſtance, about precedency [*N*]: And that he made Remarks and Animadverſions upon Mr Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, which are printed at the end of that Life. Beſides which, he left ſeveral pieces in manuſcript, and notes and emendations upon many printed books [*O*]. And Two Volumes of his Sermons were printed

England.] This he publiſhed under the diſguiſed name of *Anthony Harmer.* Biſhop Burnet, who had an extraordinary fondneſs for the iſſue of his own brain; who conſidered the Hiſtory of the Reformation as his capital performance; and fondly imagined, that through his ſides our Reformation was attacked, and muſt ſtand or fall with him; flew into a violent rage, and became quite impatient, at this Attempt. He complained of it immediately to the world, in a Letter directed to Dr William Lloyd, Biſhop of Coventry and Lichfield, printed at London in 1693. 4to (26); and afterwards, in 1700, in his Reflections on a book, entitled, *The Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an Engliſh Convocation, &c.* (27) But more fully, in the Introduction to the Third Volume of his Hiſtory of the Reformation (28), where he thus ſpeaks bitterly of our Author, and the *Specimen.*— Mr Wharton 'had examined the dark Ages before the Reformation, with much diligence, and ſo knew many things relating to thoſe times beyond any man of the age; he pretended that he had many more errors in reſerve, and that this Specimen was only a haſty Collection of a few, out of many other diſcoveries he could make: This conſiſted of ſome trifling and minute differences in ſome dates of tranſactions of no importance, upon which nothing depended; ſo I cannot tell whether I took theſe too eaſily from printed books; or if I committed any errors in my notes taken in the ſeveral offices. He likewiſe follows me through the ſeveral recapitulations I had made of the ſtate of things before the Reformation, and finds errors and omiſſions in moſt of theſe; he adds ſome things out of papers I had never ſeen. The whole was writ with ſo much malice, and ſuch contempt, that I muſt give ſome account of the man, and of his motives. He had expreſſed great zeal againſt Popery, in the end of King James's reign, being then Chaplain to Abp Sancroft, who, as he ſaid, had promiſed him the Firſt of thoſe Prebends of Canterbury that ſhould fall in his gift; ſo when he ſaw that the Archbiſhop was reſolved not to take the oaths, but to forſake his poſt, he made an earneſt application to me, to ſecure that for him at Archbiſhop Tillotſon's hands: I preſſed him in it as much as was decent for me to do, but he ſaid he would not encourage theſe aſpiring men, by promiſing any thing before it ſhould fall; as indeed none of them fell during his time. Wharton, upon this anſwer, thought I had neglected him, looking on it as a civil denial, and ſaid he would be revenged; and ſo he publiſhed that *Specimen.* Upon which, I, in a Letter that I printed, addreſſed to the preſent Biſhop of Worceſter, charged him again and again to bring forth all that he pretended to have reſerved at that time; for till that was done, I would not enter upon the examination of that *Specimen.* It was received with contempt; and Tillotſon juſtified my preſſing him to take Wharton under his particular protection ſo fully, that he ſent and aſked me pardon: He ſaid he was ſet on to it, and that, if I would procure any thing for him, he would diſcover every thing to me: I deſpiſed that offer, but ſaid, that I would at any price buy of him thoſe Diſcoveries that he pretended to have in reſerve; but Mr Chiſwell (at whoſe houſe he then lay, being ſick) ſaid he could draw nothing of that from him, and he believed he had nothing.' ——Dr Swift, referring to this account given by the Biſhop of Mr Wharton, ſays (29), 'Poor Mr Wharton in his grave is charged with the ſame accuſation [of Ingratitude], but with circumſtances the moſt aggravating that Malice and ſomething elſe could invent; and which I will no more believe than five hundred paſſages in a certain Book of Travels..... What a ſpirit of candour, charity and good-nature, generoſity and truth, ſhines through this ſtory, told of a moſt excellent and pious Divine 20 years after his death, without one ſingle voucher! .... 'He has in plain words given Mr Wharton the character of a *moſt malicious, revengeful, treacherous, lying, mercenary villain.* To which I ſhall only ſay, that the direct reverſe of this amiable deſcription is what appears from the works of that moſt learned Divine, and from the accounts given me by thoſe who knew him much better than the Biſhop ſeems to have done. I meddle not with the moral part of this treatment. God almighty forgive his Lordſhip this manner of revenging himſelf; and then there will be but little conſequence from an accuſation which the Dead cannot feel, and which none of the Living will believe (30).'

[*M*] *The laſt thing he committed to the preſs, was, The Hiſtory of the Troubles and Tryal of Archbiſhop Laud.*] The title he gave it, was, 'The Hiſtory of the Troubles and Tryal of the moſt Reverend Father in God, and bleſſed Martyr, *William Laud,* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.* Wrote by himſelf, during his Impriſonment in the Tower. To which is prefixed the Diary of his own life faithfully and entirely publiſhed from the original Copy: And ſubjoined a Supplement to the preceding Hiſtory: The Archbiſhop's laſt Will; His large Anſwer to the Lord Say's Speech concerning Liturgies; His Annual Accounts of his Province delivered to the King, &c.' Lond. 1695. fol. The Preface is dated Feb. 2, 1693-4. He publiſhed that work from the Originals, delivered into his hands by Archbiſhop Sancroft a few days before his deceaſe, and by his ſpecial command.— Mr Wharton had alſo collected *Memorials* and *other Papers* of Archbiſhop Laud, which by that Prelate's direction ſhould have accompanied this Hiſtory. But finding they could not be publiſhed in the ſame Volume with the Tryal, without ſwelling it to too great a bulk, he reſerved them for a Second Part: which not living to put out, it was publiſhed by his father, Mr Edmund Wharton, in 1700. fol. This ſecond volume contains, Letters and other Tranſactions relating to the Univerſity of Oxford, from Archbiſhop Laud's being elected Chancellor, April 12, 1630, to his reſignation of that office, June 28, 1641: His Anſwer to the Lord Say's Speech againſt the Biſhops, 1641: And his Speech in the Star-chamber, June 14, 1637, at the cenſure of J. Baſtwick, H. Burton, and W. Prinn.

[*N*] *A new edition of the Life of Cardinal Pole, with the Conteſt between the Embaſſadors of England and France at the Council of Conſtance, &c.*] They are in Latin, and bear this title, *Vita* Reginaldi Poli, S. R. E. *Cardinalis, & Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopi; Italice conſcripta a* Ludovico Bacatello, *Archiepiſcopo Raguſino, ipſius familiari. Latine reddita, ab* Andrea Dudithio *Epiſcopo Tininienſi.* Juxta *exemplar Venetiis excuſum,* An. M.D.LXIII.—*Nobiliſſima Diſceptatio ſuper Dignitate & Magnitudine Regnorum Britannici & Gallici, habita ab utriuſque Oratoribus & Legatis in Concilio* Conſtantienſi. *Juxta exemplar* Lovaniis *excuſum,* An. MDXVII. This laſt was found at Conſtance, by Sir Robert Wingfeld, Embaſſador from K. Henry VIII. to the Emperor Maximilian I. when he was looking over the Acts of the Council of Conſtance.

[*O*] *Beſides which, he left ſeveral pieces in manuſcript, and notes and emendations upon many printed books.*] I. He had, for inſtance, prepared for the preſs the following ancient *Engliſh Hiſtorians,* which he carefully tranſcribed from the originals, and faithfully collated. viz. 1. *Benedictus Abbas Petroburgenſis de Geſtis Henrici Secundi Regis Angliæ, &c.* Publiſhed in 1735, by T. Hearne, 2 vol. 8vo. 2. *Chronicon Nicolai Tribetti* (vulgo de *Trebeth,* vel *Trivat*) *Dominicani, ab anno* 1136 *ad ann.* 1307. Publiſhed ſince, in 1719, by Mr Antony Hall. 8vo. 3. *Chronicon Petri Ickham, Compilatio de Geſtis Britonum & Anglorum.* 4. *Stephani Birchington Monachi Cantuarienſis Hiſtoria de Regibus Angliæ poſt Conqueſtum.* 5. *Liber Nonus de Miraculis Anglorum.* In ſome of them are large Collections out of ancient and modern Records, relating to Church-affairs. 6. He drew up a curious Account of the *Manuſcripts* in *Lambeth-library*; wherein, beſides giving a moſt exact Catalogue of them, he has, under every

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(26) p. 12.

(27) p. 24.

(28) p. 6.

(29) A preface to the B——p of S—r—m's Introduction to the Third Volume of the Hiſtory of the Reformation, &c. by Gregory Miſoſarum. Lond. 1713. 8vo. p. 12.

(30) Ib. p. 56. See alſo the Doctor's works.

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printed after his deceaſe. He was a man of excellent natural endowments, a quick apprehenſion, ſolid judgment, faithful memory, and moſt indefatigable induſtry. With regard to his moral accompliſhments, he was modeſt, ſober, pious, and charitable. As to his perſon, he was of a middle ſtature, of a brown complexion, and of a grave and comely countenance. His conſtitution was vigorous and healthful : In confidence of the ſtrength of which, he was too little regardful of himſelf, and too intent upon his ſtudies. Inſomuch that, for the ſake of them, he often denied himſelf the neceſſary refreſhments of nature. And ſometimes in the coldeſt weather would ſit ſo long at them, and without a fire, as to hurt himſelf extremely. His too eager proſecution of them, together with a weakneſs contracted in his ſtomach by the too violent operation of a medicine he had taken, ſo far broke his conſtitution, that no art nor ſkill of the moſt experienced phyſicians could repair it. The ſummer before he died he went to the Bath, and found ſome benefit from the waters. But, at his return from thence to Canterbury, falling again to his ſtudies immoderately, and beyond what his ſtrength could bear, he quite undid all that they had done. So that, after a long and lingering decay of nature, being reduced to the utmoſt extremity of weakneſs, he expired March the 5th, 1694-5, in the 31ſt year of his age. The death of ſo extraordinary a perſon, in the flower of his age, and of whom there were great expectations, was very much lamented by the learned both at home and abroad. The clergy in particular, as a teſtimony of their value for him, attended in great numbers at his funeral; together with many of the Biſhops, particularly Archbiſhop Teniſon, and Dr W. Lloyd, Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, who had both viſited him in his laſt ſickneſs. The funeral office was performed by Dr Sprat, Biſhop of Rocheſter. All ſorts of perſons being willing to ſhew their reſpect for him in the beſt manner they were able, the Dean and Prebendaries of Weſtminſter not only cauſed the King's Scholars to attend him to his grave, and the choir to perform proper anthems, but alſo remitted their cuſtomary dues for interment in their church. He was buried on the ſouth ſide of Weſtminſter-abbey, towards the weſt end, near which in the wall is erected a ſmall but decent monument to his memory, with a ſhort inſcription (h) [*P*]. Among other characters given of him, A. Wood ſays (i), that he was a man of admirable gifts, great modeſty and affability, and gave ſuch early indication of his parts in the univerſity of Cambridge, and afterwards in London, that the learned looked on him as a perſon born for the advancement of learning. He was a zealous lover of the Church of England, its doctrine and diſcipline, and a learned vindicator of it againſt Popery.

(h) Life, &c. as above.
(i) Athen. vol. II. col. 874.

every Book, tranſcribed all thoſe *Treatiſes* therein contained, which are not yet publiſhed : And what are, he has compared with that exactneſs, as to take notice of the words that are otherwiſe ſpelled in the original than in the print. This Catalogue, with other MSS of our Author, were purchaſed by the late Archbiſhop Teniſon. II. He contributed conſiderably towards a new and more correct edition of ſeveral *Printed Books.* Namely, *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Eccleſiæ & Privilegiis Eccleſiæ Cantuarienſis, cum Archiepiſcopis ejuſdem* LXX. enlarged with *Notes*, *Collections*, and *Additions*, partly made by Archbiſhop Parker himſelf, and partly by others, and ſeveral by Mr Wharton ; together with the Life of the ſaid Archbiſhop, as alſo that of Auſtin of Canterbury, written by George Acworth.——*Franciſci Godwini de Præſulibus Angliæ Commentarius*. His notes are mentioned in the Preface to the late edition of that book.——*Florentius Wigornienſis*, and *Matthæus Weſtmonaſterienſis*, both enlarged with many Notes, Corrections, and Additions. III. He had likewiſe made Notes on ſeveral of his own *printed Books* ; which undoubtedly were deſigned for Additions to thoſe Books, whenever they ſhould receive a new Impreſſion (31). Sixteen Volumes of his Manuſcripts remain in the Archbiſhop's Library of MSS at Lambeth. Amongſt them, is a Liſt of the Mitred Abbots in this kingdom, which he deſigned to inſert in the Third Part of *Anglia Sacra*, if he had lived to publiſh that Third Part (32). IV. He had collected materials for writing the Life of his patron, Archbiſhop Sancroft (33).

(31) Life, as above.

(32) Præfat. ad Angl. Sacr. part. ii. ſub finem.

(33) Wood Ath. as above, col. 875.

[*P*] *With a ſhort inſcription.*] It is in theſe words.

H. S. E.
Henricus Wharton, A. M.
Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Preſbyter,
Rector Eccleſiæ de Chartham,
Necnon Vicarius Eccleſiæ de Minſter
In Inſula Thanato, in Dioceſi Cantuarienſi ;
Reverendiſſimo ac Sanctiſſimo Præſuli
Wilhelmo
Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi
A ſacris Domeſticis.
Qui multa ad augendam & illuſtrandam
Rem literariam,
Multa pro Eccleſia Chriſti
Conſcripſit,
Plura moliebatur.
Obiit 3° Non. Mart. A. D. MDCXCIV.
Ætatis ſuæ XXXI.

C

WHISTON [William], a Divine of uncommon learning and good parts, who made a great noiſe in the beginning of the eighteenth century, was born December 9th, 1667, at Norton near Twycroſſe in Leiceſterſhire ; and for ſome particular reaſons being trained under his father [*A*], Mr Joſiah Whiſton, then Rector of that church, till the

We are obliged to our author for moſt of the particulars of this article, which are to be found in the memoirs of his own life written by himſelf.

[*A*] *Firſt educated for ſome reaſons by his father.*] Theſe reaſons partly were, a kind of valetudinary conſtitution, which ſubjected him to the *Flatus hypochondriaci*, and partly the uſe he was of in the office of Amanuenſis to his father. Our Author ſpeaks of the old gentleman as an excellent pariſh prieſt, though of no diſtinguiſhed learning, and ſo much beloved by his pariſhioners, that being apprehenſive of loſing him after the death of Mr Gabriel Roſſe, to whom he was ſon in law and curate, they, together with the neighbouring gentry, ſigned a petition in 1657 to the Lord Protector [Cromwell], praying him, when Mr Roſſe ſhould die (who was then about 87 years old), not to ſuffer Mr Whiſton to be taken from them. He had been admitted of Queen's college, Oxford, but did not ſtay long there, being ordained by Peter Watkinſon, Moderator, and ſeven others of the claſſical preſbytery, at Wirkſworth in the province of Derby, June the age of ſeventeen, he was then ſent to ſchool at Tamworth in Warwickſhire, where having continued near two years, he was removed to Cambridge, and admitted a Sizar [*B*] of Clare-hall about the middle of the year 1686. At the univerſity he applied himſelf chiefly to mathematics, and the Carteſian philoſophy then in vogue; purſuing his ſtudies with that intenſeneſs which is natural to tempers ſtrongly tinctured (as his was) with melancholy [*C*]. But being early deſigned for the Church, he continually exerciſed his peculiar talents in compoſing pious and devout meditations [*D*]. In the beginning of Lent-term, 1689-90, he proceeded A. B. and being elected, June the 16th the following year, Fellow of his college, he took pupils. In 1693 he commenced A. M. and entered into holy orders; not long after which, his ill health not permitting him to diſcharge the buſineſs of a tutor, he reſigned his pupils to Mr Richard Laughton (*a*), whom he ſucceeded in the office of Chaplain to Dr John More, then Biſhop of Norwich in 1694. The ſame year he became firſt known to Sir Iſaac Newton [*E*], upon whoſe principles of philoſophy he drew up a *New Theory of the Earth*, and publiſhed it in 1696 [*F*]. In 1698 he was preſented by his patron Biſhop More to the living of Loweſtoft

June 21, 1653. He married Mrs Katharine Roſs in 1657 (1), and became Rector of Norton upon the death of his father in-law the following year. He joined ſome other clergymen in Leiceſterſhire in ſubſcribing an addreſs to the parliament in 1659; but being intimidated into that ſubſcription, he began the ſame year to doubt the lawfulneſs of the war. After the Reſtoration he kept in his living by the intereſt of a neighbouring gentleman, and was inſtituted into it Nov. 19, 1661, by Biſhop Sanderſon, and wrote a tract in 1665-6, to prove the unlawfulneſs of the late war againſt the King. He was alſo inſtrumental in procuring the donation of a free ſchool at Appleby, wherein Norton was included, by Sir John Moor, Lord Mayor of London in 1682. Many years before his death (which happened in January 1685-6, in the 63d year of his age) he loſt his eye ſight, yet continued afterwards to perform all parochial duties, repeating the prayers, pſalms, and leſſons, and preaching every Sunday twice, and adminiſtering both baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper by heart (2). He had ten children, of whom ſix ſons and one daughter lived paſt their minority, but none ſurvived in 1746 beſides our Author and his youngeſt brother Daniel, then Curate of Somerſham in Cambridgeſhire (3), where he continued ever after, being incapable of further preferment, by refuſing to ſign the thirty-nine Articles and read the Athanaſian Creed (4). In which ſpirit he wrote *The Primitive Catechiſm*, which, with improvements, was publiſhed by our Author, and inſerted in the catalogue of his own writings. Our Author had likewiſe an uncle, Mr Joſeph Whiſton, a diſſenting miniſter at Lewes in Suſſex, who wrote ſeveral pieces in defence of Infant-baptiſm. He had been Chaplain to Colonel Harriſon, one of the Regicides. Our Author wrote ſeveral letters for his father to him to convince him of the unlawfulneſs of the rebellion, but in vain. However, theſe differences in opinion did not hinder him from leaving what he had to his brother's children (5).

[*B*] *He was admitted a Sizar.*] His mother, now become a widow, was left with ſmall means comparatively for ſeven children, and was under ſome difficulty to ſupport the expence of an univerſity education; but our Author was very frugal, and though he was a penſioner the laſt half year while he was under-graduate, yet his whole expences for three years and a half, till his firſt degree incluſive, did not amount to ſo much as 100l. (6)

[*C*] *His temper was of a melancholy caſt.*] He tells us, that though the hypochondriacal vapours might ariſe from his original ſtamina, yet the debility increaſed through want of exerciſe while he was his father's amanuenſis; and that being once reduced to a great degree of vaporous timidity, he was reſtored by walking againſt his will ſome miles in a froſty morning. He has retailed ſeveral inſtances of this in his infancy, which, as uſual, produced ſome extraordinary forebodings: One, of a melancholy dream which he had of his grandmother's funeral, from which he was awaked by the noiſe of the people in fetching her coffin, ſhe being dead to his great ſurprize, there having been no ſigns before of her approaching death. Another of a foreboding impreſſion of the death of a youth [Maſter Gery] in the neighbourhood, which happened juſt before our Author's being put to the ſame ſchool with him at Tamworth; upon that occaſion young Whiſton made Gery a viſit, in the view of opening an acquaintance between them, when at parting Whiſton was ſtruck with a ſtrong thought that he ſhould never ſee him again, which accordingly came to paſs, Gery being carried off by the ſmall pox before his propoſed return to Tamworth. How this predominant part of his conſtitution grew with his years into a very ſingular height of enthuſiaſtic inflexibility and hardineſs, will ſufficiently appear in the courſe of this memoir. At preſent he has given in this place a ſpecimen of it, by informing us at the concluſion of theſe narratives, that he had made ſtrict inquiry about ſeveral other relations of the ſame nature. I mean, ſays he, relating to the inviſible world. That he had collected ſome himſelf, and frequently been entirely ſatisfied of their truth and reality (7).

[*D*] *He compoſed pious meditations.*] He has given us ten of theſe; the firſt of which is dated Dec. 19, 1686, when he had not been at the college above a quarter of a year, not coming to reſide there till the preceding September; but it muſt be remembered that he was now in the 20th year of his age, had been trained up from his youth under deep impreſſions of piety, and in the diligent ſtudy of the ſcriptures, had been his father's amanuenſis, and been long devoted to the miniſtry by his father. Theſe conſiderations greatly abate, if not entirely take off, the ſeeming ridicule in the words of his firſt meditation, *Upon the ſcandalous lives of miniſters*, which begins thus. *I have* ALWAYS *looked on ſuch men who have taken upon them this ſacred function, &c.* The concluſion, however, deſerves to be recorded to his honour. 'O 'bleſſed God,' ſays he, 'if thou pleaſeſt to lengthen 'out my life, and to call me to ſerve thee in the mi'niſtry, to which my father has devoted me, I hum'bly beſeech thee to make me ſenſible of the weight 'of the charge I undertake, and careful and conſci'entious in the diſcharge of the ſame; and eſpecially 'that I may by my good example conſtantly edify 'and inſtruct my flock, and do my utmoſt diligence '[illegible]h to ſave myſelf and them that hear me, through 'Jeſu[illegible] Chriſt our Saviour. Amen (8).'

[*E*] *He became acquainted with Sir Iſaac Newton.*] From his firſt entrance in the univerſity till this time he had ſtudied the Carteſian philoſophy, which was then all the vogue there; he had indeed heard Sir Iſaac Newton read ſome of his lectures in the public ſchools, but did not underſtand them at all. By what means he was prompted to look into the Principia of that great man, has been already related.

[*F*] *His new theory of the earth.*] Our Author tells us, that this piece was ſhewed in manuſcript to Dr Bentley and Sir Chriſtopher Wren, but chiefly to Sir Iſaac Newton, who well approved of it. This laſt muſt be taken with ſome grains of allowance. It was too much our Author's practice in ſpeaking of the approbation given by his friends to himſelf of his books, to run into hyperbolical expreſſions. We have already ſhewn how he came by the hint which gave riſe to this hypotheſis, as alſo the anſwer to it by Dr John Kiel (9). However, on its firſt appearance in public being generally thought to be new and intirely of his own fabric, it met with a very good reception upon that account. An inſtance of which is mentioned by our Author in his Memoirs, where he has tranſcribed part of a letter to Mr Molyneux by Mr Locke, dated Feb. 22, 1696, which runs thus. 'You deſire to know what 'the opinion of the ingenious is concerning Mr Whi'ſton's book. I have not heard any of my acquaint-

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(*a*) This gentleman became a very eminent tutor, afterwards a proctor of the univerſity, and drew up a ſet of queſtions for the public diſputations of the undergraduates in the ſchools, which were printed and conſtantly followed. See ſomething more of him in Dr Conyers Middleton's article.

(1) The ceremony was performed by a juſtice of peace, according to the practice of thoſe times. Miſs Roſs proved a good wife, took great care of her huſband under all his infirmities, as well as of a numerous family of children, being a very ſincere religious woman.

(2) But he left the office of matrimony to be performed by others.

(3) He had been firſt curate at Horſeheath, the ſeat of Mr Bromley, in the ſame county, the late Lord Mumford's father.

(4) For refuſal to read which he was once in danger of loſing his curacy, but it was prevented by Dr Clarke's interpoſition with a noble peer in that neighbourhood. He compoſed no leſs than 3000 ſermons.

(5) Whiſton's Memoirs of his own life, from p. 3. to p. 17. incluſive paſſim.

(6) Ibid. p. 23, 24.

(7) p. 7, 8, 9.

(8) p. 46, 47.

(9) In Dr John Kiel's article.

Loweſtoft cum Keſſingland, a maritime town upon the coaſt of Suffolk. The care of ſouls was rightly eſteemed by Mr Whiſton to be a concern of the higheſt importance; he therefore ſet himſelf ſincerely and in good earneſt to that great work, diſcharging the ſeveral duties of a pariſh prieſt with diſtinguiſhed piety and unwearied diligence [*G*]. Upon this principle he thought himſelf obliged to reſign his chaplainſhip (*b*), and likewiſe to keep a curate, notwithſtanding the revenues of the parſonage were ſmall, and to which he alſo procured a conſiderable augmentation partly at his own charge [*H*]. Thus ſettled in a houſe, he took a wife, pitching upon Mrs Antrobus, daughter of his ſchoolmaſter at Tamworth. By this ſtep his fellowſhip at Clare-hall became vacant; but that loſs was made up to him in a little time by his friend Sir Iſaac Newton, who in 1701 appointed him his deputy in the mathematical profeſſorſhip at Cambridge, of which he gave him the whole profits, and procured him for his ſucceſſor in the lecture itſelf in 1703. Upon this promotion he reſigned his living in Suffolk, and ſettled at Cambridge, where his patron Dr More, now become Biſhop of Ely, had given him a catechetical lecture at St Clement's church. In the interim he publiſhed his *Short View of the Chronology of the Old Teſtament*,

(*b*) He was ſucceeded in it by the famous Mr (afterwards Dr) Samuel Clarke, and hence commenced a particular acquaintance with him, whom he firſt met accidentally at a coffee-houſe in Norwich in 1697, and preſently after introduced him to the Biſhop by a particular invitation from his Lordſhip. Memoirs, p. 2. & ſeqq. ſecond edit. 1753.

' ance ſpeak of it, but with great commendations, as ' I think it deſerves; and truly I think he is more ' to be admired, as he has laid down an hypotheſis ' whereby he has explained ſo many wonderful and ' before inexplicable things in the great changes of ' this globe, than that ſome of them ſhould not eaſily ' go down with ſome men; when the whole was intirely new to all. He is one of thoſe ſort of writers ' that I always fancy ſhould be moſt eſteemed and ' encouraged; I am always for the builders, who ' bring ſome addition to our knowledge, or at leaſt ' ſome new thing to our thoughts.' But after Dr Kiel's anſwer, it became a general and juſt remark, that our Philoſopher had very ingeniouſly contrived to drown the world, but without giving himſelf any trouble how to carry the water off again. His work, however, has gone through ſix editions, but no conſiderable additions have been made to it, as he informs us, ſince the third; notwithſtanding which we find ſeveral corrections and alterations made by himſelf to the 5th edition printed in 1737 (10); to which was alſo added in the Appendix, an Epitome of it by himſelf, 1717, at the requeſt of Mr La Roche, who tranſlated it into French, and inſerted it into his *Bibliotheque Angloiſe*.

[G] *He was a pious and diligent pariſh prieſt.*] He tells us, there were about two thouſand ſouls under his care; that he ſet up public prayers every morning and evening in a chapel in the town; and to encourage a more numerous and conſtant attendance, he uſed after a while, beſides a leſſon out of the New Teſtament, that abridgement of the public prayers in *The Common Prayer-book the beſt companion* (11). He conſtantly preached twice a-day on Sundays (12); and all the ſummer ſeaſon at leaſt had a catechetic lecture at the chapel within the town in the evening, deſigned more for the adult than for the children themſelves, to which the diſſenters alſo came. This method of catechiſing was begun by him at Biſhop More's chapel at Norwich, for his children and ſome others, to which the Biſhop himſelf came ſometimes, and would have had him printed them; but that could not be done, as they were ſpoken off-hand from ſhort notes only, as were alſo a great part of his ſermons at Loweſtoft (13). His curate likewiſe preached once every Sunday at Keſſington, and once at Corton, a very poor neighbouring village of hardly any revenues, and formerly abandoned to diverſions on that day. Likewiſe he gave them himſelf at Keſſington a ſermon once a month, and a catechetic lecture in the afternoon. He alſo tried to inſtruct the private families there at home on week days; and theſe not being well attended on account of buſineſs, he did it on Sunday evenings, when they were more at leiſure (14).—Of his further zeal, he has given an inſtance or two, which in juſtice to him muſt not be omitted. The pariſh officers once applying to him for his hand to a licence for a new alehouſe, he ſaid, *If they would bring him a paper to ſign for the pulling an alehouſe down, he would certainly ſign it, but would never ſign one for ſetting an alehouſe up.* Again, an affair once happened at Loweſtoft, when his friend Mr Clarke was with him on a viſit, which, he ſays, they never forgot. They went together on board one of the ſmall trading ſhips belonging to that town, and there obſerved two ſeamen jointly drawing up a veſſel out of the *hold*; when another that ſtood by aſked one of them who was looking down it, why he did not turn his face away? he thereupon turned away his face, but continued to aſſiſt in lifting as before; the meaning of which they underſtood to be, that he would be obliged to ſwear that he *ſaw* nothing taken out of the *hold*, not that he took nothing out of it. *This*, ſays Mr Whiſton, *is a ſeaman's ſalvo for ſuch errant perjury, and this is the conſequence of multiplying oaths on every trifling occaſion* (15). In the ſame zealous ſpirit, but carried rather to a little exceſs, he refuſed to read an Excommunication tranſmitted to him from the Chancellor, againſt a woman in his pariſh for calling another woman *whore*, becauſe the charge was believed by the ſober people to be true; and when the Chancellor reminded him that the reaſon was inſufficient according to that well known eſtabliſhed rule of the eccleſiaſtical law, *Veritas convitii non excuſat convitiantem*, he called it a maxim of the modern antichriſtian law (16). Thus we ſee the firſt trial diſcovered this fanatical diſpoſition; and the like puritanical rigour ſhewed itſelf in the denial he gave to an old acquaintance, who being candidate for a fellowſhip at Clare-hall, forſook his ſobriety, and joined with the drinkers, thinking the majority of votes lay on that ſide; but finding his miſtake, he begged our Author's vote, ſolemnly proteſting that he would ever afterwards become a ſober man: 'My anſwer,' ſays Mr Whiſton, 'was ſhort, but ſuch as cut off all his hopes; *Sir*, ſaid ' I, *you have confeſſed that you ſacrificed your integrity* ' *to your preferment, and thereby made it impoſſible for* ' *me to ſerve you* (17).' It is true, by way of his own vindication, he obſerves, that this candidate became at laſt one of the moſt miſerable clergymen that ever he heard of, and declares himſelf ready to weep for him, becauſe of their former friendſhip; but this temper did not ſuffer him to reflect how far poſſibly this ill conduct might be owing to the diſappointment in loſing his election, nor of the views there might be of reclaiming him by kindneſs, as he himſelf, in another place, acknowledges happened to a ſon of Biſhop Stillingfleet, whom, when Chaplain to Biſhop More, he declined to preſent for holy orders, on account of his having heard a bad character of that candidate's morals; whereupon he was preſented by Archdeacon Jefferies, and proved afterwards a worthy man (18).

[*H*] *He procured an augmentation to the living.*] Mr John Baron, Miniſter of Ditchingham, afterwards Dean of Norwich *, who was poſſeſſed of about 20 l. a year of the tithes of Keſſingland, offered them at eight years purchaſe, in order to be ſettled on the Church. Our Incumbent therefore ſtirred in the affair, and procured the money, of which the Biſhop of Norwich gave 5 l. Dr Hump. Prideaux 10 l. Lord Weymouth 10 l. &c. and having made it up within 50, Mr Whiſton advanced that himſelf; ſo that the title was veſted in him, and he kept poſſeſſion after he reſigned the living in 1703; nor did he part from it till 1710, when he was expelled the univerſity. Theſe tithes, upon the reimburſement of the 50 l. he gave up, when Biſhop Trimnel came to Norwich, as belonging in equity to the church: however, Mr Tanner, the Incumbent in 1747, had ſent him, as he gratefully acknowledges, 5 l. for many years, every Chriſtmas. The ordinary revenues of the living brought in clear 120 l. per annum †, which aroſe chiefly from the North ſea, herring, and mackarel fiſhery, the parſon's dues being half a dole out of every fiſhing boat, which were uſually about thirty [dole] in each; ſo that inſtead of tithes, or the tenth part, he received only about one ſixtieth of the product of the ſea (19).

(10) In his Memoirs of his own life, p. 39. to p. 42, incluſive.

(11) This, he ſays, was approved by Biſhop Lloyd.

(12) The church ſtood three furlongs from the town.

(13) This, he well obſerves, both gained him more time for his other more learned ſtudies, without neglecting his cure, and being naturally ſpoken in a more eaſy way and more familiar ſtyle, were generally more edifying and acceptable than elaborate compoſed diſcourſes.

(14) Memoirs, p. 108, 109, 110.

(15) His Memoirs of Dr Clarke, p. 145.

(16) His Chriſtian diſcipline, p. 63, 64.

(17) Memoirs, p. 112, 113, 114.

(18) p. 37, 38.

* This Dean, who was bred among the Diſſenters, died, it ſeems, an Unitarian, according to an Epitaph made for his monument, printed in Memoirs, vol. II. p. 214. and vol. I. p. 289. where Mr Whiſton ſays, that himſelf had ſome ſhare in bringing him over to the Church, and that tho' he accepted the deanery of Norwich, yet he refuſed that biſhopric, of which he had an offer.

† He gave 30 l. a year to his curate, who made 30 l. a year more by teaching a petty ſchool.

(19) Memoirs, p. 108, 109. 289, 290.

and the Harmony of the Four Evangeliſts, in 4to. in 1702. and his *Tacquet's Euclid* came out alſo before the expiration of that year (*c*). In 1704 he was very inſtrumental in erecting the charity ſchools for three hundred poor children at Cambridge [*I*]; and on January 25th he preached the firſt ſermon on that occaſion at Trinity church there. In 1706 he printed his *Eſſay on the Revelation of St John* [*K*]. He was now become ſo eminent for his diſcourſes from the pulpit, that the enſuing year he was appointed to preach the ſermons at Boyle's lecture, wherein he choſe the *Accompliſhment of Scripture Prophecies* for his ſubject, under which title they were printed. But he preſently after firſt diſcloſed his ſentiments concerning the Trinity and the Incarnation of Chriſt, in contradiction to the doctrine of the Church of England [*L*]. Perſiſting unmoveably in this opinion, he

(*c*) He ſays, it was the accidental purchaſe of this Euclid that occaſioned his firſt application to the mathematics, p. 115. The ſecond edition was printed at Cambridge in 1710. from which it was put into Engliſh at London under his own review.

[*I*] *He was inſtrumental in erecting the charity ſchools at Cambridge.*] This is declared by Mr Worts in his will, whereby he gave to thoſe ſchools 30l. *per annum* for ever. 'And I confeſs,' ſays Mr Whiſton, whoſe ſincerity in theſe caſes was never queſtioned, 'that my 'monthly day of catechiſing about ninety of them, 'when I was their ſteward, ſeemed to me the beſt 'ſpent day of the whole month (20).'

(20) Ibid. p. 176.

[*K*] *His Eſſay on the Revelation of St John.*] If we may credit our Author in this point, he had imbibed a ſuſpicion of the eſtabliſhed doctrine concerning Chriſt's divinity at this time: For when this Eſſay was peruſed in manuſcript this year by Mr Pierce†, the famous diſſenting miniſter, he obſerved it to be affirmed abſolutely that our Saviour did not know ſome divine myſteries, and particularly the time of the day of judgment, till after his death and reſurrection, in a plain way, without the addition of the uſual words *in his human nature*, he would have no nay, ſays our Author, but I muſt add thoſe words, which I then did by his over-perſuaſion againſt my own judgment (21).

† He became acquainted with Mr Pierce by being his neighbour at Cambridge.

(21) p. 124.

[*L*] *He diſcloſed his ſentiments about the Trinity, &c.*] Having, as obſerved in the preceding remark, begun to entertain a doubt of the proper eternity and omniſcience of Chriſt in 1706, he tells us himſelf how he proceeded in his enquiries afterwards. That being at leiſure after the publiſhing of his Boyle's lectures, he ſet himſelf to draw up, about February 1707-8, at the requeſt of a friend, ſuch a method for the ſtudy of divinity, as he had often in converſation propoſed for the only way of teaching Chriſtians, and promoting the primitive faith and practice. That in the proſecution of this deſign he was particularly attentive to the doctrine and faith of the firſt Chriſtians concerning the Trinity, and ſo to diſtinguiſh the additions made to it by later inferences and explications. In this firſt paper he owned that the original doctrine upon this point was very different from the common opinion, and nearer that of the Arians than the Athanaſians and preſent orthodox; but had not then examined the matter ſo exactly as to know whether the doctrine of that part of the Church which was called Arian in the fourth century, was intirely the ſame as to this point with that taught and believed in the firſt times of the goſpel. Having given his friend this advice, he began to ſpeak of it to ſome other friends, and freely to declare his thoughts about the doctrine of the Trinity; when, upon a hint of the danger of this conduct to himſelf and family, being conſcious that his preſent thoughts were taken up rather from his former gradual and occaſional obſervations in the holy ſcriptures and the moſt ancient writers, than from a direct and particular examination of this diſtinct ſubject in both, he reſolved to re-examine the whole matter from the New Teſtament and all the moſt genuine ancient monuments of our religion now extant, determining not to make uſe of any vain deductions or philoſophical reaſonings, but exactly and ſingly be guided by the original teſtimonies, and to determine his faith and practice intirely by them only, and to keep clear from the modern writers, and the darling notions of any church. He ſet about it with all poſſible ſincerity, and hearty prayers to God not to be deceived, nor become the cauſe of deceiving others. In this manner he read the New Teſtament twice, and all the catholic monuments till near the concluſion of the ſecond century, making collections according to a paper of heads for both ſides of the ſeveral queſtions: he likewiſe examined the teſtimonies cited by Biſhop Bull, from the originals. But about the time of his entring upon this laſt particular examination, he light upon Brockleſby's *Goſpel Theiſm*, where he met with this aſſertion, then very new and ſurprizing to him, *That Chriſt had no human or rational ſoul diſtinct from the Logos, but that at the Incarnation the Logos ſupplied the place of ſuch a ſoul.* 'This notion,' continues he, 'appeared to me exceeding conſiderable, and of the 'utmoſt conſequence to the right underſtanding thoſe 'truly Chrſtian myſteries of the incarnation and ſuf'ferings of the Son of God; and immediately per'ceived, that if it proved true, it would give the 'greateſt light poſſible not to theſe points only, but 'to the entire ſubject I was then upon.' He reſolved therefore to be very curious in his obſervations as to this matter in the ancient teſtimonies; and marking the paſſages as he went along, he generally found them favourable to that notion, and began not a little to be ſecure of its truth, till he found Juſtin Martyr aſſerting that the whole perſon of Chriſt includes a ψυχη, a ſoul, as well as the λογος, particulare, and a body *. This puzzled him a little, as having yet no notion of any more than two parts, a ſoul and a body, in human nature, according to our preſent philoſophy: but examining the ancient opinion, he found that man was particularly a *compoſition animal*, and contained more parts than brutes, as having beſides the body and its ψυχη, or ſenſitive ſoul, a πνευμα, or rational ſoul; and that this was affirmed by Juſtin himſelf ‡; and that by conſequence the λογος in Chriſt ſupplied the place of πνευμα, or rational ſoul, in man. No body can be ſurprized after this, that he found Ignatius in his larger Epiſtles of this opinion, and Athanaſius likewiſe. When he had peruſed his papers, he went to London to conſult with his friends, who adviſing him to tranſcribe the teſtimonies at length, he returned to Cambridge for that purpoſe; and having compleated it, "Now," continues he, "it was, and not till now, that I had all my evidence "at once before me, that I was able to affirm and "aſſuredly pronounce, that the Arian doctrine was "in theſe points moſt certainly the original doctrine "of Chriſt himſelf, of his holy Apoſtles, and "of the moſt primitive Chriſtians. That that ſort of "eternity of the Son of God, of which ſome of the "Fathers began to ſpeak towards the latter part of "ſecond century, after philoſophy was come into the "church, and of which the moſt doubt might ariſe "(the reſt of the particulars being moſt palpable) "was plainly not as we have been made to believe, "a real exiſtence as of a ſon properly coeternal with "his Father by a true eternal generation, but rather "metaphyſic exiſtence *in potentia*, or in the like higher "or ſublimer manner, in the Father, as his wiſdom "or word, before his real creation or generation (for "both theſe words are frequent in the earlieſt writers) "which real creation or generation was there ever "ſuppoſed to be a little before the creation of the "world; and that accordingly the *Council of Nice* it"ſelf eſtabliſhed no other eternity of our Saviour, as "all the original teſtimonies do ſhew (22)." Not long after this he met with Novatian's treatiſe of the Trinity, which alſo confirmed him in his opinion; but this confirmation was nothing in compariſon of what he received ſoon after from the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*, which were lent to him by Mr Allen, of Sidney college, Cambridge. The pleaſure he found by peruſing them, put him upon examining their authenticity and antiquity; the reſult of which was, his *Eſſay* upon them, printed in the third part of his *Primitive Chriſtianity revived*. During this enquiry he wrote to the two Archbiſhops (23), deſiring them to reviſe his papers; and he received ſeveral letters from Biſhop Lloyd of Worceſter, adviſing him, with the greateſt tenderneſs and friendly concern for him, at leaſt not to print his notions, and who, upon his perſiſting in the deſign to print them, uſed theſe remarkable words: *As for obſtinacy and heretical pravity, I am ſorry to tell you I ſee too much of both in your ſecond letter now before me:*

* De Reſurrectione in Grabe's Spicilegium, tom. II. § 13. p. 191, 192.

‡ De Incarnatione Verbi.

(22) This is inſerted among the paſſages of blaſphemy, irreligion, and hereſy, referred to by Dr Sacheverel at his trial.

(23) In a letter, dated July 30, 1708.

he deemed himſelf bound in conſcience openly and reſolutely to maintain it, againſt all prudential conſiderations whatſoever; and in that ſpirit he publiſhed ſeveral pieces in its defence (*d*). He governed himſelf alſo by this opinion in the exerciſe of his function both in his ſermons and in reading the public prayers in the Church. This conduct drew upon him the loſs of his catechetic lecture [*M*] in 1709, which was followed by that of his profeſſorſhip in 1710. Notwithſtanding theſe ſufferings, having a child born in June the laſt mentioned year, he baptized it into his peculiar faith, in a form drawn up for the purpoſe by himſelf, agreeable to the Apoſtolical conſtitutions [*N*]. Being expelled the Univerſity [*O*], he removed to London, where he publiſhed an account of the proceedings of that learned body againſt him; and having rendered himſelf incapable of enjoying any Church preferments, he perſevered in writing and publiſhing books to propagate his tenets with unuſual boldneſs, and ſuch an aſſuming air, as put it out of the

(*d*) In 1708 he drew up an Eſſay upon the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, and offered it to the Vice-chancellor to be printed at Cambridge, but was refuſed; upon which he publiſhed *Novatian de Trinitate* at the end of a volume of *Sermons and Eſſays*, in 1709.

me (24): and at the ſame time his Lordſhip takes a great deal of pains to convince him of the ſpurioufneſs of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* (25). In Auguſt 1708, having drawn up an imperfect Eſſay, as he calls it, of thoſe Conſtitutions, he offered it to the Vice-chancellor for his licence to be printed at Cambridge; which being refuſed, he went to London, in order to print it there, but was delayed by Dr Grabe, who, upon ſeeing his manuſcript, promiſed to write to Vienna for a ſmall manuſcript mentioned in his *Spicilegium*, which was likely to give light who was the collector or writer of thoſe Conſtitutions. In December he received a letter from Dr (afterwards Biſhop) BRADFORD, then Rector of Bow in London and Prebendary of Weſtminſter, That he had abuſed both himſelf and Dr Lucas, in ſaying they were of his opinion: in his anſwer to which he charges them with retreating from that which they had declared to him. There paſſed ſeveral letters after between them; in the laſt of which Dr Bradford concludes thus: 'But I have done writing in this argument at 'preſent, remembring an uſual ſaying of Dr Whichcot, as ſoon as he perceived any grow heated in diſ'courſe, *Let us leave off: I perceive, I am like to do* '*you no good; and you, by making me as warm as your*'*ſelf, may do me hurt.*' As ſoon as he had finiſhed his books upon Primitive Chriſtianity, he offered them firſt to the Univerſity, by the hands of the Vice-chancellor, and then to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to be publicly examined; but no notice being taken of either of thoſe applications, he concluded himſelf at liberty to print them, and did ſo in 1711; but before that, in September 1710, he went to Oxford to ſearch the Arabic Records in the Bodleian Library, where he found two Arabic manuſcripts of the doctrine of the Apoſtles *, which compleated his collection (26).

[*M*] *He loſt his catechetical lecture.*] About May 1709, being delated to the Biſhop of Ely [Dr Patrick] by the miniſter of the pariſh, that in his explanations of the Church catechiſm he advanced notions contrary to thoſe of the church, and alſo that once when he read prayers he omitted the third and fourth petition of the Liturgy, he was ſummoned to appear before the Biſhop, which he did, and his accuſer not being there, the matter dropped; the Biſhop, plainly in kindneſs to him, broke up the court before the *Promotor curiæ* came, who appeared preſently after: But the ſame complaint being ſtill continued, his Lordſhip ſent him a meſſage in September following, deſiring him to forbear reading the lecture, and promiſing him to continue the ſalary; but Mr Whiſton's conſcience not allowing him to comply with that very kind propoſal, he reſigned both in a letter to his Lordſhip, dated October 27th, 1709, wherein, after avowing his opinions, he ſays, *It is impoſſible for me to renounce or conceal them, without being condemned by my own conſcience of hypocriſy and prevarication in the moſt ſacred concerns* (27).

[*N*] *He baptized a child into his own faith.*] The form is printed in his Hiſtorical Preface, p. 107. & ſeqq. The principal differences in it from the eſtabliſhed form, are, *The Surety himſelf declares, looking weſtward, I, in the name of this child,* renounce the Devil, and his works, and his pomps, and his vanities, and his angels, and his inventions, and all things that are under him. *Then turning eaſtward, he goes on thus: I do* alſo in the name of this child dedicate myſelf to Chriſt, and do believe and am to be baptized into the one unbegotten Being, the only true God Almighty, the Father of Chriſt, the Creator and Maker of all things, from whom are all things. And in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt his only begotten Son, the Firſt-born of every creature, who was begotten by the good-will of the Father before the world began, and converſed wholly according to the laws of his God and Father. *After the benediction of the miniſter, he dips the infant thrice under water at the diſtinct names of Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt,* in the Church-form. *After the words of the Goſpel by St Mark in the Exhortation,* Hear now what the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions and Canons ſay further concerning baptiſm, and particularly concerning the baptizing of infants, and concerning dipping three times in baptiſm: *After which follow the words, The ſigning with the ſign of the croſs is omitted.* Hear alſo what the Conſtitutions ſay of the ſufficiency of water alone, if there be neither oil nor ointment, water is ſufficient both for the anointing with the oil and ſealing with the ointment, and the profeſſion of his faith who dies together with it (28).

[*O*] *Expelled the Univerſity.*] Long before this proceeding againſt him in the Vice-chancellor's court, there was a deſign of doing the ſame thing by a Grace; but this (which reſembles a Bill of Attainder) was laid aſide, and on Sunday, October 22d, 1710, he was ſummoned and conducted into the Vice-chancellor's lodge, Dr Roderick, Provoſt of King's college; where there being other heads of houſes making a majority of the whole, agreeable to the ſtatute of the univerſity in ſuch caſes, he was ſhewed his book of *Sermons and Eſſays upon ſeveral ſubjects*, publiſhed the year before, (29) with the Doxology at the end of his ſermon before the governors of the Charity-ſchools (30), and aſked if he would own it? he refuſed to anſwer, and referred himſelf to a paper then in his hand. Thereupon they proceeded to prove the publication of his tenets againſt the eſtabliſhed doctrine of the Church of England, in purſuance to the directions of the ſtatute, Ch. 45. *De Contumacibus*; and on the 25th the following paper was delivered to him by the Regiſter of the univerſity. "Poſitions publiſhed and ſpread about in the univerſity by Mr W. Whiſton *contra religionem & ſtatuta academiæ.* 1. That the Father alone is the One God of the Chriſtian religion, in oppoſition to the Three divine Perſons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, being the One God of the Chriſtian religion. This poſition is contrary to the firſt, ſecond, and fifth of the thirty-nine Articles, and to the Nicene and Athanaſian Creeds. 2. That the creed commonly called the creed of St Athanaſius, is a groſs and antichriſtian innovation and corruption of the primitive purity and ſimplicity of the Chriſtian faith among us. This poſition is contrary to the rubric before the ſaid creed, and the eighth article of religion. 3. That the canon of the ſcripture, the rule and guide of a Chriſtian's faith, is that contained in the laſt of the eccleſiaſtical canons, ordinarily ſtiled *Apoſtolical*, which all along appears to have been the ſtandard of the primitive Church in this matter: I mean as including all the books we now own for canonical, and alſo the two Epiſtles of St Clement, and the *Conſtitutions of the Apoſtles* by St Clement, to which the *Paſtor of Hermas* is to be added, as well as we have already added the *Apocalypſe of St John.* 4. The doctrine of the Apoſtles appears to be a ſacred book of the New Teſtament, long loſt to the Chriſtian world. Theſe two poſitions are contrary to the ſixth of the thirty-nine Articles. Mr Whiſton undertakes to prove clearly that the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* are the moſt ſacred part of the canonical ſcriptures of the New Teſtament. Mr Whiſton aſſerts that the Doxology current in all theſe latter ages, Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt; is not the true Chriſtian Doxology. This poſition is againſt the Doxology received and eſtabliſhed in the public Liturgy." The ſeveral

(24) In a letter, dated Feb. 22, 1709-10.

(25) In a letter, dated Sept. 5, 1710.

* This proved to be only a tranſlation of another book before extant in print in its original language.

(26) Hiſtorical Preface to Primitive Chriſtianity revived, vol. I.

(27) Ibid. p. 95.

(28) Primitive Infant-baptiſm revived, edition 1712. 8vo.

(29) In theſe books ſome of his opinions were enumerated; as, when the ſcriptures ſpeak of one God, they mean one ſupreme God the Father only. The moderns call the three divine perſons but one God, and ſo introduced at leaſt a new and unſcriptural and inaccurate, if not a falſe, way of ſpeaking into the Church. Errat. p. 123. l. 23,24. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, *read* in the Holy Ghoſt, *and dele* three perſons and one God. Theſe he allowed to be his own words.

(30) At the end of this ſermon there is a collection of Pſalms in metre, to which is ſubjoined the Doxology thus: *To God the Father, thro' the Son, and in the Holy Ghoſt, Be glory now and ever paid by us and all his hoſt.*

the power of his beſt friends to protect him (e) [P]. However, he neglected no means that his parts and diligence could furniſh, to ſupport his family: in which view his ſkill and knowledge in the mathematics proved now of ſingular ſervice to him [Q]; and among

ſeveral proofs of theſe charges are taken from his poſtſcript to Ignatius's epiſtles, publiſhed this year, and from his ſermons and eſſays publiſhed in 1709, and the depoſitions of five ſeveral witneſſes, and his propoſals for printing *Primitive Chriſtianity*, publiſhed a little before. The books and papers were proved to be diſperſed by his directions in the Univerſity by Mr Crownfield the printer, except his ſermons, which being printed at London, were ſold publickly by the bookſeller. To this charge Mr Whiſton made the following exceptions: 1. That I am charged with breaking the 45th ſtatute, which I have been uncapable of breaking, becauſe it only concerns ſuch publick univerſity exerciſes, as I have never performed. 2. That the place where moſt of the words are pretended to be ſpoken, St Clement's Church, is utterly out of the juriſdiction of the univerſity, and is no ways within this ſtatute. 3. That the want of the ſpecification of the time, or the too looſe ſpecification of it, renders moſt of the depoſitions of no value. 4. That words charged at ſo great a diſtance of time cannot be ſworn to ſo particularly, as is neceſſary to affect me. 5. That words ſpoken in private converſation, or at a coffee-houſe, or in a private college, can no ways be within this ſtatute. 6. That no books printed and publiſhed at London can be within this ſtatute. 7. That I ought to have been convened publickly in the conſiſtory, and evidence fairly there produced againſt me in an open court, and not privately in a chamber been aſked many enſnaring queſtions, with the excluſion of even a ſingle friend, who was willing to aſſiſt and direct me. 8. That any prior determination of the ſenſe of this ſtatute, before I have had counſel allowed me, and legal advice taken about its true extent and meaning, is of no force at all againſt me; and I deſire and demand that I may have time given me to argue the validity of theſe pleas. October 25, 1710 — Here he demanded a public diſputation, for which he pleaded a precedent from Fuller's hiſtory of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 142. But the following ſentence was paſſed Oct. 30. *Whereas it hath been proved before us, that* W. Whiſton, *Maſter of Arts, mathematic Profeſſor of this univerſity, hath aſſerted and ſpread about in Cambridge, ſince the* 19*th day of April* 1709, *diverſe tenets againſt the religion received and eſtabliſhed by public authority in this realm, contrary to the* 45*th ſtatute of this univerſity; and whereas the ſaid* W. Whiſton *being required and exhorted by Mr Vice-chancellor to confeſs and retract his error and temerity in ſo doing, did refuſe to make any ſuch confeſſion and retractation: It is therefore agreed on by us the Vice-chancellor and heads of colleges, whoſe names are here underwritten, That the ſaid* W. Whiſton *hath incurred the penalty of the aforeſaid ſtatute, and that* [illegible] *be baniſhed from this univerſity, according to the tenor of the ſame.* Signed by Mr Vice-Chancellor and eleven Heads, and underneath are theſe words: *Venerabilis vir D. Roderick, Dom. Procancellarius, aſſidentibus & conſentientibus prædictis collegiorum Præfectis, ſententiam ferendo, decrevit, declaravit, & pronunciavit, prout ſequitur.* "In the Name of God, Amen. I Charles Roderick, Vice-Chancellor of this Univerſity, do decree, declare, and pronounce, that Mr W. Whiſton, Mathematical Profeſſor of this Univerſity, having aſſerted and ſpread abroad diverſe tenets contrary to religion, &c. hath incurred the penalty of the ſtatute, and that he is baniſhed from this univerſity." The ſtatute here referred to, after laying down the rules and orders for the ſermons before the univerſity, goes on thus: *Prohibemus ne quiſquam in concione aliqua, in loco communi tractando, in lectionibus publicis, ſeu aliter publice infra Univerſitatem noſtram, quicquam doceat, tractet, vel defendat contra religionem in regno noſtro publica authoritate receptam & ſtabilitam.—— Qui contra fecerit errorem vel temeritatem revocabit, & publice fatebitur. Quod ſi recuſaverit, a collegio ſuo excludetur & Univerſitate* (31). His Profeſſorſhip was likewiſe decreed void October 25, 1711, by Dr Lany, Maſter of Pembroke Hall, then Deputy Vice-Chancellor*, and eight Heads of Colleges; and Mr Nic. Saunderſon of Chriſt's College, who had been blind from his infancy, but well ſkilled in the mathematics, was choſen into the place; from the profits of which Mr Whiſton was ejected the ſame year 1711 in purſuance of a decree in chancery: the coſts, however, of that law-ſuit were remitted by the univerſity. Mr Whiſton afterwards applied by a petition to that body for a third part of the ſalary of his profeſſorſhip (as he continued ſtill to call it) which he alledged was permitted by the ſtatute of his foundation. The words of which, according to a copy printed by himſelf †, are: Quod ſi ſenio, morbo diuturno, aut incurabili impotentia, ſeu debilitate corporis vel animi fractus ſuæ profeſſioni (modo & forma prædictis) perficiendæ non ſuffecerit, abrogetur ei profeſſio per Procancellarium & dictos Præfectos (vel majorem eorum partem) hoc tantum adhibito moderamine, ut illi *(ſic à profeſſionis munere non ſua culpa dimiſſo)* ſi tempore profeſſionis ſuæ laudabiliter ſe geſſerit, neque alias ipſi de proprio ad valorem centum librarum annuatim proviſum fuerit, tertia pars ſtipendii remaneat uſque ad mortem ſuam; reliquis partibus ſucceſſor ſit tantiſper contentus, integrum, poſt ejus mortem, percepturus. This clauſe, 'tis true, directs a third part of the Profeſſor's ſalary to be reſerved for the uſe of the Profeſſor, in caſe of his diſmiſſion from the office (without any fault of his own) on account of being rendered unable to diſcharge it by old age, or other incurable infirmity of body or mind. But that certainly was far enough from being the caſe of Mr Whiſton.——Upon the death of Mr Sanderſon in 1739, he made an application to be reſtored to the place, pitching for the purpoſe upon Dr Aſhton, Maſter of Jeſus College, the only ſurviving head of a college that had ſigned his baniſhment ‡. But the letter he ſent on the occaſion had no effect, and Mr John Colſon was choſen to ſucceed Profeſſor Saunderſon.

[P] *His boldneſs diſabled his friends from protecting him.*] He tells us himſelf, that ſome of his beſt friends began to be greatly affrighted for him, and that two of them in particular, Dr Laughton and Mr Prieſt, came together in a way of kindneſs to diſſuade him from going on, repreſenting to him the dangers to himſelf and family thereby. 'My reply,' ſays he, 'was quick: Dr Laughton and Mr Prieſt, you are 'my very good friends, you love me well, and I love 'you well; but as to what I am now about, I know 'you are both quite ſtrangers to thoſe matters, and ſo 'your arguments cannot influence me: but for myſelf, I have ſtudied theſe points to the bottom, and 'am thoroughly ſatisfied, the Chriſtian Church has 'been long and groſsly cheated in them; and by 'God's bleſſing, if it be in my power, it ſhall be 'cheated no longer. And now I have told you this, 'you may as well perſuade the ſun (which then ſhone 'bright into the room where we were) to come down 'from the firmament, as turn me from this my reſolution. Which firmneſs of mind,' concludes he, 'ſoon put an end *(as well it might)* to their ſollicitations.' Nothing can be more characteriſtic of the peculiar turn of his mind than this, unleſs it be that other evidence thereof, which is given by himſelf too immediately after. 'The like reſolute anſwer,' continues he, 'almoſt, I made to Dr Bentley, when he 'once came to me at London upon the convocation's 'falling upon me afterward, and aimed prodigiouſly 'to terrify me with their irreſiſtible authority.' This anſwer too produced the effect deſired by him, as he ſignifies in proceeding thus: 'After which I was 'hardly aſſaulted any more in this way, and continuing to act boldly, according to my duty and conſcience, enjoyed a great calm within, how roughly 'ſoever the waves and billows abroad ſeemed ready 'to overwhelm me (32).' In this triumphant ſpirit he relates many years afterwards an account of a meſſage that was delivered to him by Dr Cannon from Lord Godolphin before his expulſion from Cambridge, in order to put a ſtop to the publication of his account of the primitive faith concerning the Trinity and Incarnation. 'I well remember,' ſays he, 'the anſwer 'I then made, That if we muſt never ſet about a reformation in church-affairs, till a Lord Treaſurer 'ſends us word, *'tis a proper time*, I believed it would 'be long enough before that time would come; and 'that I ſhould have no regard to the Lord Treaſurer's 'opinion in that point at all (33).'

[Q] *His ſkill in the mathematics was of uſe to him.*] Beſides among other things in that ſcience he publiſhed *Prælectiones Phyſicæ-Mathematicæ*; *ſive Philoſophia clariſſimi Newtoni Mathematica illuſtrata*, in 1701, wherein he explained the Newtonian philoſophy in a popular way, which now began to grow into vogue (*f*). But before the expiration of the year, publiſhing his *Hiſtorical Preface*, where he ſet forth the ſeveral ſteps and reaſons of his departing from the commonly-received notions of the Trinity, the convocation ſoon after fell upon him in March 1711, and cenſured his opinions as heretical [*R*]; and that ſentence not being confirmed by her Majeſty Queen Anne

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(e) When Dr Clarke, Mr (afterwards Biſhop) Hoadley, and others endeavoured to moderate his zeal, he would not ſuffer it to be tainted or corrupted, as he imagined it would be, with the leaſt mixture of prudence or worldly wiſdom. Memoirs of, Dr Clarke.

(31) Hiſtorical Preface, &c. in the account of his baniſhment from the univerſity.

* He ſays, that Sir Nathaniel Lloyd, who was then Vice-chancellor, would never himſelf conſent to it. Account of Mr Whiſton's proſecution and baniſhment, &c. p. 36. edit. 1718 8vo.

† Idem, p. 45, 46.

‡ His choice of Dr Aſhton on this occaſion was made againſt the opinion and advice of his friends, and the doctor ſhewed no regard to his letter. Memoirs, &c. p. 311, &c. where his letter is inſerted.

(32) Memoirs, p. 131, 132.

(33) Hiſt. Memoirs of Dr Clarke, p. 30, 31. edit. 1748. 8vo.

(*f*) Sir Iſaac himſelf drew up his Principia firſt in this way, but changed his mind afterwards, concluding it neceſſary that a new philoſophy ſhould not be offered without the ſtricteſt demonſtration.

Beſides writing books, a catalogue of which is mentioned hereafter, his chief ſupport was obtained by reading aſtronomical and other lectures. On this occaſion he tells us, that Mr Addiſon and Sir Richard Steele brought him, after his baniſhment from Cambridge, to have many aſtronomical lectures at Button's coffee-houſe near Covent Garden, for the procuring him and his family ſome comfortable ſupport. He alſo taught mathematicks to young gentlemen. To which were added preſents from a great number of perſons who reſpected his learning, piety, and open undiſguiſed ſimplicity and integrity, Some of theſe kindneſſes are mentioned in his memoirs; viz. a gift by Lady Caverly of 50l. ſoon after his baniſhment (34); a legacy by Dean Baron, already mentioned, of 20l. and another of the like ſum in Iriſh money by one Mr Leigh of Ireland, a third of 10l. by one Mr Brockman; which, ſays he, with a ſmall farm of my own near Newmarket, the Queen's [Caroline's] bounty of 40l. clear, Sir Joſeph Jekyll's annuity for life of 20l. a year clear, with eclipſes, comets, lectures of ſeveral ſorts at London and elſewhere, and ſome benefactions by perſons now [in 1746] alive, and the greateſt of all long ago by Mr John Bromley, of Horſeheath in Cambridgeſhire, ‘ has made me up ſuch a competen- ‘ cy as has greatly contented me, and made me go ‘ on all along comfortably in my ſtudies (35).'—— Among other benevolences he found means of procuring one from that great general, Prince Eugene of Savoy, the manner of which being a ſtriking inſtance of our author's diligence in laying hold of every opportunity and occaſion to gain a ſubſiſtence, we ſhall relate in his own words, thus: ‘ In the year $17\frac{11}{12}$, ‘ that great General, Prince Eugene of Savoy, was in ‘ England, and becauſe,' ſays he, ‘ I did then, as I ‘ do now, interpret the end of the hour, and day, and ‘ month, and year, for the Ottoman devaſtations, ‘ Apoc. ix. 15. to have been put by his glorious vic- ‘ tory over the Turks, Sept. 1. 1697. O. S. or the ‘ ſucceeding peace of Carlowitz in 1698; I printed a ‘ ſhort dedication of my firſt imperfect eſſay on the ‘ *Revelation of St John*, and fixed it to the cover of ‘ a copy of that eſſay, and preſented it to the Prince; ‘ upon which he ſent me a preſent of 15 guineas.'

(34) Ibid. p. 160. The legacy was left to his wife, the lady ſuppoſing that he would be quickly impriſoned, and ruined for hereſy.

(35) p. 290.

† The Prince, who was particularly famed for his ſagacity and dexterity in forming military ſtratagems againſt an enemy, muſt naturally be well pleaſed to ſee a civil ſtratagem thus artfully contrived againſt his purſe by a friend; a device which was the more artful in the latter part of the addreſs, as the artiſt could not but know, that the deſign of this Prince's errand hither was to prevent, if poſſible, the meaſures then entered into by our court to put an end to the war with France.

The dedication was this:

Illuſtriſſimo Principi Eugenio Sabaudienſi Vaticiniorum Apocalypticorum Unum, Turcarum vaſtationibus finiendis deſtinatum, dudum adimplenti; Alterum etiam de Gallorum imperio ſubvertendo magna ex part[illegible] *uti ſpes eſt, mox adimpleturo: hunc libellum, ſum*[illegible] *quâ decet reverentiâ, dat, dicat, conſecrat,*

8. Id. Martii, 1711-12. GULIELMUS WHISTON (36).

(36) p. 175, 176.

[*R*] *The ſynod paſſed a cenſure upon them.*] Our author being informed of the reſolutions taken in this aſſembly, addreſſed a letter to the prolocutor of the lower houſe, praying a perſonal examination before them. Of this no notice was taken; but on Friday morning a certain dean having the hiſtorical preface in his hand, and reading out of it the cenſure which had been paſſed upon him at Cambridge, moved for an addreſs to the upper houſe, to know their lordſhips opinion, what notice was fit for the convocation to take of that book, which was dedicated to it, which being agreed to, the addreſs was preſented March 16. When a motion was made, that Mr Dodwell's letter concerning the natural mortality of the human ſoul ſhould be referred to the ſame committee, which had been before appointed to conſider of Mr Whiſton's caſe, and on March 17 the committee reſolved, that it was proper to take notice of the preface. The ſame day our author wrote a letter to that houſe, praying, that Dr Smalridge, and ſuch others as they ſhould pleaſe to nominate, might be directed to examine his papers; but this was not complied with, and at the end of the month, or the beginning of June was paſſed the following ſentence: ‘ Whereas great offence hath been given ‘ to the church of God by ſeveral writings publiſhed ‘ by W. W. and particularly by a book lately dedi- ‘ cated by him to the convocation of this province, ‘ wherein that raſh and inſolent writer declares, with ‘ the utmoſt aſſurance, that the Arian doctrine con- ‘ cerning the Trinity and Incarnation is the doctrine ‘ of our bleſſed Saviour, his apoſtles, and the firſt ‘ chriſtians; and very uncharitably inſinuates, that ‘ all who have conſidered theſe matters, want nothing ‘ but the honeſty or the courage to own themſelves of ‘ the ſame opinion:

‘ We have thought ourſelves obliged, in mainten- ‘ ance of our moſt holy religion, and for the vindi- ‘ cation of our own ſincerity, for checking, if poſſible, ‘ the preſumption of this author, and for preſerving ‘ others from being ſeduced by him, to compare the ‘ dangerous aſſertions he has advanced with the Holy ‘ Scriptures, the two firſt general councils, and litur- ‘ gy and articles of the church of England, in order ‘ to give our judgment upon them.'

Then follow the ſeveral paſſages appealed to, after which the ſentence proceeds thus:

‘ We do declare, that the above-mentioned paſſages ‘ cited out of the above-ſaid books of W. W. do con- ‘ tain aſſertions falſe and heretical, injurious to our ‘ Saviour and the Holy Spirit, repugnant to the Ho- ‘ ly Scripture, and contrariant to the doctrines of the ‘ two firſt general councils, and to the liturgy and ar- ‘ ticles of our church. And we do earneſtly beſeech ‘ all chriſtian people, by the mercies of Chriſt, to take ‘ heed to thoſe falſe doctrines, as they tender the ho- ‘ nour and glory of our Saviour, and the Holy Spirit, ‘ the preſervation of the purity of the goſpel, and the ‘ peace of the church. And whereas the ſaid W. W. ‘ the better to ſupport his heretical opinions, ſpeak- ‘ ing of a book commonly called *The Apoſtolical Con-* ‘ *ſtitutions*, hath theſe words, *I have, I think, certainly* ‘ *found, that thoſe* APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS, ‘ *which the Athanaſian Church hath ſo long laid aſide* ‘ *as ſpurious and heretical, are no other than the original* ‘ *laws and doctrines of the goſpel, the new covenant, or* ‘ *moſt ſacred ſtandard of chriſtianity, equal in their autho-* ‘ *rity to the four goſpels themſelves, and ſuperior in au-* ‘ *thority to the epiſtles of ſingle apoſtles; ſome parts of* ‘ *them being our Saviour's own original laws, delivered* ‘ *to the apoſtles, and the other parts, the public acts of* ‘ *the apoſtles themſelves, met in councils at Jeruſalem and* ‘ *Cæſarea before their death. And this was the conſtant* ‘ *opinion and teſtimony of the earlieſt ages of the goſpel.* ‘ We cannot but declare this aſſertion advanced con- ‘ cerning a book which was never yet acknowledged ‘ as part of the canon of ſcripture by any general ‘ council, nor received as ſuch in any chriſtian church, ‘ to be highly abſurd and impious; tending to create ‘ in the minds of Chriſtians great uncertainties, as to ‘ their rule of faith; and to ſubvert that faith which ‘ was once delivered to the ſaints, and is preſerved ‘ in the books of the New Teſtament received in the ‘ church.' This cenſure being laid before the Queen [Anne] happened to be miſlaid, and no further notice taken of it; whereupon our author publiſhed his *Primitive Chriſtianity*, &c. in November 1711. In February following, the lower houſe applied to the upper houſe to confirm the cenſure in the moſt ſolemn manner, and likewiſe to proceed to cenſure our author in perſon, but neither of theſe was agreed to (37).

(37) Hiſtorical Preface in the Appendix, No. 2.

The convocation not being agreed how far their power extended in this caſe, addreſſed the Queen to lay it before the judges, which was done. But neither did they agree in it. Four of them, viz. Ward, Dormer, Blenco, and Lovell, giving their opinion, that the convocation had no juriſdiction originally to cite before them any perſon for hereſy, or any other ſpiritual offence, which may be cited, cenſured, and puniſhed in the reſpective eccleſiaſtical courts, whom they conceived to have the proper juriſdiction in ſuch caſes *. But the other eight, together with the attorney and ſolicitor-general, agreeing, that ſuch juriſdiction, as the law then ſtood, might be exerciſed in convo-

* This opinion is grounded upon the ſtatutes of the 23d, 24th, and 25th of Henry VIII.

Anne (*g*), he was afterwards proſecuted in the ſpiritual court in 1713 [*S*]. But no ſentence being paſſed againſt him, he kept his ſtation and memberſhip in the eſtabliſhed church, with which he ſtill held communion, but was not admitted to the Euchariſt [*T*]. In 1715 he began to hold a ſolemn aſſembly for religious worſhip at his houſe in Croſs-ſtreet, Hatton Garden, according to a liturgy which he had compoſed two years before, and at the ſame time he erected a weekly ſociety for promoting his doctrine of primitive Chriſtianity [*U*]. He had alſo within that time publiſhed a new method for diſcovering the longitude

(*g*) Her Majeſty's anſwer could not be found, and was thought to be ſecreted by ſome about her. Gen. Hiſt. of England.

convocation, her Majeſty ſent the ſeveral opinions to the Archbiſhop, with a letter, in which ſhe wrote thus:

‘ We are pleaſed to find, that according to the opinion of eight of our twelve judges, and of our attorney and ſolicitor-general, as the law now ſtands, a juriſdiction in matters of hereſy, and condemnation of hereticks, is proper to be exerciſed in convocation. And we cannot doubt, but the convocation may now be ſatisfied; they may employ the power which belongs to them, in repreſſing the impious attempt lately made to ſubvert the foundation of the Chriſtian faith; which was one of the chief ends we propoſed to ourſelves in aſſembling them, as appears from the whole of our letter of December 12th, and from the firſt head of buſineſs, which in our two ſubſequent letters of January 29th, and February 14th, we recommended to their conſideration. We truſt that theſe our royal intentions ſo often ſignified, will not be without effect: and ſo requiring you forthwith to communicate this our letter, together with the opinions of our judges and attorney and ſollicitor-general, herewithal tranſmitted to you, to both houſes of convocation, we bid you heartily farewell.

‘ Given at our court at St James's, the 8th day of May 1711, in the tenth year of our reign §.’

§ An account of the convocation's proceedings with relation to Mr Whiſton, &c. by W. Whiſton, M. A. Lond. 1711. 8vo.

[*S*] *He was proſecuted in the ſpiritual court.*] Dr Pelling, rector of St Anne's, Soho, London, delated him of hereſy before the commiſſary of the dean and chapter's court of St Paul's, within whoſe peculiar juriſdiction his habitation lay. The commiſſary Dr Harward, upon conſideration of the nature of the cauſe and the legal puniſhment, which is at the leaſt degradation from the miniſterial function, declared, that becauſe he was a layman, and had not his commiſſion from any biſhop, it was not in his power to degrade a clergyman, and by conſequence not to judge of the crime of hereſy, whereto that degradation belonged. He therefore ſent the petition to the dean of the arches, Dr Betteſworth, as the proper ſuperior judge, to whom he ſuppoſed it muſt now belong: but the Dean, upon hearing the cauſe, determined that this matter not coming to him by appeal, as cauſes ought to do in his court, and the cauſe itſelf having been already taken into the cognizance of the convocation, and beſides belonging properly to the Biſhop of London's juriſdiction, he could not receive it in the firſt inſtance, and ſo diſmiſſed it. After this Dr Pelling appealed, and procured the Lord Chancellor to appoint a court of delegates, who met July 1, 1713, and after hearing came to a final determination, that the cauſe did lie before Dr Betteſworth, and that he ought to have proceeded therein, and agreed to return the original cauſe, and aſſuming incidentals before them by way of appeal, cited Mr Whiſton to appear before them, on Monday, October 26. the firſt court-day of the next term, in the hall at Doctors Commons. On the day appointed he came, but not till after the court was riſen, and had declared him guilty of contempt.—However, the lay-judges refuſing to proceed any further without a court of adjuncts, to determine what hereſy was, this was delayed till 1715, when all hereſy was pardoned by an act of grace. Mr Whiſton tells us, that while they ſat in court, when the Biſhop of Wincheſter [Trelawney] preſſed the judges to haſten the determination what was legal hereſy only, while the other Biſhops and himſelf well knew already what was hereſy by the New Teſtament, and the three firſt centuries, baron Price replied for himſelf, *My Lord, I will not take hereſy upon my ſhoulders, nor upon my conſcience*; that judge Tracy often whiſpered Sir Peter King, who was Mr Whiſton's counſel, to move for a prohibition, that they might get rid of the cauſe; that the Duke of Newcaſtle gave him 10 guineas to fee Lechmere, which he refuſing, our author kept them to himſelf, as he had leave to do; and that the Lord Chief Juſtice Dod, one of the delegates [of adjuncts] grew ſo uneaſy at the ſollicitations made to him by the Biſhop of Wincheſter to appoint a day for further proceedings, that at laſt he returned this ſhort anſwer, that *he would not be a judge about hereſy*; ſo that Mr Whiſton was never degraded nor excommunicated. He ſays moreover, that neither Dr Paul nor Penrice, two of his eccleſiaſtical counſel, took any fee of him as advocates, and that he was aſſured by the former, that it was Bp Hooper, who, (tho' he approved of excommunicating him *) did not approve of the impriſonment which is a neceſſary conſequence of excommunication. That the Biſhop therefore, as he heard, propoſed to adjourn the court *ſine die*, and perhaps, ſays he, with ſome inclination that it might meet no more; as in reality it did not meet any more at all. Our author obſerves upon the whole, that as to himſelf he was ſo little apprehenſive or concerned about the iſſue of their proceedings, that at this time he gave about his *Propoſals for finding out the longitude at ſea by ſignals*, at the door of the court; and on the firſt day of their meeting with the ſame unconcern he publiſhed and preſented to ſeveral of them, inſtead of a petition for mercy, as at firſt they ſuppoſed it to be, a ſingle ſheet, wet from the preſs, intitled, *The cauſe of the Deluge demonſtrated* (38).—‘ Nor do I remember,’ ſays he, ‘ that during all the legal proceedings againſt me, which laſted, in all, four or five years, at Cambridge and London, I loſt my ſleep more than two or three hours on that account (39).’

* This Biſhop had once ſent orders to Bath, while Mr Whiſton was there, to deny him the communion, to which, he ſays, he patiently ſubmitted.

[*T*] *He was not admitted to the Euchariſt.*] At his firſt coming to ſettle in London, he took a houſe in Union Court, Holbourn, which being in St Andrew's pariſh, he frequented that church till the congregation began to take notice of his doctrines: ſoon after which he was admoniſhed by the Rector to forbear coming to the communion for a while. He was afterwards admitted to come there; but when the convocation fell upon him, being again excluded, he applied again to the rector by a letter dated April 9, 1712. deſiring to be admitted to the ſacrament, who returned a verbal anſwer by Mr Shute, to this effect: that upon the receipt of his letter he had conſulted with his dioceſan, and the reſt of his brethren, who all agreed to tell him, when he ſhould offer himſelf at the communion, he muſt refuſe him on account of the offence he had given the church. Upon this Mr Whiſton drew up a paper intitled, *Articles of communion for the chriſtian aſſemblies or churches, to be conſidered, if perſecution ſhould make it neceſſary to attempt a diſtinct ſettlement.* Theſe articles were, That all heretics, or thoſe that ſhould add to or alter the original chriſtian faith, language, worſhip, or diſcipline, in order to a compliance with any particular ſects or parties, be utterly excluded theſe chriſtian aſſemblies or churches: And applied to the Biſhop of London, who remitting him to the Archbiſhop, as not in his dioceſe, he wrote alſo to the Archbiſhop, who reprimanded him for broaching his hereſy. After this, he was troubleſome to the curates of St Andrew's, whenever they preached againſt any of his notions, and to Dr Sacheverell the rector, who at length turned him forcibly out of the church; upon which he moved in 1721 from his houſe then in Croſs-ſtreet, Hatton Garden, to Great Ruſſel-ſtreet, Bloomſbury (40).

[*U*] *He held a weekly meeting for promoting primitive chriſtianity.*] He had publiſhed propoſals for erecting ſuch a ſociety, together with a Primitive Library.—This ſociety met at his houſe in Croſs-ſtreet, Hatton Garden, being compoſed of about ten or twelve perſons, Chriſtians of all perſuaſions in Chriſtianity were admitted to it (41). It was carried on for two years with only one interruption, during which time the three chairmen were Dr John Gale, the champion of the Anabaptiſts, from July 3d, 1715, when they firſt met, till February following. The ſecond was Arthur Onſlow,

(38) It was afterwards added to the latter editions of his *New Theory*, and printed alſo in the firſt edition of his *Aſtronomical Principles of Religion*. Memoirs. p. 193—197.

(39) Idem, p. 132.

(40) Hiſtorical Preface in the Appendix and Poſtſcript.

(41) Particularly one Martyn, a conſiderable quaker, author of *A Vindication of Womens preaching publicly*; but Sir Peter King, Dr Hare, and Dr, afterwards Biſhop, Hoadly, and Dr Clarke, though particularly invited by our author, never came among them. Yet the firſt and laſt of theſe were conſulted by him on particular occaſions, or particular difficulties occurring in their examinations. Life of Dr Clarke, p. 67. & ſeqq.

longitude at ſea [*W*], in conjunction with Mr Ditton *(b)*, and begun to read a courſe of experimental philoſophy, with the aſſiſtance of Mr Hawkſby. In 1716 he ſet forth *An addreſs* (after the example of the ancient apologies) *to all the princes of Europe, for the free toleration of his religion*, which was followed next year with *A new ſcheme of eccleſiaſtical and civil government* [*X*], and by his *Primitive Catechiſm* the year after. In 1719 he publiſhed a letter

(*b*) He joined with this gentleman in reading lectures on experimental philoſophy ſoon after his firſt ſettling in London, and wrote an account of him, to be tranſlated into the German tongue, and prefixed to a German verſion of his excellent treatiſe of the reſurrection.—Memoirs, p. 16.

ſlow, Eſq; till December 28, 1716. The third was Mr Tho. Emlyn, a profeſſed Arian, till June 28, 1717, which was the laſt day of their meeting (42).' Mr Whiſton all the while performed the office of ſecretary, writing down and preſerving the minutes of their proceedings with as much exactneſs as thoſe of any court in the kingdom, in a full perſuaſion of its being of greater conſequence than any of them. Our author frequently laboured to revive this ſociety, but without ſucceſs. Nor did he live to ſee *that* by him much wiſhed for time, when the thoughts of men ſhould be turned from their preſent impieties, and parties, and follies, ſo far as to make it fit (as he declares) to publiſh theſe minutes; which however were ſometimes carried to Aynho to Mr Cartwright and his lady [our author's great admirer and encourager] and their chaplain Mr Waſſe, another of his adherents, who were all very ready to hear what progreſs was made; and where the diſcoveries therein contained had ſometimes a great effect as to the determination of the genuine records of old chriſtianity. The rules and orders of this ſociety were publiſhed by our author in his life of Dr Clarke *, which whoever gives himſelf the trouble of peruſing will ſee that a ſociety now [in 1756] ſubſiſting (43) ſeems to have grown out of the aſhes of this.

(42) Their meetings were broke off on account of ſome particular difficulties occurring in their examinations.

* p. 67 to p. 74.

(43) Which meets at the Robin Hood behind St Clement's church in the Strand, and another alſo is held at the King's Arms in Newgate Street.

[*W*] *A new method of diſcovering the longitude at ſea.*] We cannot be ſurprized that our author's genius in hunting after novelties ſhould lead him to enquire after the longitude at ſea, neither will it be any wonder to ſee him eaſily ſwallowing and digeſting ſeveral wild, impracticable, and viſionary ſchemes in that purſuit. He ſuppoſed it in this caſe practicable to fix ſtationary ſhips or buoys at leaſt at the diſtance of 600 geographical miles, or ten degrees in all parts of the ocean, the depths of which in perhaps much the greateſt part, could never yet be fathomed. In theſe ſhips a mortar or great gun was to be exactly fired every midnight, which being heard by the navigating ſhips, the mariners are ſuppoſed to know their diſtance by the degree of the ſound, or for their further aſſurance bombs were to be thrown up as high as poſſible, the utmoſt altitude of which being ſeen by the fire, and obſerved by the mariners, their diſtanee is found by the difference of the altitude from the known one of the ſtationary ſhip; or ſtill further, by firing a gun at the moment the bomb arrives at its greateſt altitude, the ſame diſtance will be found by obſerving the difference of the time between hearing the firſt and that of ſeeing the laſt; the ſame may be done if the ſound and light are made at any given interval. But this method being communicated to Sir Iſaac Newton, Dr Clarke, Mr Halley, and Mr Cotes, a committee of the houſe of commons (for it was laid before that houſe) was appointed to hear the whole affair, the conſequence of which was an act of parliament, *appointing a proper reward for ſuch as ſhould diſcover a better method than had been then uſed, for finding the longitude at ſea.* However, Sir Iſaac Newton having hinted to our author the poſſible uſe this method might be of for finding the longitude at land, and thereby making exact ſurveys and maps of countries; he had ſome thoughts of making ſuch a ſurvey of England, and to that end propoſed to improve Mr Derham's table of the velocities of ſounds by a further trial to 30, 40, or 50 miles diſtance: for which purpoſe the rectilinear canal called New Bedford river in the iſle of Ely, and the old Roman road called Watling-ſtreet, as it paſſes very nearly in a ſtraight line through the plain country of Staffordſhire, were pitched upon for making theſe trials. Propoſals were publiſhed by him for a new ſurvey of England and Wales, according to this method, and for a new ſet of correct maps according to ſuch a ſurvey, by a ſubſcription of two guineas the ſet. This method not meeting with encouragement, our author nothing diſmayed, his temper being ſuch as roſe more ſanguine and ſteeled from miſcarriages and diſappointments, propoſed, in 1721, another method of diſcovering the longitude at ſea, by the *Dipping Needle*, which he ſuppoſed to vary in the degrees of inclination downward according to the different degrees of longitude. To enable him to carry on this he had a large ſubſcription, which we ſhall tranſcribe, as by it we ſee what great friends he met with.

K. George I. 100:00:0 deduct the treaſury and officers abatements 11:1:6 Received	88	18	6
Prince of Wales	50	00	0
Princeſs of Wales	31	10	0
Parker Lord Chancellor	21	10	0
Duke of Chandos	21	00	0
Sir Joſeph Jekyll, Maſter of the Rolls	31	10	0
Mr Molyneux	31	10	0
Mr Cartwright of Aynho	10	10	0
Mr Hutton	10	10	0
Mr Hedges	10	10	0
Mr Weſtern	10	10	0
Col. Wyndham	10	10	0
Lord Paiſley (a Terrella)	5	05	0
Dr Crow	10	10	0
Sir George Markham	10	10	0
Duke of Montague	21	00	0
Lord Iſlaa	10	10	0
Mr Edgecombe	10	10	0
Earl of Derby	10	10	0
Mr Ward	10	10	0
Mr Sambrooke	5	05	0
Mr Folkes	5	05	0
Mr Thompſon	5	05	0
Mr Edwards	5	05	0
Mr Barker	5	05	0
Mr Anſon	5	05	0
Mr Nailor	5	05	0
Mr Archer	5	05	0
Sir John Guiſe	5	05	0
Duke of Kent	5	05	0
(44) Total	470	03	6

(44) This was the largeſt ſum he ever received from his friends, except 500 l. for the ſurvey of our coaſts, which yet did not pay the diſburſements for which it was allotted. Memoirs, p. 254.—Hiſtorical pref. to The longitude diſcovered by Jupiter's planets, p. 60.

Accordingly he ſet upon contriving new inſtruments, and made ſome new obſervations of the angle of dip, but the attraction of the needle downward being weak, and the concuſſion of the ſhip ſo very troubleſome, as to give him ſmall hopes of ſucceeding, and he was ſoon made ſenſible of the vanity of this project by Mr George Graham's diſcovery of an horary certain inequality both in the vibration and the dip of magnetic needles, to ½ or ⅔ of a degree at leaſt.———Thus obliged to drop this deſign, he publiſhed a third in 1738, for diſcovering of it by the eclipſes of Jupiter's ſatellites, and the aſtronomical conjunctions of other planets, with a table of ſuch eclipſes as might be uſeful in this diſcovery for the year 1739, and 3 years after to 1742. But this project, which bid the faireſt for ſucceſs, could not be brought into practice by reaſon of the difficulty of obſerving thoſe eclipſes at ſea.

[*X*] *He moved for a toleration,* &c.] The whole title runs thus: *An humble and ſerious addreſs to the Princes and States of Europe, for the admiſſion, or at leaſt open toleration of the chriſtian religion in their dominions.* No notice being taken of this pamphlet in print, as being the work *non ſani hominis*, he obſerves, that it went without a reply, becauſe it was unanſwerable. Our author has taken great care at every turn to ſcatter about open and glaring evidences of this inſanity, but on no occaſion has he given ſo ſtriking an inſtance of his vanity and confidence, as in the cordial which he provided to comfort himſelf under the contempt that was ſhewn to this addreſs. After having, as uſual, affirmed it to be undeniable, that the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* contain an authentic account of the worſhip, diſcipline, and inſtitutions of the goſpel of Chriſt, and of the whole chriſtian œconomy both for faith and practice, as they were left by the apoſtles, and their companions in the latter end of the firſt, and former part of the ſecond century, he proceeds thus: 'It may not be amiſs to take notice here of the conſolation I uſed to receive by Milton's character of the ſeraph Abdiel, who was the only one of the innumerable wicked crew of inviſible beings, that continued obedient a letter to the Earl of Nottingham [Finch] concerning the *Eternity of the Son of God, and his Holy Spirit.* To this his Lordſhip wrote an anſwer, in defence of the received orthodox doctrine, for which he received public addreſſes of thanks from the London clergy, the two univerſities, and almoſt all parts of the kingdom *. So that Mr Whiſton being propoſed in 1720 for a member of the Royal Society, was rejected [*Y*]; nor did his application the following year to ſucceed Mr Flamſtead in the place of Royal Aſtronomer at Greenwich, meet with any better ſucceſs [*Z*]. His former propoſed method for finding

obedient to God and his Meſſiah, when all the reſt fell; it ſo near fitting my caſe, who have almoſt alone attempted to reſtore *primitive chriſtianity*, when the reſt of my fellow-labourers ſeemed to give it up, and to content themſelves with the hopes of getting rid of the *Athanaſian hereſy* only, that I could not but frequently ſolace myſelf with it, which, with due allowance for human frailty in the application, ſhall be here all ſet down verbatim.

So ſpake the Seraph Abdiel; faithful found
Among the faithleſs; faithful only he
Among innumerable falſe; unmov'd,
Unſhaken, unſeduc'd, unterrify'd.
His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal,
Nor number nor example with him wrought
To ſwerve from truth, or change his conſtant mind:
Though ſingle, the friendly pow'rs do him receive
With joy and acclamations loud, that one,
That of ſo many myriads fall'n, yet one
Return'd not loſt. On to the ſacred hill
They led him, high applauded; and preſent
Before the ſeat ſupreme; from whence a voice
From midſt a golden cloud, thus mild, was heard:
Servant of God, well done; well haſt thou fought
The better fight; who ſingle haſt maintain'd
Againſt revolted multitudes the cauſe
Of truth: in word mightier than they in arms.
And for the teſtimony of truth haſt born
Univerſal reproach, far worſe to bear
Than violence. For this was all thy care,
To ſtand approv'd in ſight of God, tho' worlds
Judg'd thee perverſe.——

Which laſt unſpeakable reward of all my honeſt, tho' imperfect endeavours I have long uſed for the reſtoration of this moſt deſirable thing, truly primitive chriſtianity, may our Saviour allot me at the great day. Amen. Amen (45).'

[*Y*]. *He was rejected from entering into the Royal Society.*] The caſe, to uſe his own words, was thus: 'Sir Hans Sloane the ſecretary, Dr Edmund Halley, and myſelf were once together at Child's Coffee-houſe in St Paul's Church-yard, when Dr Halley aſked me why I was not a member of the Royal Society? I anſwered, Becauſe they durſt not chooſe a heretick. Upon which Dr Halley ſaid, that if Sir Hans Sloane would propoſe me, he would ſecond it, which was done accordingly. When Sir Iſ. Newton heard this, he was greatly concerned; and by what I then learned, cloſeted ſome of the members, in order to get clear of me; and told them, that if I was choſen a member, he would not be Preſident. Whereupon, by a pretence of deficiency in the form of proceeding, the propoſal was dropt, I not inſiſting upon it. Nay, as ſoon as I was informed of Sir Iſaac's uneaſineſs, I told his boſom-friend, Dr Clarke, that had I known his mind, I would have done nothing that might bring down that great man's *grey heirs with ſorrow to the grave.* Nor has that ſociety ever refuſed to let me come, and lay any of my papers or inſtruments before them, whenever I deſired it, without my being an actual member, which, conſidering my ſmall ability to pay the uſual ſums for admiſſion and annual dues, was almoſt as agreeable to me as being a conſtant member.' So far is a ſenſible plain narration of the fact, but Mr Whiſton's vanity could not let it go without the following comment: 'Now,' continues he, 'if the reader deſires to know the reaſon of Sir Iſaac's Newton's unwillingneſs to have me a member, he muſt take notice, that as his making me firſt his deputy, and giving me the full profits of the place, brought me to be a candidate, as his recommendation of me to the heads of colleges in Cambridge made me his ſucceſſor, ſo did I enjoy a large portion of his favour for twenty years together. But he then perceiving that I could not do as his other darling friends did, that is, learn of him without contradicting him, he could not in his old age bear ſuch contradiction, and ſo he was afraid of me the laſt thirteen years of his life. He was of the moſt fearful, cautious, and ſuſpicious temper that I ever knew; and had he been alive when I wrote againſt his chronology, and ſo thoroughly confuted it, that no body has ever ventured to vindicate it that I know of ſince my confutation was publiſhed, I ſhould not have thought proper to publiſh it during his life-time, becauſe I knew his temper ſo well, that I ſhould have expected it would have killed him. As Dr Bentley, Biſhop Stillingfleet's chaplain, told me, that he believed Mr Locke's thorough confutation of the Biſhop's metaphyſics about the Trinity, haſtened his end alſo (46).'— This needs no comment. But for further ſatisfaction we ſhall exhibit ſome ſpecimens given by our author himſelf of his behaviour to Sir Iſaac Newton; the rather, becauſe this will furniſh us with a juſt ſpecimen of his ſhameleſs manner of treating almoſt all his friends. He intimates, that his firſt acquaintance with that great man begun in 1694, upon the writing of his *New Theory*, which he tells us was approved by Sir Iſaac (the unfairneſs of which miſrepreſentation has been already noted). Soon after this he was received with ſo much familiarity, that Sir Iſaac gave him the like account of his diſcovering his theory of gravity, which many years after was given to Dr Pemberton, who firſt publiſhed it. That upon the ſubject of our author's Eſſay upon the Revelations, he ſpent once with him alone in 1706 about four hours on the *Apocalypſe*; that Sir Iſaac communicated to him ſeveral of his expoſitions upon that book; that he could hardly aſſent to more than one of his expoſitions, to wit, the diſtinction of the four monarchies in prophetic language geographically as well as chronologically, which, by his permiſſion, our author inſerted in his own eſſay. That Sir Iſaac originally imparted to him the groundleſneſs of the notion about the double ſenſe of prophecies. That when our author communicated a paper of his own on *Infant-baptiſm* (47) to Sir Iſaac for his opinion in 1712, his anſwer was, that he had diſcovered the ſa[illegible]e before.—— Nay, that he found Sir Iſaac was ſo[illegible]earty, not only for the *Baptiſts*, but for the *Euſe*[illegible]*ans* or *Arians* alſo, that he ſometimes ſuſpected theſe were the two witneſſes in the Revelation of St John. That Sir Iſaac wrote a diſſertation to diſprove the common reading of 1 Tim. iii. 16. About the year 1705, and not much later, he ſuggeſts his belief, that Sir Iſaac had long before known the Athanaſian doctrine concerning the Trinity not to be the primitive doctrine of the church. That afterwards admoniſhing Dr Clarke not to ſubſcribe the 39 articles, he adviſes him to conſult Sir Iſaac Newton (48).

Theſe inſtances are more than enough to ſhew the danger of uſing our author with that freedom and openneſs which friendſhip requires, and hence we ſee the true reaſon why he could not obtain, in 1725, Sir Iſaac's opinion and corrections of his chronological table publiſhed ſoon after, and that Mr Whiſton ſhould ſpeak in ſuch a manner as he did many years after of Sir Iſaac's conjectures concerning the cauſe of gravity (49).

[*Z*] *He could not ſucceed Mr Flamſtead.*] On this occaſion he waited on Lord Chancellor Parker, who expreſſing a concern that he came too late [two or three days after Flamſtead's death] having ſpoken already to the King for Dr Halley, did by way of recompence preſent him with a roll of fifty guineas. Our author declares, that he was put upon this affair by his friends againſt his own inclination, as being rather too old to ing the longitude at ſea being judged impracticable, he invented another more eaſy, by the help of the *Dipping Needle*, and in 1721 a large ſubſcription was made for the ſupport of his family, to enable him to carry on that deſign; but this invention, like the former, proved abortive (*i*). In 1726 he procured a model of the tabernacle of Moſes, and another of the temple of Jeruſalem [*AA*]. Upon which he read lectures at London, Bath, Briſtol, Tunbridge, and elſewhere. This he looked on as the chief buſineſs of his life, and he continued till the end thereof, though not without talking, acting, and publiſhing great numbers of books and pamphlets at the ſame time, to ſupport and propagate his religious tenets (*k*). In the year 1741 and the following year, having received great encouragement for the purpoſe (*l*), he employed a proper perſon to take an exact ſurvey of the coaſt of England [*BB*], in order to fix the true longitude thereof, which was much wanted, and upon completing the ſurvey, a chart being drawn under his inſpection, was publiſhed in 1745. In 1747 he left the communion of the church of England, and joined the Baptiſts [*CC*]. He even entertained ſome notions about circumciſion, which would infer the obſervance of that rite not to be irreconcileable to the Chriſtian

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* See moſt of this under Bp Gibſon's article in the ſupplement.

(45) Memoirs, p. 241—243.

(46) Memoits, p. 254, 250, 251. and Authentic Records, p. 1070, 1071,

(47) To ſhew, that baptiſm in the primitive church was only adminiſtered to ſuch children as were capable of catechetical inſtruction.

(48) Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 35, 36. 38, 98, 178, and 306. Memoirs of Dr Clarke, p. 11. Authentic Records, part ii. p. 1075.

(49) Memoirs, Vol. II. edit. 1750, p. 195. where he ſays, that Sir Iſaac, out of fear at Mr Machin's ſuggeſtion, made his very weak, and indeed almoſt wholly groundleſs hypotheſis for a *mechanical ſolution of gravity* even againſt the conſtant declared ſenſe of his own mind for many years together.

(*i*) See below in Remark [*U*].

(*k*) See the liſt of his works.

(*l*) Not leſs than 500l. which yet he ſays did not reimburſe the expences for which it was allotted.— Memoirs, &c. p. 254.

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take aſtronomical obſervations, and having neither mechanical accuracy nor ſharpneſs of ſight requiſite for it (50).

[*AA*] *A model of the temple of Jeruſalem.*] This model was made according to his own directions, by Mr Grendall, and coſt him 110 guineas (51). It ſerved to explain not only Solomon's, Zerobabel's, and Herod's temple, but that of Ezechiel's alſo, which was his main deſign: That being, in his opinion, the temple to be built upon Mount Zion at the reſtoration of the Jews, which was alſo then approaching. Theſe lectures he looked on as preparations to that reſtoration. This he took to be his peculiar buſineſs, having, as he thought, plainly diſcovered in 1748, that it would not be many years before the Meſſiah would come for that reſtoration, and with it the firſt reſtoration of Ezechiel's Temple, to be built on Mount Zion, as the 3 former had been built on Mount Moriah (52).

[*BB*] *An agent to ſurvey the coaſts*, &c.]. The perſon employed was Mr John Renſhaw, who as our author's agent went round the coaſt, and ſurveyed it trigonometrically, from the North Foreland in Kent to the Land's-End in Cornwall and the Scilly Iſlands (59). But he could not be conveyed to Cape Clear on the South Weſt of Ireland, which could only be determined (ſays our author) by the eclipſes of Jupiter's planets. This however was done at his expence by Mr Renſhaw in 1744. The chart itſelf, which is large, includes alſo the French coaſt, which Dr Halley had publiſhed before, as done by the French aſtronomers, from the like eclipſes of Jupiter's planets, in a chart of the Engliſh coaſt, which was very uncorrect, being done too haſtily with improper inſtruments. (60) This chart by Mr Renſhaw was the moſt exact that had then been publiſhed.

This ſurvey was undertaken by the encouragement of an act paſſed in the 14th of George II. entitled, *An act for ſurveying the chief ports and head-lands of Great Britain, &c. in order to the more exact determination of the longitude and latitude thereof:* And as ſome doubts had ariſen whether by the words of the 12th of Queen Anne, providing a reward for diſcovering the longitude at ſea, any public money could be applied for ſuch ſurvey, it was enacted by the ſaid 14th of George II. That the commiſſioners ſhould have power to apply ſuch part of a ſum not exceeding 2000l. as they ſhould think neceſſary, for the making ſuch ſurvey.— Beſides the 500l. given to Mr Whiſton, the ſum of 1250l. another part of the ſaid 2000l. was paid to Mr John Harriſon, to encourage him to proceed in making further improvements towards diſcovering the longitude at ſea by a clock of his own invention *.

[*CC*] *He turned Baptiſt.*] As long before as 1712 he had diſcovered the errors, as he called them, of the baptiſm of uncatechized infants; on occaſion of the queſtion that was put to him by one Mr Shelſewell, (when he was preparing to baptize him and his ſiſter (63), who had never before been baptized) whether he ſhould not think it better if baptiſm were deferred till after the inſtruction than before it: To which his anſwer was, that he muſt honeſtly confeſs he ſhould himſelf have thought ſo, but that he was no legiſlator, and that he ſubmitted to what he then took to be a law of Chriſt. Conſtit. vi. 15. Do you alſo baptize your infants, and bring them up in the nurture and admonition of God. For ſays he, *Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not.* "When Mr Shelſewell was gone, I reflected, ſays he, upon what had been ſaid, and was diſſatisfied that I had been forced to allow, that in my opinion this law of Chriſt was not ſo right as it ſhould be; whereupon I immediately ſet myſelf to examine what the New Teſtament and the moſt early fathers meant by the words which they uſed when they ſpeak of the baptiſm of infants or little children, I mean *νηπια* and *παιδια*, and which they eſteemed not incapable of that holy ordinance." He ſoon diſcovered that they were only thoſe that were capable of catechetic inſtruction, but not fit for underſtanding harder matters; and that none but ſuch infants or little children were in the firſt and ſecond century made partakers of baptiſm (64). After this he baptized his god-children and a few others, after they were come to years of diſcretion, and were carefully inſtructed in the principles of chriſtianity. In 1714 he declares, that this diſcovery had made him a Baptiſt 36 years before, though he ſtill frequented the church of England ſervice, only ſhewing his diſtaſte to the Athanaſian creed, and other parts which he did not like, as not agreeing with his plan. But on Sunday the 24th of Auguſt, being at Tunbridge, it ſeems he determined to go out of the church whenever it was read. But not being fully ſatisfied of the lawfulneſs of ſuch a communion with the church, though he then practiſed it; and however being thoroughly convinced it could be no longer lawful than till he could light of enow to ſet up a truly primitive congregation of chriſtians, at leaſt of ſuch a church in a houſe; he continued thus till Trinity Sunday 1747: when upon the Athanaſian creed being read at Lyndon church, where he then was preſent, going out he went to the Baptiſt meeting at Morcot, 2 miles off, "as, ſays he, I intend to do hereafter, while I am here at Lyndon, till ſome better opportunity preſents of ſetting up a more primitive congregation myſelf." He declares his intention alſo to obſerve Wedneſdays and Fridays faſt, not at church but at home, and to uſe his own liturgy of the church of England reduced nearer to the primitive ſtandard, till Providence called him to a larger congregation: but this earneſt wiſh never happened to him (65).

In order to a right underſtanding of our author's religious principles, this remark ſhall conclude with a liſt of the particulars, in which he did not join with the church of England's liturgy. 1. In the *Te Deum* he choſe to ſay, *Thou art the only-begotten*, inſtead of *everlaſting Son* of the Father. 2. In the common creed he ſaid, Chriſt deſcended into *Hades*, inſtead of into *Hell*. 3. In the litany he directed the prayers to the Father, and entirely omitted the third and fourth petitions to the Holy Ghoſt and to the Trinity. 4. In the prayer for the parliament he omitted the epithets to the King, *moſt religious and gracious*. 5. In the collect for the 6th Sunday after the Epiphany, and elſewhere, he omitted the words *Holy Ghoſt*, and *One God*. 6. He entirely omitted the collect for Trinity Sunday. 7. In the Nicene creed he omitted the words *Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one ſubſtance with the Father.* Of the Holy Ghoſt he ſaid, *proceedeth from the Father by the Son*, who *after* the Father and the Son is worſhipped and glorified. 8. In the communion-ſervice he ſaid, St Paul exhorts the Corinthians, and he entirely omitted the proper preface for Trinity Sunday, and wiſhed that water were mixed with wine in this office. 9. He never joined in the baptiſm of uncatechized infants, nor

(50) Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 252, 253.

(51) A deſcription of the Tabernacle of Moſes, &c. edit. 1731.

(52) See his lectures upon theſe models, in Memoirs, Vol. II.

(59) The expence was defrayed partly by private benefactions, but principally by public money aſſigned for the purpoſe by the commiſſioners of the longitude. Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 335.

(60) See Dr Halley's article.

* See an account of it under Sir Chriſtopher Wren's article.

(63) He actually baptized them on Sunday Feb. 21, 1714, according to the form in his 'Liturgy of the 'church of England reduced 'nearer to the 'primitive ſtandard.' Memoirs, vol. II. p. 201.

(64) Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 177, 178.

(65) Ib. p. 192. 309. 325. 331. 385, 386.

Chriſtian ſcheme [*DD*]. In 1749, he publiſhed two volumes 8vo. and added a third in 1750, of *Memoirs, written by himſelf, of his own life* [*EE*], to which a period was put on the 22d of Auguſt 1752, after a week's illneſs at London. He was interred at Lyndon in Rutland (*m*), near the remains of his wife, a woman of excellent qualities, who died about 18 months before him. Over his grave there is a handſome tomb, with a large inſcription (*n*). His very uncommon character was drawn by an able hand (*o*) in his life time, and being tranſcribed by himſelf into his own memoirs (*p*), may juſtly claim a place here as follows: ‘ There are two clergymen’ [Dr Clarke and Mr Whiſton] ſays this author, ‘ who have ſtudied themſelves into hereſy, or, at leaſt, into a ſuſpicion of it; ‘ both of them of fair unblemiſhed characters. One [Mr Whiſton] has all his life been ‘ cultivating piety and virtue, and good learning, rigidly conſtant himſelf in the public ‘ and private duties of religion, and always promoting in others virtue, and ſuch learning ‘ as he thought would conduce moſt to the honour of God, by manifeſting the great‘neſs and wiſdom of his works. He has given the world ſufficient proofs that he has ‘ not miſpent his time, by very uſeful works of *philoſophy* and *mathematics*; he has ap‘plied one to the explication of the other, and endeavoured by both to diſplay the glory ‘ of the great Creator: and to his ſtudy of nature he early joined the ſtudy of the ‘ Scriptures, and his attempts, whatever the ſucceſs be, were at leaſt *well-meant*; and ‘ conſidering the difficulty of the ſubjects he was engaged in, it muſt be allowed, that ‘ in the main they were *well-aimed*: and if he has not ſucceeded, no more have others ‘ who have meddled with the ſame ſubjects, nor is he more to be blamed than they: to ‘ be blamed did I ſay? I ſhould have ſaid, not leſs to be commended; for ſure ’tis a ‘ commendable deſign to explain ſcripture-difficulties, and to remove the objections of ‘ profane men, by ſhewing there is nothing in the ſacred writings but what is true and ‘ rational. But what does a life thus ſpent avail? To what purpoſe ſo many watchful ‘ nights and weary days? ſo much piety and devotion? ſo much mortification and ſelf‘denial? ſuch a zeal to do good and to be uſeful in the world? ſo many noble ſpecimens ‘ of a great genius and a fine imagination? ’Tis the poor man's misfortune (for poor ‘ he is and like to be, not having the leaſt preferment) to have a warm head, and to be ‘ very zealous in what he thinks the cauſe of God. He thinks prudence the worldly ‘ wiſdom condemned by Chriſt and his apoſtles, and that ’tis groſs prevarication and hypo‘criſy to conceal the diſcoveries he conceives he has made. This heat of temper betrays ‘ him into indiſcreet expreſſions and haſty aſſertions. Deſigning to hurt nobody, he ‘ fancies nobody deſigns to hurt him, and is ſimple enough to expect the ſame favour‘able allowances will be made to him, that he ſees made to others who write againſt ‘ him. As to his learning, ’tis his misfortune that he is not ſkilled enough in the ‘ learned languages to be a critic in them, and yet he ſeems not to be ſenſible of his defi‘ciency in that reſpect; whence having ſo much heat and ſo little criticiſm, his learning

(*m*) It lies about five miles from Stamford in Lincolnſhire.

(*n*) Tour thro' Great Britain, edit. 1762. Vol. 2. p. 35. where the inſcription may be ſeen.

(*o*) Dr Hare, in his ‘ Difficulties ‘ and diſcourage‘ments which ‘ attend the ſtu‘dy of the holy ‘ ſcriptures.’

(*p*) Vol. I. p. 103, 104. 2d edit. 1753.

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nor in any baptiſm by ſprinkling, nor in the anſwers of the church catechiſm which belong to God-fathers and God-mothers, &c. 10. In the burial-office he would not ſay, As our hope is this our brother doth, when by the goſpel there was little hopes of ſalvation. 11. He heartily wiſhed all ſtate holy-days were aboliſhed (66).

[*DD*] *He had ſome notions about circumciſion, &c.*]. This conceit we find in his Memoirs (67), where he has emptied his whole ſtock of all ſuch idle fancies as at any time ſprung up in a brain the moſt fruitful of them that perhaps is to be found in hiſtory. This occurs under a N. B. in p. 288. ‘ Since the old me‘thod of divine providence,’ ſays he, ‘ uſed all along ‘ to preſerve the hiſtory of the moſt important facts ‘ of ancient ages by ſtanding memorials of the ſame ‘ to after ages, as I have formerly proved, I propoſe ‘ it for a proper query to the inquiſitive, whether as ‘ the circumſtances of the firſt and original ſin of ‘ Adam and Eve were preſerved in the *pudor circa res* ‘ *venereas*; and as to Eve, by the difficulties of con‘ception, geſtation, and child-birth in mothers ever ‘ ſince; whether the ſame circumſtances of that firſt ‘ ſin might not alſo be preſerved as to Adam by the ‘ circumciſion of the males? We find this circumci‘ſion in Sanchoniatho before the flood (68): And we ‘ find it made the diſtinguiſhing mark of Abraham and ‘ his poſterity after it to this day. I affirm nothing ‘ here, but think no other ſolution of this divine com‘mand ſo probable and ſo agreeable to the ancient ‘ method of divine providence as this is.

‘ June 21. 1749. W. W.’

[*EE*] *He added a third book to his memoirs.*] It conſiſts chiefly of his lectures read in March 17$\frac{49}{50}$.—— Theſe lectures are the laſt, and indeed contain the whole maſs of his Quixotiſm in explaining the prophecies of both Old and New Teſtament *, and were evidently occaſioned by the two late earthquakes which happened at that time. He now takes it for granted, as having been fully proved before by himſelf, that the reſtoration of the Jews will come to paſs in the year 1766, that the ſigns foregoing already fulfilled are the meteors, earthquakes, and eclipſes begun in the year 1715, that very year, as he will have it, when the period of the outer court of the Jewiſh temple trodden down by the Gentiles firſt ended.—— Among the completions of the prophecies he reckons Mary Tofts, the notorious impoſtor of Godalmin in Surrey, who in the beginning of King George Iſt's reign pretended to have conceived rabbits in her womb. This he firmly believes as an undoubted fact, and a completion of that prophecy in II. Eſdras, *That menſtruous women ſhall bring forth monſtrous births.*—— Again, ſpeaking of the prophecies concerning the millenium, from Revelation xii. he declares, that there ſhall be ſoon an earthquake, which ſhall overturn a tenth part of London, and kill 7000 men of note, and the other nine parts of the inhabitants ſhall be converted to righteouſneſs, which is immediately to forego the Millenium. He concludes that the longitude at ſea will be found out before this grand Æra, in which he takes notice of the probability of ſucceſs by Mr Harriſon's clock. After all, however wild and extravagant his ſolutions may be, yet his inferences from them are highly commendable, and will undoubtedly in the mind of every good man atone, if any thing can atone, for the wildneſs of his principles. Among the inferences, having ſeverely reproved the miſconduct of our clergy, he diverts us with the ſtory of a conference between Dr Aldridge, Dean of Chriſt-Church, Oxford, and Mr Brotherton, an eminent ſtage-player. When the former declaring his ſurprize how comedians ſhould ſo deeply affect an audience, while preachers cannot do it, whoſe ſubjects are yet ſo much more ſerious and affecting than the others fictions, Mr Brotherton, upon leave obtained to ſpeak his mind with freedom, made anſwer, *Mr Dean, we are in earneſt, and you are not* (69).

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(66) Memoirs, p. 331, 332.

(67) p. 288, 289.

(68) Eſſay on the Old Teſtament. Appendix, p. 178.

* His real friends were concerned at his publiſhing this 3d volume, as he was above 80 when he printed it, for which due allowance ſhould be made.

(69) Memoirs, Vol. 2. p. 141, 154.

‘ is treated as if he did not know the firſt elements of Greek, though even in that he is much ſuperior to moſt of thoſe who make ſo free with him; and you every day hear his performances run down as whimſies and chimæras, by men who never read them, and if they did, could not underſtand them. Nor does his warmth of temper come off better; 'tis all *obſtinacy*, *pride*, and *heretical pravity*, a want of *modeſty*, and due deference to juſt authority. They that ſpeak moſt favourably, look on him as *crazed*, and little better than a *madman* [*FF*].’ This is the poor man's character, and low as he is, they cannot be content to leave him quiet in his poverty; whereas had he not been early poſſeſſed with a paſſionate love for the ſcriptures and philoſophy; had he not thought it his duty above all things to promote the glory of God, and been perſuaded that could be no way ſo well done as by the ſtudy of his *word* and *works*, 'tis more than probable he had at this time been *orthodox*; and then, inſtead of his preſent treatment,

[*FF*] *He was deemed little better than a madman.*] 'Tis eaſily ſeen, that however juſt the principal outlines of this character may be, yet the picture is finiſhed up with ſuch a choice of colourings as, without much regard to the true life-touches, chiefly ſerve the painter's art in it, to recommend himſelf. Some defects indeed were unavoidable. It was firſt preſented to the public in 1712, when our author had lived not much above half his days; though he had then both ſaid, wrote, and done enough to manifeſt the peculiar turn and caſt of his mind and temper, which were thereby become a popular theme of diſcourſe, and procured him the favours of many, eſpecially ſuch as on any account were diſaffected to the clergy. Among theſe ſtood foremoſt the author of *The Grounds and Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion* (70), where the character of Mr Whiſton, though living, then and many years after, was made uſe of by way of tool and thorn, wherewith to ſerve the writer's purpoſe in galling the ſides of the parſons. To that end it is, that he is ſhewn in the light of ‘ deſpiſing the catechiſms, confeſſions or articles of faith, and traditions of all modern churches, the commentaries on ſcripture, and the ſyſtematical books of all modern theologues. He is an upright and very religious man, and a moſt zealous chriſtian, leading a moral life, as is common to moſt who are ſtiled hereticks, renouncing glory, riches, and eaſe, which he might have had with the applauſe of all, and envy of none; and willingly and courageouſly undergoing obloquy, poverty, and perſecution (all three whereof have been his lot, and the two former will be always) for the ſake of a good conſcience: deeming prudence to be the worldly wiſdom condemned by Chriſt and his apoſtles; and concealment of religious ſentiments to be a great crime; and unmoved by the example of ſeveral learned divines, who, as is well known, have *great prudence*; and through fear of the ignorant, the bigots, and the crafty (who govern the two former) do moſt of all men conceal their religious ſentiments from the world, which if they in confidence diſcover to him, he without ſcruple publiſhes it in print, ſacrificing his underſtanding to the obedience of faith, and believing myſteries.—— He is the very reverſe of many moſt eminens divines: He thinks himſelf obliged in conſcience to be dutiful, ſubmiſſive, and loyal to his Majeſty, to whom he has ſworn allegiance: and it is not a church-point with him, to act one way, and pray and ſwear another, or not to be in earneſt in theſe two moſt ſerious and ſolemn actions. He ſpeaks what he thinks, and is not guilty of the contradiction of making the Chriſtian religion a matter of great importance, and yet concealing his thoughts about the particulars of that religion, any more than he is of profeſſing a religion he does not believe. He pays no regard to faſhionable doctrines; nor to faſhionable divines, who in obedience to one another, and in harmony, vary, change, and regulate the faith of the vulgar. He will not be bound by articles which he has ſubſcribed, but renounce them, when he judges them erroneous: nor will he ſubſcribe articles which he does not believe true, or ſubſcribe them in a ſenſe contrary to thoſe deſigned by the impoſers. He renounces all preferments, and will not ſo much as receive money from infidel hands. He thinks himſelf obliged to imitate the apoſtles in their low eſtate, and he believes it no leſs inconſiſtent with chriſtianity, to aim at and contend for, and poſſeſs that worldly greatneſs and wealth, which their pretended ſucceſſors of the Romiſh church enjoy and contend for, as due to them by the goſpel, than to contradict the apoſtles in other reſpects.—— He lives for the moſt part in London, the place of the greateſt reſort of men of underſtanding, birth, fortune, and learning, in the univerſe. There he viſits perſons of both ſexes, and of the higheſt rank, who are delighted with his plainneſs, integrity (*a*), ſenſe, and learning, and to whom he diſcourſes with the greateſt freedom about many important points, and eſpecially about *Athanaſianiſm*, which ſeems his moſt peculiar concern. He frequents the moſt public coffee-houſes, where moſt are prone to ſhew him reſpect, and none dare ſhew him any diſreſpect; the clergy either flying before him, or making a feeble oppoſition to him.—— By all which he has made a multitude of converts to the belief that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt are three different intelligent agents, and not three intelligent agents making but one intelligent agent: that the Father was before, and is greater than, the Son: that the Son is not the ſame being with the Father; and that the Father is the One God (as ſay both the Scripture and Nicene creed); or that there are no other Gods but him; all doctrines contrary to the preſent orthodoxy. And he has ſoftened the zeal of many more, who uſed to call fire from heaven, or the ſword of the magiſtrate to defend their ſentiments. He has at this time ſo much credit, that he now ſays and prints what he pleaſes, without incurring any hazard of perſecution from real or pretended zealots, who are forced to yield to the ſuperior ſplendor and power of his honeſty, ſenſe, and learning, and fear of drawing upon themſelves ſomething of more fatal conſequence than the preſent connections that he makes. *And I am perſuaded,*’ continues this writer, ‘ *that if any country could but furniſh twenty ſuch men as he, they would, without pay, and with mere liberty to ſpeak their ſentiments, put to flight twenty thouſand liſted to ſupport error.*—— But the greateſt good that he promotes ſeems to me what he does not deſign; and that is by putting men upon enquiries to make them ſee farther than himſelf, and to reject his narrow opinions. He is a very ſerious and grave perſon, but yet cheerful, and no enemy to mirth; and he is even capable of laughing heartily at egregious nonſenſe, ſtupidity, and folly in the moſt ſolemn perſons, when they ſpeak about the moſt ſolemn things.’

(70) Anthony Collins, Eſq;

(*a*) This was the moſt ſtriking part of his character; and it is well obſerved, in the preface to his Memoirs, that the ſtrict integrity and ſincerity of the author were probably the ſtrongeſt motives for their favourable reception by the public. 'Tis confeſſed thoſe amiable qualities do indeed glow in every page of them. But there are two remarkable inſtances, not mentioned in his Memoirs, which have been communicated to us by undoubted authority, and juſtly claim a place in this article.—— He was once in company with Meſſrs Pope, Addiſon, Walpole, Secretary Craggs, and others; when the queſtion was ſtarted, Whether a ſecretary of ſtate could be an honeſt man, conſiſtent with the intereſt of his country? After ſome debate, all appealed to Mr Whiſton, who appeared unwilling to give his opinion upon a point of ſtate-policy; but being preſſed thereto, ſaid, *He believed it would be beſt for a ſecretary of ſtate to ſpeak openly what he knew, and declare his intentions freely.* Mr Craggs replied, It might do for a fortnight, but not longer. To which ſays Mr Whiſton, *Mr Secretary, did You ever try it for a fortnight?* The ſecretary made no anſwer, and Mr Walpole ſaid he could not anſwer. Another time, in a conference with the late Queen Caroline, who had a good reſpect for him, and had frequently experienced with pleaſure the truth and ſincerity of his heart, Her Majeſty obſerved, that ſhe well knew in general the people's freedom in paſſing their cenſures upon the court, and aſking him what particular fault they found in her conduct? Mr Whiſton replied, that the fault moſt complained of was that of her talking at chapel. She promiſed amendment, but proceeding to aſk what other faults were objected to her. He replied, *When Your Majeſty has amended this, I'll tell you of the next.*

his faults would have been overlooked: the learning he excels in would have been extolled; and no defect would have been found in other parts of it: he would have been cried up as an ornament of the age, and no preferment would have been denied or envied him. Mr Whiſton had ſeveral children, of whom [GG] three ſons, William, George, and John lived to man's eſtate; he had alſo one daughter, who was married to Samuel Barker, Eſq; at Lyndon in Rutland, where he paſſed a great ſhare of his time, eſpecially in the latter part of his life, and for whoſe kindneſs he has paid a juſt tribute of gratitude in his Memoirs [*HH*]. A large catalogue of his works is printed at the end of his Memoirs of Dr Clarke, 3d edit. 1748. which however wants the following pieces to make it complete. 1. Chronological Tables. 2. Primitive New Teſtament. 3. Three Tracts, &c. 4. Addreſs to the Baptiſts. 5. Tranſlation into Engliſh of the Life of Erneſtus, Prince of Saxe-Gotha. 6. Memoirs of his own Life. 7. Exact account of the time when Miraculous Powers ceaſed in the Church: and Biſhop

[GG] *He had ſeveral children.*] Of the three ſons, the eldeſt, William, had a place in the Exchequer-office, but died in his father's life time. For the ſecond, George, the father made an application to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons by a letter, which is a conſpicuous proof, that among the reſt of his good qualities the care of his family was none of the leaſt.

Lyndon, Feb. 1, 1748 9.

'Mr Speaker,

'You have been well acquainted with my affairs, and the circumſtances of my family; I will add, that you have all along been ſo very kind to me, and ſo greatly concerned for the misfortunes and troubles that have befallen me and them, that I think I need make no apology for this my addreſs to you on our account. You are not, I believe, unacquainted either with the abilities or application of my ſon George, or of my eldeſt ſon William (one, while he was alive, well known to the committee of the houſe of commons on account of his ſagacity and diligence in their affairs, and on account of his labour in preſerving ſome books remaining from the fire at Cotton Library), neither was you unapprized of the late Queen's kind promiſe to my ſon William, when ſhe was Regent, of a place of King's waiter, ſuch as Dr Clarke's ſon now enjoys, worth much about 100l. a year, and how it failed. You alſo know what vaſt pains he and his brother George took in learning the Armenian tongue, and how much too intenſe application George made to perfect the tranſlation and notes of the principal hiſtorian of that nation, Moſes Chorenenſis; to ſuch a degree indeed in a weak and valetudinary conſtitution of body, as has for ſeveral years rendered him uncapable of hard ſtudy, and of moſt employments otherwiſe befitting his learning and capacity. You will alſo ſoon know upon the publication of the *Memoirs of my own life*, what a ſtrange diſappointment I and my family long ago met with in the affair of Dr Turner, Prebendary of Ely, and the generous regard I had to him, which occaſioned my own loſs of full 1200l. and the increaſe of his benefaction to clergymens widows and orphans of 5000l. You will alſo there know of my voluntary augmentation of a living I once had of 20l. a year, which in my late diſtreſſes I might legally have kept all my life. So that you cannot but be ſenſible the public is under ſome obligation, if not to me in my old age, now I am going out of the world, yet to my family, or rather to my ſon George in particular, who alone of my children is unprovided for.

'Upon this occaſion, therefore, Mr Speaker, you will give me leave to make my addreſs to yourſelf, and ſuch of my other friends as may have it in their power to aſſiſt me, and procure ſome employment and place for my ſon George, that may be eaſy and advantageous to him, and that without burdening him with what his nerves will not at preſent bear. Now ſuch a place of 100l. a year has been lately vacated by the death of a very worthy man and a very good ſcholar, Mr Say, to whom the Queen herſelf gave the place of keeper of her own library; and which, I verily believe, were ſhe now alive, ſhe would not have denied me for my ſon George, I have indeed been informed that this place has been ſuppreſſed ſince Mr Say's death, without any direct intention of filling it up again; yet do I humbly hope, the foregoing circumſtances conſidered, that 'tis not too late to apply for its being reſtored, and given to my ſon: which is what I earneſtly beg of you, and all my other friends to whom the copies of this letter are ſent, to endeavour at this time. I am,

'SIR,
'Your Old Friend and
'Humble Servant,
'WILL. WHISTON (70).'

Copies of this letter were ſent to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to the Lord Chancellor, to the Duke of Newcaſtle, and to Mr Poyntz; but nothing was done in it. This ſon George was educated at Clare Hall in Cambridge, but from an ill ſtate of health, declined the practice of phyſic, which he had ſtudied aſſiduouſly, and for ſome years among his acquaintance practiſed with ſucceſs, without any fee, and his ſkill was generally acknowledged †. Upon his father's deceaſe he came into the poſſeſſion of the better part of the paternal eſtate near Newmarket, which together with an annuity for his life, purchaſed at the rate of 8 per cent. with 500l. left to him by the will of his elder brother William, yields a comfortable ſubſiſtence. He is ſtill living, and reſides at St Albans in Hertfordſhire, where he is well reſpected by the gentry in and about the place. Mr John Whiſton, the youngeſt ſon, was bred a bookſeller, and is well known for his ſkill in that buſineſs, by which he has acquired a plentiful fortune.

[HH] *He has paid a juſt tribute of gratitude to his ſon-in-law.*] This gentleman, who married our author's daughter about the year 1722, behaved in the kindeſt manner to him poſſible, made his houſe his father-in-law's home ever afterwards, and it is gratefully acknowledged in his Memoirs (71), by which it appears that his ſon-in-law was a gentleman of a not inconſiderable ſhare of learning; 'For,' ſays our author, 'when I was forced to examine the character of old chriſtian books with the very kind and very valuable aſſiſtance of my ſon-in-law, S. Barker, &c. whoſe Hebrew Grammar, which he has been ſo many years about, if once perfected and publiſhed, would ſhew how much original authors, even in underſtanding that language, would outgo all the modern Hebrew grammars whatſoever. But now I have mentioned my ſon-in-law, and his aſſiſtance to me in this particular caſe, I muſt do him the juſtice to own farther his very great aſſiſtance to me on many other occaſions alſo; not only by furniſhing me with many of the beſt ancient books proper to my deſigns, which I was no way able to purchaſe myſelf, but by adding frequently his own great ſagacity and exactneſs in examination to my own diſcoveries, in which aſſiſtance none but my old boſom-friend, Mr Richard Allen, Fellow of Sidney College, Cambridge, of whom I have made frequent mention in my writings, but now in paradiſe, can at all be compared to him: Nor is it eaſily poſſible for one man to be more obliged to another, than I and my family have long been to Mr Barker: May God Almighty reward him for the ſame, both in this and the next world!'

The Hebrew Grammar has not been printed. But in 1761, came out in 4to. *Poeſis vetus Hebraica reſtituta.* Accedunt quædam de carminibus Anacreonticis, De Accentibus Græcis. De Scriptura vetere Ionica. De Literis conſonantibus & vocalibus, & de Pronuntiatione Linguæ Hebraicæ. Auctore Samuele Barker Armigero, nuper de Lyndon in comitatu Rotelandiæ.

(70) Memoirs, vol. I. p. 414, 415, 416.

† Communicated by one of his family.

(71) Particularly p. 231, 2.

Sherlock's Sermon on the Rebellion. He alſo left ſome manuſcripts; as, 1. A verſion of David's Pſalms in metre. 2. A Paraphraſe upon Job.

WHITBY [Daniel] a learned Engliſh Divine, who publiſhed ſeveral books from the year 1664 to 1725, was born in 1638 [*A*], at Ruſhden, or Ruſden, in Northamptonſhire. In the year 1653, he was admitted into Trinity College in Oxford; and June 13, 1655, elected ſcholar of that houſe (*a*). He took his Bachelor of Arts degree April 20, 1657, and that of Maſter, April 10, 1660 (*b*). In 1664 he was elected Fellow of his college; and the ſame year he manifeſted his learning by a good book he publiſhed againſt Popery [*B*]: in which controverſy he highly ſignalized himſelf during the remaining part of his life [*C*]. Seth Ward, Biſhop of Saliſbury, taking him for his chaplain, collated him, in October 1668, to the prebend of Yateſbury in the cathedral church there: and, in the latter end of November following, to the Prebend of Huſborn-Tarrant and Burbach. On the 4th of September 1672, he was admitted Chantor of the ſame church; and the 13th of that month took both the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity: being then, or ſoon after, Rector of St Edmund's church in

(*a*) A. Wood, Ath. ed. 1721. vol. II. col. 1068.

(*b*) Idem, Faſti, col. 114, 127.

[*A*] *Was born in* 1638.] The time of his birth is collected from theſe words of Ant. Wood, when he ſays, that 'June 13, 1655, he was aged 17 years:' from whence it follows that he was born in the year 1638; which agrees with the Short Account of his Life prefixed to his *Laſt Thoughts*, wherein he is ſaid to have been aged 88 years [or rather in the 88th year of his age] when he died, March 24, 1725-6. He was indeed reported to be 90 at the time of his deceaſe; but that ſeemed to be only a random gueſs.

[*B*] *By a book he publiſhed againſt Popery.*] The title of this book was, *Romiſh Doctrines not from the beginning: Or a Reply to what S. C.* [Serenus Creſſy] *a Roman Catholic, hath returned to Dr Pierce's Sermon, preached before his Majeſty at Whitehall,* 1 *Feb.* 1662. [and intituled The Primitive Rule of Reformation, &c.] Lond. 1664. 4to. Our Author's Anſwer is chiefly a collection out of the writings of many eminent champions of the Proteſtant cauſe, who had before abundantly ſatisfied all the Reaſons and Citations alledged by Mr Creſſy.

[*C*] *In which Controverſy he highly ſignalized himſelf during the remaining part of his life.*] We ſhall, in this Note, give at one view all the other pieces publiſhed by our Author againſt Popery; which, in order of time, were as follows. 1. Δὸς πȣ̃ στῶ, or *An Anſwer to* Sure-Footing, *ſo far as Mr Whitby is concerned in it. Wherein the Rule and Guide of Faith, the Intereſt of Reaſon, and the Authority of the Church in matters of Faith, are fully handled and vindicated from the exceptions of Mr Sargeant, and petty flirts of* Fiat Lux. Together with *An Anſwer to five Queſtions propounded by a Roman Catholic, printed with An Anſwer to Sure-Footing.* Oxon. 1666. 8vo.—— The *Sure-Footing in Chriſtianity: or, Rational Diſcourſe on the Rule of Faith, &c.* printed at London, 1664, 1665. 8vo. and here anſwered, was written by John Sargeant, alias Smith, who after he had perfected his ſtudies in the Engliſh college at Liſbon, was ſent a Miſſionary into England (1). As for *Fiat Lux*, it was written by . . . . II. The next book publiſhed by our Author againſt Popery, was, *A Diſcourſe concerning the Idolatry of the Church of Rome, wherein that Charge is juſtified, and the pretended Refutation of Dr Stillingfleet's Diſcourſe is anſwered.* Lond. 1674. 8vo. This Diſcourſe was writ in defence of Dr Stillingfleet's book intitled, A Diſcourſe of the Idolatry practiſed in the Church of Rome, &c. againſt Dr Tho. Godden's (alias Browne's) anſwer thereto, called Catholicks no Idolaters, &c. publiſhed at London 1671, 1672. 8vo. Dr Stillingfleet himſelf anſwered afterwards Godden's book, in A Defence of the Diſcourſe, &c. as above, *againſt a book called* Catholicks no Idolaters, &c. *in two parts.* Lond. 1676. 8vo. reſpiting the other part in anſwer to the remainder of Dr Tho. Godden's book to a farther opportunity; which, he ſays, he might the better do, becauſe it had already received a ſufficient anſwer from a learned and worthy perſon, meaning Dr Whitby, to whom he pays that compliment. III. The next publication of our Author was, *The Abſurdity and Idolatry of Hoſt-worſhip proved, by ſhewing, how it anſwers what is ſaid in Scripture and the Writings of the Fathers, to ſhew the Folly and Idolatry committed in the Worſhip of the Heathen Deities. Alſo a full Anſwer to all thoſe Pleas by which Papiſts would wipe off the Charge of Idolatry.* Lond. 1679. 8vo. To which is added, An Appendix againſt Tranſubſtantiation, with ſome Reflections on a book called *The Guide in Controverſies*, by R. H. (Abr. Woodhead) ... in a Sermon on John vii. 47, 48, 49. London 1679. This ſermon was intended to have been preached before the Clergy. And theſe three laſt pieces evinced the truth of thoſe doctrines contained in the two great Teſts, one made in the 25th, and the other in the 30th of K. Charles II. which laſt requires the renouncing of the ſeveral Roman-Catholic tenets refuted in theſe two books; and moreover juſtified the reaſonableneſs and equity of impoſing thoſe Teſts. IV. *A Diſcourſe concerning the Laws Eccleſiaſtical and Civil made againſt Hereticks by Popes, Emperors, and Kings, Provincial and General Councils, approved by the Church of Rome. Shewing, 1ſt, What Proteſtant Subjects may expect to ſuffer under a Popiſh Prince acting according to thoſe Laws. 2dly, That no Oath or Promiſe of ſuch a Prince can give them any juſt Security, that he will not execute theſe Laws upon them. With a Preface againſt perſecuting and deſtroying Hereticks.* 4to. Lond. 1682. Reprinted at London in 1723. 8vo. with an Introduction by Biſhop Kennett. V. *A Treatiſe in confutation of the Latin Service practiſed, and by order of the Trent Council continued, in the Church of Rome.* 4to. Lond. 1687. VI. *The Fallibility of the Roman Church demonſtrated from the manifeſt Error of the ſecond Nicene and Trent Councils, which aſſert, that the Veneration and honorary Worſhip of Images, is a Tradition primitive and Apoſtolical.* Lond. 1687. 4to. in 11 ſheets, without the Author's name. VII. *A Demonſtration, that the Church of Rome, and her Councils, have erred; by ſhewing that the Councils of Conſtance, Baſil, and Trent, have in all their Decrees touching Communion in one kind, contradicted the received Doctrine of the Church of Chriſt. With an Appendix in Anſwer to the 21ſt Chapter of the Author of* Papiſt miſrepreſented and repreſented. Lond. 1688. 4to. VIII. *Treatiſe of Traditions. Part I. Where it is proved that we have Evidence ſufficient from Tradition, 1. That the Scriptures are the Word of God. 2. That the Church of England owns the true Canon of the Books of the Old Teſtament. 3. That the Copies of the Scripture have not been corrupted. 4. That the Romaniſts have no ſuch Evidence for their Traditions. 5. That the Teſtimony of the preſent Church of Rome can be no ſure Evidence of Apoſtolical Tradition. 6. What Traditions may ſecurely be relied upon, and what not.* Lond. 1688. IX. *Treatiſe of Tradition. Part II. Shewing the Novelty of the pretended Traditions of the Church of Rome. As being firſt, Not mentioned by the Ancients in their Diſcourſes of Traditions Apoſtolical, truly ſo called, or ſo eſteemed by them. Nor ſecondly, In their avowed Rule, or Symbol of Faith. Nor thirdly, In the Inſtructions given to the Clergy concerning all thoſe things they were to teach the People. Nor fourthly, In the Examination of a Biſhop at his Ordination. Nor fifthly, In the antient Treatiſes deſigned to inſtruct Chriſtians in all the Articles of their Faith. Sixthly, From the Confeſſions of Romiſh Doctors. With an Anſwer to the Arguments of Mr Mumford for Tradition: And a Demonſtration that the Heathens made the ſame Plea from Tradition as the Romaniſts do; and that the Anſwer of the Fathers to it, do fully juſtify the Proteſtants.* Lond. 1689. 4to. X. *Irriſio Dei Pannarii Romanenſium. The Deriſion of the Breaden God worſhipped in the Romiſh Church, gathered out of the Holy Scriptures, the Apocryphal Books, and Writings of the Holy Fathers. To which is added, A Sermon preached at the Cathedral Church of Sarum the firſt Sunday in Advent,* 1715. Lond. 1716. 8vo.

(1) See an account of him in Wood Athenæ Oxon. vol. II. col. 1068, 1069.

the ſaid city (*c*). A very retired and ſtudious life, as our author's was, affords but few incidents worthy of notice. We are obliged therefore to confine ourſelves to what rendered him moſt famous, eminent, and uſeful in the world; namely, a particular account of his numerous writings, which, as they contain the hiſtory of his opinions, properly fall under the plan of this work. Beſides thoſe againſt Popery already mentioned, in 1683, he publiſhed '*The Proteſtant Reconciler*,' &c. [*D*] a work very unacceptable then, as 'pleading for condeſcenſion to Diſſenting Brethren;' at a time when the court was violently bent againſt them. Therefore his patron Biſhop Ward obliged him to make a retractation [*E*]. And, in the ſecond part, publiſhed the ſame year, he 'earneſtly perſuaded the diſſenting laity to join in full communion with the Church of England; anſwering all the objections of the Nonconformiſts againſt the lawfulneſs of their ſubmiſſion unto the rites and Conſtitutions of that Church.' So great an enemy as our Author was to Popiſh ſuperſtition and tyranny, he could not but rejoice at the acceſſion of K. William to the throne. In order to ſatisfy thoſe who ſcrupled to take the Oath of Allegiance to him, he wrote two treatiſes [*F*], mentioned more particularly below. He publiſhed next, in 1691, *A Diſcourſe confirming the Truth and Certainty of the Chriſtian Faith from the extraordinary Gifts and Operations of the Holy Ghoſt, vouchſafed to the Apoſtles and primitive Profeſſors of that Faith* [G]. But his capital and moſt conſiderable work, and the reſult, as he tells us (*d*), of fifteen years ſtudy, was, *A Paraphraſe and Commentary on the New Teſtament*, in two Volumes: The firſt containing the four Goſpels, and the Acts of the holy Apoſtles; the ſecond, all the Epiſtles, with a Diſcourſe

(*c*) Wood, Ath. as above, and Faſti, col. 189, and J. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 267.

(*d*) Preface.

[*D*] *The Proteſtant Reconciler, &c.*] The remainder of the title will beſt ſhew the true deſign of this book; which is thus... *Humbly pleading for Condeſcenſion to Diſſenting Brethren, in Things indifferent and unneceſſary, for the ſake of Peace: And ſhewing, How unreaſonable it is to make ſuch Things the Neceſſary Conditions of Communion. By a Well-wiſher to the Church's Peace, and a Lamenter of her ſad Diviſions.* Lond. 1683. 8vo.

This performance drew a violent ſtorm upon our Author from various parts, as appears by theſe ſeveral Anſwers publiſhed to it. The firſt was by Laur. Womack, D. D. * in his '*Suffragium Proteſtantium*: Wherein our Governors are juſtified in their impoſitions and proceedings againſt Diſſenters; Meiſner alſo, and the Verdict reſcued from the Cavils and ſeditious Sophiſtry of *The Proteſtant Reconciler*.' Our Author animadverts upon ſome parts of this Anſwer, in the ſecond edition of the firſt part of his Proteſtant Reconciler.—The 2d Anſwer was by David Jenner, B. D. ſome time of Caius college in Cambridge, afterwards Rector of Great Warley in Eſſex, Prebendary of Sarum, and Chaplain to the King, in his '*Bifrons*: or, a new Diſcovery of Treaſon under the fair Face and Maſk of Religion, and of Liberty of Conſcience,' &c. Lond. 1683-84. 4to. In which book in general, and in the title thereof, he ſaith, that the Author of the Proteſtant Reconciler deſigns nothing but to promote Anarchy and Confuſion in Church and State; that the Author is guilty of Treaſon, an encourager of the new Plot (the Preſbyterian or Proteſtant Plot, which broke out in June 1683) a giver out unto the People that the King and Governors were and are the Betrayers of their Liberties, and therefore deſerves death, &c. 3. The next Anſwer was intitled, 'An awakening Word to the Grand-jury-men of the Nation. To which is added, A brief Compariſon between *Daniel Whitby* and *Titus Oates*; the firſt protected in his virulence to ſacred Majeſty by one or two of his Fautors; the ſecond puniſhed for his abuſes of the King's only Brother, by the loyal Chief-Juſtice Jefferies. The firſt ſaved harmleſs in many Preferments (three of which are in one Church of Sarum) the ſecond fined in mercy no more than 10,000 pounds.' Lond. 1683. 4to. In this pamphlet, which is a very virulent thing, as A. Wood obſerves (2), the Author ſaith, that after Dr Whitby had publiſhed *The Proteſtant Reconciler*, the people did nickname him *Whigby*, that alſo he was ſuſpended, and at length made a pretended Recantation, which coſt him nothing but the pleaſure of outwitting his governors, by a part acted in a comical way, &c. 4. About the ſame time was publiſhed a pamphlet, intitled, 'Three Letters of Thanks to *The Proteſtant Reconciler*, 1. From the Anabaptiſts at Munſter. 2. From the Congregations in New England. 3. From the Quakers in Penſylvania.'—But this was not all; for it is one of the books cenſured in the Oxford Decree, made 21 July 1683, for theſe falſe, ſeditious, and impious Doctrines,—"It is not lawful for Superiors to impoſe any thing in the worſhip of God that is not antecedently neceſſary.——"The duty of *not offending a weak brother*, is inconſiſtent with all human authority of making laws concerning indifferent things (3)." And in purſuance of this cenſure, the book was burnt in the quadrangle of the Univerſity-ſchools (4).

* He was Archdeacon of Suffolk, and conſecrated Biſhop of St David's November 11, 1683.

(2) Col. 1071.

[*E*] *His patron Biſhop Ward obliged him to make a Retractation.*] That Retractation was in the following words. 'Oct. 9, 1683. I Daniel Whitby, Doctor of Divinity, Chantor of the Church of Sarum, and Rector of the Pariſh Church of St Edmund's in the City and Dioceſe of Sarum, having been the Author of a Book called *The Proteſtant Reconciler*, which through want of Prudence, and Deference to Authority, I have cauſed to be printed and publiſhed, am truly and heartily ſorry for the ſame, and for any evil influence it hath had upon the Diſſenters from the Church of England eſtabliſhed by Law, or others: And whereas it containeth ſeveral Paſſages which I am convinced in my Conſcience are obnoxious to the Canons, and do reflect upon the Governors of the ſaid Church, I do hereby openly revoke and renounce all irreverent and unmeet Expreſſions contained therein, by which I have juſtly incurred the cenſure or diſpleaſure of my Superiors: And furthermore, whereas theſe two Propoſitions have been deduced and concluded from the ſaid book, viz. 1. That it is not lawful for Superiors to impoſe any thing in the worſhip of God, that is not antecedently neceſſary: 2. The duty of not offending a weak brother is inconſiſtent with all human authority of making laws concerning indifferent things; I do hereby openly renounce both the ſaid Propoſitions, being falſe, erroneous, and ſchiſmatical, and do revoke and diſclaim all Tenets, Poſitions, and Aſſertions contained in the ſaid Book from whence theſe Poſitions can be inferred: And whereinſoever I have offended therein, I do heartily beg pardon of God, and the Church, for the ſame.

[*F*] *He wrote two Treatiſes.*] The firſt was, 'Conſiderations humbly offered for taking the Oath of Allegiance to King William and Queen Mary.' Lond. 1689. 4to. The ſecond was intitled, 'An Hiſtorical Account of ſome Things relating to the Nature of the Engliſh Government, and the Conceptions which our Fore-fathers had of it. With ſome Inferences thence made for the ſatisfaction of thoſe who ſcruple the Oath of Allegiance to King William and Queen Mary.' Lond. 1690. 4to. In this piece he maintains the original compact or eſtabliſhment of laws, by which the Kings of England were to govern, and the people to be governed; and obſerves, that we find throughout the hiſtory of our Kings, their election, or elſe their compact with the people, to have generally been conceived a thing proper to ſtrengthen their title to the crown, or at the leaſt to ſatisfy their people.

[*G*] *A Diſcourſe concerning the Truth and Certainty of the Chriſtian Faith, &c.*] This is only a ſhort Treatiſe of 29 pages, beſides a Preface of 4 pages. 4to. and ſeems to have been a ſermon, though it is not publiſhed as ſuch. It is full of learned quotations, as all his works are, which ſhew his very extenſive reading.

(3) Oxford Decree, Propoſ. 21, 22.

(4) Wood, Ath. vol. II. col. 1070, 1071.

of the Millennium [*H*]. To this great work, the following pieces of our author may be reckoned as ſo many parts or appendages. *The Neceſſity and Uſefulneſs of the Chriſtian Revelation* [*I*]. *An Anſwer to a Pamphlet, entitled*, Some Paſſages in Dr Whitby's Paraphraſe and Annotations on the New Teſtament, contrary to Scripture, &c. [*K*]. *A Diſcourſe concerning the true Import of the words Election and Reprobation; the extent of Chriſt's Redemption; the Grace of God; the Liberty of the Will; the perſeverance or defectibility of the Saints* [*L*]. *Four Diſcourſes on Election and Reprobation* [*M*]. *A Treatiſe on Original Sin; or, the Imputation of Adam's Sin to all his Poſterity* [*N*]. Upon the publication

[*H*] *A Paraphraſe and Commentary on the New Teſtament, &c.*] This great work was firſt printed in 1703, in folio; and reprinted ſeveral times ſince, having met with a good reception from the world. There is added, A Chronology of the New Teſtament, taken from Biſhop Lloyd's; and a Map of the Places mentioned in the Goſpels, Acts, or the Epiſtles. To the ... edition in 1710, there was ſubjoined an Appendix, containing *Examen Variantium Lectionum Johannis Millii, S. T. P. in Novum Teſtamentum:* or, an Examination of Dr John Mill's various Readings on the New Teſtament.... In this Examination our Author falls into a groundleſs panick, leſt the great quantity of various readings collected together by Dr Mills ſhould overthrow the authority of the holy ſcriptures.—The Author of A Diſcourſe of Free-thinking (5), did not fail to lay hold of ſo ſpecious an objection. ‘ Dr Mills,’ ſays he, ‘ has publiſhed a book containing all the various Readings of the New Teſtament he has been ‘ able to meet with; and they amount, according to ‘ a late Author, to above 30,000. How the Text of ‘ Scripture is affected by this work of Dr Mills, you ‘ may ſee by the late learned Critique of Dr Whitby, ‘ who in general thus declares his judgment of it. Says ‘ he, “ The vaſt quantity of various Readings collected by the Doctor, muſt of courſe make the mind “ doubtful or ſuſpicious, that nothing certain can be “ expected from books, where there are various Readings in every verſe, and almoſt in every part of every “ verſe.”—But the great Dr Bentley makes this very pertinent Remark, among others, on this ſubject (6). ‘ What is it that your Whitbyus ſo inveighs and exclaims at? The Doctor's labours, ſays he, make ‘ the whole Text precarious; and expoſe both the ‘ Reformation to the Papiſts, and Religion itſelf to ‘ the Atheiſts. God forbid! we'll ſtill hope better ‘ things. For ſurely thoſe various Readings exiſted ‘ before in ſeveral exemplars; Dr Mill did not make ‘ and coin them, he only exhibited them to our view. ‘ If Religion therefore was true before, though ſuch ‘ various Readings were in being, it will be as true ‘ and conſequently as ſafe ſtill, though every body ‘ ſees them. Depend on't; no truth, no matter of ‘ fact fairly laid open, can ever ſubvert true Religion.’

(5) Lond. 1713, p. 88.

(6) Remarks upon a Diſcourſe of Free-thinking by Phileleutherus Lipſienſis, part i. p. 64.

[*I*] *The Neceſſity and Uſefulneſs of the Chriſtian Revelation.*] The whole title is, ‘ A Diſcourſe of the ‘ Neceſſity and Uſefulneſs of the Chriſtian Revelation; ‘ by reaſon of the Corruptions of the Principles of ‘ Natural Religion among Jews and Heathens.’ Lond. 1705. 8vo. He had mentioned, in his Preface to the Goſpels (7), this Treatiſe, which might indeed have very properly made a part of that Preface, as a ſuitable Introduction to the New Teſtament; but, probably on account of its length, was omitted. In an Advertiſement to the Reader, he obſerves, That he did with ſome reluctancy diſcourſe in this Treatiſe of thoſe impure Practices which obtained among the Heathens, and which on that account might be offenſive to chaſte ears; but then (adds he) conſidering that all the Fathers who have written Apologies for Chriſtianity, or Confutations of the Religion of the Heathens, from Juſtin Martyr to Theodoret, have been as full in thoſe Diſcoveries, I thought their piety and prudence might be a juſt apology for doing the ſame thing, to the ſame good end; eſpecially, when the ſubject muſt have been imperfect, had this been omitted.

(7) p. xv.

[*K*] *An anſwer to a Pamphlet, &c.*] The whole Treatiſe was, ‘ *Reflections on ſome Aſſertions and Opinions of Mr Dodwell, contained in a Book, entitled,* An Epiſtolary Diſcourſe, proving from the ‘ Scripture and Firſt Fathers, that the Soul is a Principle naturally mortal. *Shewing the Falſehood and the pernicious Conſequences of them. To which is added,* “ *An Anſwer to a Pamphlet entitled,* Some Paſſages on “ Dr Whitby's Paraphraſe and Annotations on the “ New Teſtament, contrary to Scripture and the received Doctrine of the Church of England.” ~~Lond.~~ 1707. 8vo.

[*L*] *A Diſcourſe, &c.*] In this Diſcourſe he treats, 1. Of the true import of the words *Election* and *Reprobation*; and the things ſignified by them in the holy Scripture. 2. The extent of Chriſt's Redemption. 3. The Grace of God; where it is enquired, whether it be vouchſafed ſufficiently to thoſe who improve it not, and irreſiſtibly to thoſe who do improve it; and whether men be wholly paſſive in the work of their Regeneration? 4. The Liberty of the Will in a ſtate of Trial and Probation. 5. The Perſeverance or Defectibility of the Saints; with ſome Reflections on the State of Heathens, the Providence and Preſcience of God. Lond. 1710. 8vo.—They who had known his education might remember, as he obſerves (8), that he was bred up ſeven years in the univerſity under men of the Calviniſtical perſuaſion, and ſo could hear no other doctrine, or receive no other inſtructions from the men of thoſe times, and therefore had once firmly entertained all their doctrines. What induced him to alter his opinion, was a conference he had with a Phyſician, who ſaid, “ There was ſome cauſe to doubt the truth of Scripture; for, ſaith he, it ſeems plainly to hold forth the doctrine of abſolute election and reprobation, in the 9th chapter to the Romans, which is attended with more evident abſurdities than can be charged on them who queſtion the truth of ſcripture: and alſo ſeemeth as repugnant to the common notion which mankind have received of divine juſtice, goodneſs, and ſincerity, as even the ſaying that God conſidering man, *in maſſa perdita*, as loſt in Adam, may delude him with falſe miracles, ſeemeth repugnant to his truth. And reading in Mr Dodwell (9), that bold ſtroke, that St Paul being bred a Phariſee, ſpake there, and is to be interpreted, *ex mente Phariſæorum*, according to the doctrine of the Phariſees concerning Fate, which they had borrowed from the Stoicks; I ſet myſelf to make the beſt and the exacteſt ſearch I could into the ſenſe of the Apoſtle in that chapter, and the beſt help I had to attain the ſenſe of that chapter which I have given in my Paraphraſe, I received from a manuſcript of Dr Patrick, the late worthy Biſhop of Ely, on that ſubject. Thence I went on to examine all that was urged in favour of theſe doctrines from the holy ſcripture, and this produced one conſiderable part of theſe diſcourſes.”—He exhauſts this ſubject, as he doth moſt others that he takes in hand.

(8) In the Preface.

(9) Proleg. ad J. Stearn de obſtin. ſect. 41. p. 147.

[*M*] *Four Diſcourſes, &c.*] The whole title of this volume, is, ‘ *Four Diſcourſes, ſhewing*, I. *That the Apoſtle's words, Rom. 9. have no relation to any perſonal Election or Reprobation.* II. *That the Election mentioned in St Paul's Epiſtles to the Gentiles, is only that of the Gentiles to be God's Church and People.* ‘ III. *That theſe two Aſſertions of Dr John Edwards,* ‘ viz. 1. “ That God's Foreknowledge of all Futurities depends on his Decree, and that he foreknows “ them becauſe he hath decreed them. 2. That God “ did from all eternity decree the Commiſſion of all “ the Sins in the world; *are falſe, blaſphemous, and render God the Author of Sin.*” IV. *Being a Vindication of my Annotations from the Doctor's Cavils. To which is added in an Appendix, A ſhort Anſwer to the Doctor's Diſcourſe concerning the fixt Term of human Life.*’ Lond. 1710. 8vo.

[*N*] *The Imputation of Adam's Sin to all his poſterity, &c.*] The Doctor thinking this ſubject above vulgar capacities, and fit only for the learned, he therefore writ it in Latin, and publiſhed it with this title, *Tractatus de Imputatione divinâ Peccati Adami Poſteris ejus univerſis in reatum.* Lond. 1711. 8vo. In it he denies the imputation of Adam's ſin to his poſterity to have any fair ground in ſcripture; and thence proceeding to antiquity, he declares, that upon an impartial ſearch he found ‘ all the paſſages Voſſius ‘ had collected to be impertinent (10), or at leaſt inſufficient to prove the point; yea,’ proceeds he, ‘ I ‘ found

(10) Voſſius was very poſitive, that *Eccleſia Catholica ſic ſemper judicavit*; which he endeavours to prove by teſtimonies from Ignatius to St Auſtin. Hiſt. Pelag.

cation of Dr S. Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, our author, who had been of a different, and as it is called the orthodox, opinion (e), zealouſly embraced Dr Clarke's ſentiments upon that point; and publiſhed a Latin treatiſe, to prove, *That the Controverſies raiſed about the Trinity could not be certainly determined from Fathers, Councils, or Catholic Tradition* [O]. Likewiſe, *A Diſcourſe, ſhewing, That the Expoſition which the Ante-Nicene Fathers have given of the Texts alledged againſt the Reverend Dr Clarke, by a learned Layman,* [Mr Nelſon] *are more agreeable to the Interpretations of Dr Clarke, than to the Interpretations of that learned Layman* (f). And, *A Diſſuaſive from Enquiring into the Doctrine of the Trinity: Or the Difficulties and Diſcouragements which attend the Study of that Doctrine* [P]. *Modeſt Diſquiſitions upon Biſhop Bull's Defence of the Nicene Faith* †. Dr Waterland having attacked this *, our author publiſhed two Replies to him. His laſt piece upon this ſubject was his *Laſt Thoughts*, of which we ſhall give a further account preſently. When the Bangorian controverſy aroſe, our author liſted himſelf under Biſhop Hoadly's banners; and wrote on his ſide, *An Anſwer to Dr Snape's Second Letter to the Biſhop of Bangor* (g): And, *A Defence of the Propoſitions contained in the Lord Biſhop of Bangor's Sermon, from p. 11. to p. 17. And alſo, of what is ſaid in his Preſervative concerning real Sincerity, and our Title to the Favour of God* (h). Here may be placed another tract, very little known to have been Dr Whitby's, but which hath been attributed to him by ſeveral of the beſt and moſt knowing judges: and that is, *A ſhort View of Dr Beveridge's Writings, which may ſerve as a preliminary Diſcourſe to an Examination of his Articles* (i) [Q]. Beſides all which, he publiſhed, Six ſingle Sermons at different times [R]: and, 'Thirty-three Sermons upon the Attributes of God (k):' A volume of Sermons on ſeveral occaſions (l): And Twelve Sermons preached at the Cathedral Church of Sarum (m). Not to mention his Latin *Compendium of Ethics, or Moral Philoſophy, for the uſe of young Students at the Univerſity* (n). The laſt compoſition of our author, publiſhed after his deceaſe, was, *The laſt Thoughts of Dr Whitby* [S], *containing*
his

(e) See his Paraphraſe and Commentary on the New Teſtament, &c.

(f) Lond. 1714. 8vo.

† Diſquiſitiones modeſtæ in Bulli Defenſionem Fidei Nicenæ. 1718. 8vo.

* See his article in Rem. [D].

(g) Lond. 1717. 8vo.

(h) Lond. 1718. 8vo.

(i) Lond. 1711. 8vo.

(k) In two vols. 8vo. Lond. 1710.

(l) Lond. 1720. 8vo.

(m) Lond. 1726. 8vo.

(n) Ethices Compendium in uſum Academicæ Juventutis. Oxon. 1684. 8vo.

'found evidence ſufficient of the truth of that which 'Peter du Moulin plainly owns, that from the time 'of the Apoſtles to St Auſtin's time, all the eccleſiaſtical writers ſeem to write incautiouſly of this matter, and to incline to what he calls Pelagianiſm.'— And of this having made a Collection, he finiſhed this Treatiſe about the year 1690, though he did not think it adviſeable to publiſh it till 1711 (11).

(11) Preface to his Diſcourſe, mentioned in note [L].

[O] *A Latin Treatiſe, &c.*] The title is, *Diſſertatio de S. Scripturarum Interpretatione ſecundum Patrum Commentarios. In qua probatur, 1mo, Scripturam eſſe Regulam Fidei unicam, ex qua de omnibus Articulis Fidei creditu neceſſariis ad Salutem, judicium ferendum eſt. 2do, Patres ſive primævos, ſive ſubſequentes non eſſe idoneos S. Scripturæ Interpretes. 3tio, Non poſſe Controverſias de S. Trinitate motas ex Patribus, Conciliis, aut Traditione vere Catholica, certo definiri.* 8vo. 1714.

[P] *A Diſſuaſive from enquiring into the Doctrine of the Trinity, &c.*] This is a viſible imitation of another tract publiſhed by Biſhop Hare, under this title, 'The 'Difficulties and Diſcouragements which attend the 'Study of the Scriptures in the way of private Judgment; repreſented in a Letter to a young Clergyman.'——And the reaſons ſuggeſted by Dr Whitby againſt enquiring into the doctrine of the Trinity, are, The great difficulty of the work; of which the different methods taken by the moſt able managers of this controverſy afford a ſtrong preſumption. For why elſe, ſays he, do we find ſo many and ſo different ſchemes propoſed for explication of this myſtery?— The difficulty will be much enhanced, if we conſider, that there are ſeveral books upon this ſubject lying upon our hands, yet unanſwered, or at leaſt never anſwered to ſatisfaction.——But the greateſt difficulty ariſes from the Athanaſian Creed, concerning which he uſes this obſervation of Biſhop Taylor:.. 'If it 'were conſidered, how many people underſtand it 'not; how contrary to natural reaſon it ſeems; how 'little the *Scripture* ſaith of thoſe curioſities of explication; and how tradition was not clear on his ſide 'for the article itſelf, much leſs for thoſe forms and 'minutes... it had not been amiſs, if the final judgment had been left to Jeſus Chriſt (12).'——Laſtly, he ſhews the danger of enquiring too far into that doctrine: 'Conſider,' ſays he; 'ſeriouſly the great 'and conſtant trouble you may bring upon yourſelf, 'ſhould this your narrow ſearch pervert you, as it is 'ſaid it hath done Mr Whiſton and Dr Clarke, men 'of unqueſtionable ſincerity in their endeavours to 'find out the truth.—Upon all theſe accounts,' adds he, 'my advice is in the general, not to go far in the 'explication of that which, ſaith a learned Prelate, "is certainly very far beyond all our apprehenſions, " and ought therefore to be let alone."—Which any one may plainly ſee to be ironical. He concludes this treatiſe, by earneſtly recommending charity and mutual forbearance on both ſides.

(12) Liberty of Propheſ. p. 54.

[Q] *A ſhort View of Dr Beveridge's Writings, &c.*] This was occaſioned by the publication of a poſthumous Expoſition of the xxxix Articles of the Church of England, left in manuſcript by Biſhop Beveridge; and uſhered into the world by one Mr Gregory (13), whoſe covetouſneſs, or injudicious zeal, was a great hurt to the good honeſt Biſhop's reputation, as our Author well obſerves (14). 'I would not,' ſays he, 'if I 'could help it, ſpeak a word in diſadvantage to the 'Biſhop; who was certainly a learned, and an excellently pious and good man; but he that hath publiſhed theſe writings of his, which he never deſigned 'for that purpoſe, hath done the greateſt diſhonour 'to him, as well as brought the juſteſt diſgrace upon 'himſelf, for letting ſuch things paſs with ſuch commendation. He ſhould have commended the Biſhop 'for his great reading, zeal, vigilance and piety; and 'have *anſwered his obligations that way:* but for his 'principles, judgment, and reaſoning, by commending them, he hurt the Biſhop's true character, at the 'ſame time that he gives us his own.'

(13) See above the article [BEVERIDGE].

(14) Page 36.

[R] *Six ſingle Sermons at different times.*] They were, 1. Λογος της Πιςεως: An Endeavour to evince the Certainty of Chriſtian Faith in general, and of the Reſurrection of Chriſt in particular. Oxf. 1671. 8vo. 2. Sermon on Matth. vi. 9. 3. Sermon preached at the Cathedral Church of Sarum, 1680. on 2 Tim. iii. 5. Lond. 1685. 4to. 4. Sermon before the Militia of the County of Wilts, at their marching againſt the Duke of Monmouth, on Titus iii. 1. Lond. 1685. 4to. 5. Sermon preached at the Election of the Mayor of Saliſbury, on Romans xiii. 1. Lond. 1685. 4to. 6. Η λογικη Λατρεια. Or a Sermon proving that Reaſon is to be our Guide in the choice of our Religion; and that nothing ought to be admitted as an Article of Faith, which is repugnant to the common Principles of Reaſon, or is unintelligible to human Underſtanding. With an Appendix in Vindication of it. Lond. 1714. 8vo.

[S] *The laſt Thoughts of Dr Whitby, &c.*] This, as well as many others of our Author's tracts, begins with a Greek title, viz. 'Υςεραι Φροντιδες. Or, the laſt 'Thoughts of Dr Whitby, &c.' He informs us in the Preface, that 'when he wrote his Commentaries 'on the New Teſtament, he went on (too haſtily he 'owns) in the common beaten road of other reputed '*Orthodox* Divines: conceiving, firſt, that the Father, 'Son, and Holy Ghoſt, in one complex notion, were 'one and the ſame God, by virtue of the ſame *indi-*

his Correction of ſeveral Paſſages in his Commentary of the New Teſtament. To which are added Five Diſcourſes. Publiſhed by his expreſs order (o). — This learned man, after a ſtudious, diligent, and well-ſpent life, was taken out of the world, upon a very ſhort warning (the caſe of moſt old perſons) on the 24th day of March 1725-6, aged 88 years. He was very well, and at church, the day before his deceaſe; but, as he was returning home, being ſeized with a fainting, he died the night following (p). An. Wood gave him the following character, about the year 1691, long before our author's deceaſe. ‘He is a perſon very well read in the Fathers, and in polemical divinity, eſpecially as to the main part thereof, which is directed againſt the Papiſts. He hath been all along ſo wholly devoted to his ſeverer ſtudies, that he hath ſcarce ever allowed himſelf leiſure to mind any of thoſe mean and trifling worldly concerns which adminiſter matter of gain, pleaſure, reach, and cunning. Alſo, he hath not been in the leaſt tainted with thoſe too much now-a-days practiſed arts of fraud, couſenage, and deceit (q).’ To which a perſon who was well acquainted with him to the laſt adds theſe circumſtances. ‘He was in ſtature ſhort, and very thin; he had a tenacious memory even to the laſt, and always cloſely applied himſelf to his ſtudies. Towards the end of his life, his eye-ſight failing, he made uſe of an *amanuenſis*. He was ever ſtrangely ignorant of worldly affairs, to a degree that is ſcarce to be conceived [T]. He was eaſy, affable, pious, devout, and charitable (r).

(o) Lond. 1728, 8vo.

(p) Short Account of Dr Whitby, prefixed to his laſt Thoughts.

(q) Athen. col. 1068.

(r) Short Account, &c. as above.

‘*vidual* Eſſence communicated from the Father. “This confuſed notion,” adds he, “I am now fully convinced by the Arguments I have offered here, and in the ſecond Part of my Reply to Dr Waterland, to be a thing *impoſſible*, and full of groſs Abſurdities. And then, as a natural conſequence from this doctrine, I (ſecondly) concluded, that thoſe Divine Perſons differed only … *in the manner of their exiſtence*. And yet what that can ſignify in the Son, according to this doctrine, it will not, I think, be very eaſy intelligibly to declare. That the difference can be only *Modal*, even Dr South hath fully demonſtrated.”—Then, after ſome obſervations about the true meaning of the word *Perſon*, he concludes thus; ‘In a word, all other notions of the word *Perſon*, beſides the plain and obvious one, ſignifying a real and intelligent agent, have been already ſo excellently baffled and learnedly confuted [by Dr Clarke, Mr Jackſon, and others] that I own I am not able to reſiſt the ſhining evidence of truth: nor am I aſhamed to confeſs my former *Miſtakes* and *Errors* in theſe matters after ſuch ſtrong and irreſiſtible conviction, ſeeing, *Humanum eſt errare*, all men are liable to error. And as upon this principle, I cannot but think it the moſt groſs hypocriſy, after ſuch conviction, to perſiſt in a miſtake; ſo without queſtion, it is the greateſt abuſe of humility and free thinking, to attribute ſuch open and ingenuous acknowledgments to a wavering judgment or levity of mind.… Nothing but the love of truth can be ſuppoſed to extort this retractation [or change of opinion] from me, who having already lived ſo long beyond the common period of life, can have nothing elſe to do but to prepare for my great change; and in order thereunto to make my peace with God, and my own conſcience, before I die. To this purpoſe I ſolemnly appeal to the ſearcher of hearts, and call God to witneſs, whether I have *haſtily* or *raſhly* departed from the common opinion; or rather, whether I have not *deliberately* and *calmly* weighed the arguments on both ſides drawn from ſcripture and antiquity? As I have no views for this world, ſo it cannot be imagined, that the motives drawn from intereſt, ambition, or ſecular glory, can have any place with me. Or if I had, neither can it be imagined that I would chooſe to diſſent from the received opinion, the maintainers whereof are they who graſp honours and preferments, and think they have the beſt title to theſe advantages. So that upon the whole, if I have erred in changing my opinion, I deſire it may be obſerved, that my error hath neither prejudice nor ſecular views to ſupport it; and that my miſtake (if ſuch it will be reputed) hath been all along attended with conſtant prayers to the throne of grace, and what hath alway appeared to me to be the ſtrongeſt reaſon, and moſt undeniable evidence.… I conclude with thoſe words of St Auſtin: *Errare poſſum, Hæreticus eſſe nolo*; i. e. I may err, but I will not be a Heretick.’ However, he will not eſcape that imputation with many people: whether juſtly, or not, we leave to the reader's judgment.

§ 41. p. 147.

[T] *Ignorant of worldly affairs*, &c.] We have a ſtriking inſtance of this in the addreſs of the following letter (15).

‘To the Right Honourable Lady Vere.

‘Time and experience have already forced us to underſtand your departure, and find us now as ſad as ſolitary. I diſpute with myſelf, whether of the two I ſhould do firſt, thank God that we had you ſo long, or complain that you are gone ſo ſoon.

‘That bounty and exceſs you was ever guilty of to me, is encreaſed by the coming of ſix pound of excellent tobacco, all which lie upon my conſcience to be beyond my merit and reach of a juſt gratitude, had not he that made the ſoul accepted the utmoſt for proportion for himſelf.

‘Madam, I ſhall not trouble you with lines and paper payment, but ſerve you with my prayers, and ſeek thereby the welfare of your Honour and your numerous poſterity; humbly craving pardon of any carriage or word from me, not ſuitable to ſuch a preſent. I heartily thank your Honour for your kindneſs to myſelf and to my pariſh. Your legacy I received for the poor, 40l. God ſend you 100 fold in heaven.

‘Your moſt devoted
No date. ‘Servant,
‘DAN. WHITBY.’ C

(15) Communicated by P. N. from a copy taken by him of the original in Muſæo Thoreſbeiano.

WHITELOCKE, or WHITLOCK, [BULSTRODE], an eminent lawyer in the laſt century [A], was the ſon of Sir James Whitelocke, Knight [B], one of the Juſtices

[A] *Whitelocke.*] Our author intimates, that the family took their ſurname from their fair white locks. ‘The Lord Fairfax,’ ſays he, ‘was my kinſman, and my very noble and kind friend, he himſelf would ſay that his name and mine were all one, his was *French*, and mine was *Saxon*, that *Fairfax* in *French* was *Whitlocke*, or Fair Hair (1).’ But ſurely Fairfeax is as much Saxon as Whitelocke.

[B] *Was the ſon of Sir James Whitelocke*, &c.] This Sir James was born in London 28th Nov. 1570, deſcended from thoſe of his name living near Okingham in Berkſhire; educated in Merchant Taylor's School, elected Scholar of St John's College, Oxon. in 1588, and took the degree of Batchelor of Law, July 1, 1594 (2). Afterwards he ſettled in the Middle Temple, became Summer Reader of that houſe, 17 Jac. I. was choſen member of parliament for Woodſtock in 1620, created Serjeant in Trinity Term the ſame year, knighted, appointed chief juſtice of Cheſter; and 18th October 1624, conſtituted one of the Juſtices of the King's Bench (3). He was ſo perfect a maſter of the Latin tongue, that ſitting Judge of Aſſize

(1) Memorials, ed. 1732. p. 66.

(2) Wood, Faſti, vol. I. col. 148. and Athenæ, vol. I, col. 572.

(3) Dugdale, Chronica Juridicialia.

Juſtices of the King's-Bench (*a*), by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Edward Bulſtrode, of Hugeley, or Hedgley-Bulſtrode, in the county of Buckingham, Eſq; He was born, 6 Auguſt 1605, in Fleet-ſtreet, London, in the houſe of Sir George Croke, his mother's uncle, afterwards one of the Juſtices of the Common-Pleas; and educated in Grammar-learning in Merchant-Taylors ſchool. When he had properly improved himſelf there, he was admitted, in Michaelmaſs-term 1620, a Gentleman-commoner of St John's college in Oxford; at which time he was principally recommended to the care and overſight of his father's contemporary and intimate friend, Dr Laud, then Preſident of that houſe, who ſhewed him many kindneſſes. In return for which, many years after, when Dr Laud, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, was to be brought to his tryal, Mr Whitelocke refuſed to be in the number of the Committee appointed by Parliament to draw up a charge againſt him [*C*]. Having laid a good foundation of general learning, he quitted the univerſity without taking a degree, and went to the Middle-Temple, where, by the help of his father, he became a great proficient in the Common law; not neglecting at the ſame time every other branch of polite and uſeful literature (*b*). In the midſt of his more ſerious ſtudies, he ſhewed a gallant turn of mind, by being one of the chief managers of the Royal Maſque, which was exhibited by the Inns of Court in February 1633, before K. Charles I. and his Queen, and their Court, at Whitehall [*D*]. To him in particular was committed the whole care and charge of the muſic for this great maſque, which was ſo well performed, that it excelled any muſic that had before that time been

(*a*) He was created a Serjeant in Trin. term, 1620, and made a Judge, 18 Oct. 1624. Dugdale's Chronica Series.

(*b*) A. Wood's Athen. edit. 1721. vol. II, col. 545.

ſize at Oxford, when ſome foreigners, perſons of quality, came into the court, on purpoſe to ſee the manner of our proceedings in matters of juſtice, he briefly repeated the heads of his charge to the grand jury in good and elegant Latin, and thereby informed the ſtrangers and the ſcholars there preſent, of the ability of the Judges, and the courſe of our proceedings in matters of law and juſtice. He very well underſtood the Greek and the Hebrew, was verſed in the Jewiſh hiſtories, and exactly knowing in the hiſtory of his own country, and in the pedigrees of moſt perſons of honour and quality in England, and was much converſant alſo in the ſtudy of antiquity and heraldry. He was not excelled by any in the knowledge of his own profeſſion of the Common Law of England, wherein his acquaintance with the civil law was a help to him. Several of his ſpeeches are printed in 'The Sovereign's Prerogative and the Subject's Privileges diſcuſſed, &c. in the 3d and 4th of King Charles I.' Lond. 1657, fol. And he alſo left in manuſcript, 'Lectures or Readings in the Middle Temple Hall, Aug. 2, 1619. on Stat. 21 Hen.VIII. c. 13.' and, 'Of the Antiquity, Uſe, and Ceremony of lawful Combats in England.' He died June 22, 1632, and in his death the King loſt as good a ſubject, his country as good a patriot, the people as juſt a judge as ever lived; all honeſt men lamented the loſs of him, and no man in his age left behind him a more honoured memory. His reaſon was clear and ſtrong, and his learning deep and general. King Charles I. gave him the character of being a ſtout, wiſe, and learned man, and one who knew what belonged to uphold magiſtrates and magiſtracy in their dignity (4).

(4) See our Author's Memorials, p. 11. 17, 18.

[*C*] *Mr Whitelocke refuſed to be in the number of the Committee appointed to draw up a charge againſt him.*] 'Of this Committee,' ſays Mr Whitelocke (5), 'I was one, and particularly ſummoned to attend that buſineſs, which I declined, and gave my reaſons to Mr Miles Corbett, the chairman of that committee, why it was not fit for me to appear in it, againſt one to whom I had been beholden for my education. This would not ſatisfy Mr Corbett, but ſtill he preſſed me and ſent for me to come and attend the committee, but I abſolutely refuſed it. This ſo diſpleaſed Mr Corbett, that he acquainted the Houſe with my neglect, and moved them earneſtly, that I might be required by their order to attend the ſervice of that committee, and to be one of thoſe that ſhould manage the evidence againſt the Archbiſhop. This was moved when I was in the houſe, and upon this alarm I held it fit for me to make my apology, and endeavour to be diſcharged from that employment, by urging that the Archbiſhop did me the favour to take a ſpecial care of my breeding at St John's College in Oxford, and that it would be diſingenuous and ungrateful for me to be perſonally inſtrumental to take away his life, who was ſo inſtrumental for the bettering of mine. Upon which the Houſe diſcharged me from this employment.'

(5) Memorials, p. 75.

[*D*] *Before King Charles I. and his Queen, and their court, at Whitehall.*] This was one of the moſt magnificent entertainments that can be imagined. Our author, who was one of the chief managers, and of the committee to contrive and prepare the whole affair, has given a large and circumſtantial account of it in his Memorials (6). . . . 'The firſt that marched were twenty footmen in ſcarlet liveries with ſilver lace, each one having his ſword by his ſide, a baton in one hand, and a torch lighted in the other hand; theſe were the Marſhal's men who cleared the ſtreets, made way, and were all about the Marſhal, waiting his commands. After them, and ſometimes in the midſt of them came the Marſhal, Mr Darrel, afterwards knighted by the King. . . . He was mounted upon one of the King's beſt horſes, and richeſt ſaddles, and his own habit was exceeding rich and glorious; horſemanſhip very gallant. . . . . After him followed one hundred Gentlemen of the Inns of Court, five and twenty choſen out of each houſe. . . . Every one of theſe hundred gentlemen were in very rich clothes, ſcarce any thing but gold and ſilver lace to be ſeen of them; and each gentleman had a page and two lacquies waiting on him in his livery by his horſe ſide: The lacquies carried torches, and the page his maſter's cloak. The richneſs of their apparel and furniture glittering by the light of a multitude of torches attending on them, with the motion and ſtirring of their mettled horſes, and the many and various gay liveries of their ſervants; but eſpecially the perſonal beauty and gallantry of the handſome young gentlemen, made the moſt glorious and ſplendid ſhew that ever was beheld in England. . . . . The torches and flaming huge flamboys borne by the ſides of each chariot, made it ſeem lightſome as at noon-day, but more glittering, and gave a full and clear light to all the ſtreets and windows as they paſſed by. . . . . The Queen did the honour to ſome of the Maſquers to dance with them herſelf, and to judge them as good dancers as ever ſhe ſaw; and the great ladies were very free and civil in dancing with all the Maſquers, as they were taken out by them. . . . . The perſons employed in this maſque were paid juſtly and liberally; ſome of the muſick had one hundred pounds a piece; ſo that the whole charge of the muſick came to about a thouſand pounds: The clothes of the horſemen, and the liveries of their pages and lacquies, which were at their own particular charge, were reckoned one with another at a hundred pounds a ſuit at the leaſt, and one hundred of thoſe ſuits to amount to ten thouſand pounds. The charges of all the reſt of the maſque, and matters belonging to it, were reckoned at as much more, and ſo the charge of the whole maſque, which was borne by the ſocieties, and by the particular members of it, was accounted to be above one and twenty thouſand pounds.'—— This famous maſque was owing to a hint given by the court to the chief of theſe ſocieties (viz. of the Temple, &c.) that ſuch a thing would be well taken from them; and ſome held it the more ſeaſonable, becauſe this action would manifeſt the difference of their opinion from Mr *Prynne*'s new learning, and ſerve to confute his *Hiſtrio-Maſtix* againſt Interludes.

(6) p. 19, &c.

heard in England (*c*). Being a Counſellor at law, he delivered with great applauſe, though unprepared, a charge at the quarter-ſeſſions at Oxford, in 1635. And was often conſulted by John Hampden, Eſq; when he came to be proſecuted for refuſing the payment of ſhip-money (*d*). At the beginning of the commotions in Scotland, he wanted not ſolicitations on the behalf of the Covenanters; but he perſuaded his friends not to foment thoſe growing public differences, nor to be any means of incouraging a foreign nation againſt their natural Prince; from whence he feared great and evil conſequences (*e*). He was choſen one of the Burgeſſes for Marlow, in the long Parliament, which met November 3, 1640. Towards the beginning of the ſeſſion, a debate ariſing about the writs of *Habeas Corpus*, upon which Mr Selden, and other members, who had been committed for their freedom of ſpeech in the parliament of 1628, demanded to be bailed, and had been refuſed: this was ſo far aggravated by ſome, that they moved, Mr Selden, and the reſt, might have reparation out of the eſtates of thoſe judges, who then ſat in the King's-Bench. And they being named to be Hyde, Jones, and Whitelocke, our young member ſtood up in defence of his father, and vindicated him (*f*). When the Earl of Strafford came to be impeached by the Commons of high-treaſon, Mr Whitelocke was choſen Chairman of the Committee appointed to draw up articles, and manage the evidence againſt him. All the papers relating thereto were delivered into his cuſtody; but a very material one was conveyed away by the Lord Digby to the Earl [*E*], which brought a ſuſpicion of treachery upon Mr Whitelocke, though he was ſufficiently cleared afterwards, when that paper was found in the King's cabinet at the battle of Naſeby (*g*). In 1641, during the debates about the Militia, he made an excellent ſpeech, wherein he declared it as his opinion, That the power of the Militia was neither in the King alone, nor in the Parliament, but jointly in both (*h*) [*F*]. All accommodations about that important matter being found impracticable, which Mr Whitelocke appears to have earneſtly wiſhed for; and he being apprehenſive of the enſuing miſeries and troubles, ſpoke againſt raiſing an army for the pretended defence of the parliament; and ſenſibly deſcribed the calamities of a civil war [*G*]. However being of a very flexible diſpoſition,

(*c*) Whitelocke's Memorials, edit. 1732. p. 19, &c.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 23. 25.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 30.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 37. 39.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 39—43. See Trial of the Earl of Strafford, publiſhed by J. Ruſhworth.

(*h*) Memorials, p. 55.

[*E*] *But a very material one was conveyed away by the Lord Digby to the Earl.*] See above the article VANE [HENRY] Note [*F*] p. 3991. of Part I. of Vol. VI.

[*F*] *In* 1641, *during the debates about the militia, he made an excellent ſpeech, &c.*] The debate then was, 'Whether the power of the militia was ſolely in the King, and ought to be left to him; and the Parliament not to meddle with the ſame: Or, Whether it was ſolely in the Parliament, and if the King refuſed to order the ſame according to the advice of the Parliament, that then they by the law might do it without him?' Part of the ſpeech he made on that occaſion, was as follows: ..... 'It highly concerns us all, and our poſterity after us, where the power of this militia ſhall be placed. This great power, which indeed commands all men, and all things, cannot be too warily lodged, nor too ſeriouſly conſidered.... The power of the ſword *in manibus facinoroſorum*, in the hands of ſoldiers, is that whereof you now debate, and it is beſt out of their hands, I hope it will never come there. Some worthy gentlemen have declared their opinions, that this power of the militia is *by right and law in the King only*, others affirm it to be *in the Parliament only*; I crave pardon to differ from both theſe opinions. I humbly apprehend that this power of the militia is neither in the King only, nor only in the Parliament; and if the law hath placed it any where, it is both in the King and Parliament, when they join together.... That the power of the militia is not in the King only, appears in this, that the power of money is not in the King; but it will be granted here, that the power of money is ſolely in this houſe; and without the power of money to pay the ſoldiers, the power of the militia will be of little force. But if the power of the militia ſhould be in the King, yet the power of money being in the parliament, they muſt both agree, or elſe keep the ſword in the ſcabbard, which is the beſt place for it. It is true, that the King by his tenures may require the ſervice in war of thoſe that hold of him; but if they ſtay above 40 days with him, unleſs he give them pay, they will ſtay no longer. And it is alſo as true, that our law looks upon the King, as the Jewiſh law did upon theirs, that by his kingly office *he is to go in and out before the people*, and to lead them in battle againſt their enemies; but by the laws of the Jews, their King could not undertake a war abroad without the conſent of the great Sanhedrim. And by our law, as is declared by the ſtatute 1 Ed. 3. and by divers ſubſequent ſtatutes, the King can compel no man to go out of his country, but upon the ſudden coming of ſtrange enemies into the realm: and how many of our parliament-rolls do record that the King adviſed with his parliament about his foreign wars; and could not undertake them without the advice and ſupplies of the parliament.... But not to waſte more of your time, I ſhall conclude, that in my humble opinion, the power of the militia is neither in the King alone, nor in the parliament: but if any where in the eye of our law, it is in the King and Parliament both conſenting together. And I think it beſt it ſhould be there ſtill. I cannot join in that advice to you, to ſettle the militia of yourſelves without the King, but rather with thoſe worthy gentlemen who have moved, that we yet again ſhould petition his Majeſty, that the militia may be ſettled in ſuch hands as both He and You ſhall agree upon whom you may truſt (7).'

(7) Memorials, p. 55.

[*G*] *And ſenſibly deſcribed the calamities of a civil war.*] His ſpeech was as follows. 'Mr Speaker, the queſtion which was laſt propounded about raiſing of forces, naming a general and officers of an army, hath been very rare before this time in this aſſembly, and it ſeems to me to ſet us at the pit's brink, ready to plunge ourſelves into an ocean of troubles and miſeries, and if it could be, into more than a civil war brings with it. Give me leave, Sir, to conſider this unhappy ſubject in the beginning, progreſs, and iſſue of it. Cæſar tells us (and he knew as much of civil war as any man before him) that it cannot be begun *ſine malis artibus*. Surely, Sir, our enemies of the Popiſh church have left *no evil arts* unaſſayed, to bring us to our preſent poſture, and will yet leave none unattempted to make our breaches wider, well knowing that nothing will more advance their empire, than our diviſions. Our miſery, whom they account *Hereticks*, is their joy, and our diſtractions will be their glory, and all evil arts and ways to bring calamities upon us they will eſteem meritorious. But, Sir, I look upon another beginning of our civil war; God bleſſed us with a long and flouriſhing peace, and we turned his grace into wantonneſs, and peace would not ſatisfy us without luxury, nor our plenty without debauchery: inſtead of ſobriety and thankfulneſs for our mercies, we provoked the Giver of them by our ſins and wickedneſs, to puniſh us (as we may fear) by a civil war, to make us executioners of divine vengeance upon ourſelves. It is ſtrange to note, how we have inſenſibly ſlid into this beginning of a civil war, by one unexpected accident after another, as waves of the ſea, which have brought us thus far: And we ſcarce know

'how,

diſpoſition, as will appear by the ſequel; and perhaps unwilling to ſee what he thought the moſt valuable rights of the nation tamely loſt; he ſuffered himſelf to be drawn away by the torrent. Accordingly he accepted of the office of Deputy-Lieutenant of the counties of Bucks and Oxford, in 1642 (*i*). And having a gallant company of horſe of his neighbours under his command, he diſperſed the Commiſſioners of array at Watlington; marched to Oxford, of which he was named a fit perſon to be Governor, and propoſed the ſecuring of that important place; but his advice was not followed. He alſo appeared among thoſe forces that oppoſed the King at Brentford (*k*). This open declaration coſt him dear; for his ſeat at Fawley-court was rifled and plundered by a party of Royaliſts [*H*]: which, as he ſays, he remembred only to raiſe a conſtant hatred of any thing that may in the leaſt tend to foment ſuch unhappineſs and miſery (*l*). In January 1642-3, he was one of the Commiſſioners at the treaty of peace at Oxford: wherein a good deal of the buſineſs lay upon him, and he had a great ſhare of favour and reſpect from his fellow-commiſſioners. Upon all overtures of peace, he induſtriouſly laboured to promote them, which might be ſome ground of his being ſo often employed by the Parliament in their treaties (*m*). In March, the Lords having propoſed, that a new committee ſhould be named to conſider of propoſitions of peace, and the Commons inſiſting to have that matter referred to the committee of both kingdoms; Mr Whitelocke obſerved, that in the debate ſome were averſe to any propoſitions at all for peace, which induced him to make an excellent peaceful ſpeech (*n*) [*I*]. He was one of the Aſſembly

(*i*) May 11. 28. See his Memorials, p. 58.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 60, 63. 66.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 65.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 67, 68, 69.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 84.

‘ how, but from paper combates, by declarations, remonſtrances, proteſtations, votes, meſſages, anſwers and replies; we are now come to the queſtion of raiſing forces, and naming a general, and officers of an army. But what, Sir, may be the progreſs thereof, the poet tells you,

‘ Juſque datum ſceleri canimus, populumque po-
‘ tentem,
‘ In ſua victrici converſum viſcera dextra.

[Eſtabliſh'd violence, and lawleſs might,
Avow'd and hallow'd by the name of Right;
A race renown'd, the world's victorious lords,
Turn'd on themſelves with their own hoſtile
ſwords.]

‘ We muſt ſurrender up our laws, liberties, properties, and lives into the hands of inſolent mercenaries, whoſe rage and violence will command us, and all we have, and reaſon, honour, and juſtice will leave our land; the ignoble will rule the noble, and baſeneſs will be preferred before virtue, profaneneſs before piety. Of a potent people we ſhall make ourſelves weak, and be the inſtruments of our own ruin, *perditio tua ex te* will be ſaid to us; we ſhall burn our own houſes, lay waſte our own fields, pillage our own goods, open our own veins, and eat out our own bowels. You will hear other ſounds beſides thoſe of drums and trumpets, the clattering of armour, the roaring of guns, the groans of wounded and dying men, the ſhrieks of deflowered women, the cries of widows and orphans, and all on your account, which makes it the more to be lamented. Pardon, Sir, the warmth of my expreſſion on this argument, it is to prevent a flame, which I ſee kindled in the midſt of us, that may conſume us to aſhes. The ſum of the progreſs of the civil war, is the rage of fire and ſword, and (which is worſe) of brutiſh men. What the iſſue of it will be, no man alive can tell, probably few of us now here may live to ſee the end of it. It hath been ſaid, *He that draws his ſword againſt his Prince, muſt throw away the ſcabbard.* Thoſe differences are ſcarce to be reconciled: thoſe commotions are like the [redacted] once ſtirred, are not ſoon appeaſed. I wiſh the obſervation of the Duke de Rohan in his Intereſt of Chriſtendom, may prove a caution, not a prophecy. He ſaith of England, *That it is a great creature, which cannot be deſtroyed, but by its own hand.* And there is not a more likely hand than that of civil war to do it. The iſſue of all war is like a caſt at dice, none can tell upon what ſquare the *alea belli* [chance of war] will light. The beſt iſſue that can be expected of a civil war, *ubi victor flet, & victus perit,* [where the conqueror weeps, and the conquered periſhes] which of theſe will be our portion is uncertain, and the choice would be avoided. Yet, Sir, when I have ſaid this, I am not for a tame reſignation of our religion, lives, and liberties, into the hands of our adverſaries, who ſeek to devour us. Nor do I think it inconſiſtent with your great wiſdom, to prepare for a juſt and neceſſary defence of them. It was truly obſerved by a noble gentleman, “That if our enemies find us provided to reſiſt their attempts upon us, it will be the likelieſt way to bring them to an accord with us.” And upon this ground I am for the queſtion. But I humbly move you to conſider, whether it be not yet too ſoon to come to it. We have tried by propoſals of peace to his Majeſty, and they have been rejected: Let us try yet again, and appoint a committee who may review our former propoſitions. And where they find the matter of them (as our affairs now are) fit to be altered, that they preſent the alterations to the Houſe, and their opinions; and that as far as may ſtand with the ſecurity of us and our cauſe, we may yield our endeavours to prevent the miſeries which look black upon us, and to ſettle a good accommodation; ſo that there may be no ſtrife between us and thoſe of the other party; for we are brethren (8).’

[*H*] *For his ſeat at Fawley-court was rifled and plundered by a party of Royaliſts.*] Sir John Biron, and his brothers, who commanded a body of about 1000 of the King's horſe, gave order, that they ſhould commit no inſolence at Mr Whitelocke's houſe, nor plunder his goods. But ſoldiers (as he obſerves) are not eaſily governed againſt their plunder, or perſuaded to reſtrain it. For there was no inſolence or outrage uſually committed by common ſoldiers on a reputed enemy, which was omitted by theſe brutiſh fellows at his houſe. They ſpent and conſumed 100 loads of corn and hay, littered their horſes with ſheaves of good wheat, and gave them all ſorts of corn in the ſtraw. Divers writings of conſequence, and books which were left in his ſtudy, ſome of them they tore in pieces, others they burnt to light their tobacco, and ſome they carried away with them, to his extreme great loſs and prejudice, in wanting the writings of his eſtate, and loſing very many excellent manuſcripts of his father's and others, and ſome of his own labours. They alſo broke down his park-pales, killed moſt of his deer, carried off, or ſpoiled, his furniture, &c. But he had afterwards 2000l. ordered him, for his arrears and charges: and had ample amends made him, by being conſtituted one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and of the Great Seal (9).

[*I*] *Which induced him to make an excellent peaceful ſpeech.*] He hath in it theſe ſtriking paſſages. ‘ . . . It would be no wonder to ſee an unanimous concurrence of the whole houſe in furthering propoſitions for a good peace. The calamities of our diſtractions have brought us to it, and who is there amongſt us, that hath not in ſome meaſure felt the ſtrokes of them? I am ſure, Sir, I have ſmarted by them. . . . The land is weary of our diſcords, being thereby polluted with *our* blood. . . . In all ſucceſſes, whether of the one or the other party, the poor Engliſh are ſtill ſufferers. Whoſe goods (I pray Sir) are plundered? whoſe houſes are burnt? whoſe limbs are cut, or ſhot off? whoſe perſons are thrown into loathſome dungeons? whoſe blood ſtains the walls of our towns, and defiles our land? Is it not all ‘ Engliſh?

(8) *Memorials,* p. 60, 61.

(9) See his Memorials, p. 65. 232. &c.

Aſſembly of Divines (o): and in their debates for ſettling the government of the church, he delivered his opinion againſt the divine right of Preſbytery (p); which notion he afterwards oppoſed in the houſe of Commons, and prevented them from being ſurprized upon this great queſtion, for which he received thanks (q). In 1644, he was conſtituted Lieutenant-governor of Windſor-caſtle (r). Both houſes of parliament having at length agreed upon the propoſitions for peace, Mr Whitelocke was appointed one of the committee to carry them to the King at Oxford. His Majeſty ſeemed to expreſs a particular regard for him; ſtiling him, and Mr Holles, meſſengers of, and wiſhers to, peace. And when they were about coming away, the King deſired them to ſet down in writing, what they apprehended might be fit for him to return in anſwer to their meſſage, and was in their judgments likely to facilitate the good work of peace. Accordingly, going into a private room, and varying his hand, he wrote down what he and Mr Holles judged to be fit for the ſubſtance of his Majeſty's anſwer to the propoſals of peace they had brought; and left it upon the table of his withdrawing-room (s). But this affair had like to prove their ruin. For it coming to the knowledge of the Lord Saville, who was then with the King at Oxford, and revolted afterwards to the parliament, that inconſtant Lord ſent to the Commons an accuſation of high treaſon againſt Mr. Holles and Mr. Whitelocke, on account of that paper, the ſecond of July 1645. They were perſecuted with all eagerneſs, and defended themſelves with ſo much conſtancy, mutual fidelity, and convincing evidence, that, after a long and ſtrict examination, they were clearly acquitted by a vote of the Houſe, on the 21ſt of July, of any miſdemeanour in this buſineſs, and left at liberty to proſecute, if they pleaſed, for damages, the Lord Saville, then a priſoner in the Tower (t). To return to ſome particulars that happened in the mean time: The Scottiſh Commiſſioners finding that Oliver Cromwell, by ſome words he had dropped, was no friend to their nation, nor the government of their Church; and the Lord General Eſſex growing jealous that he was endeavouring to ſupplant him; a private conſultation was had, whether he could not be proceeded againſt as an incendiary. Mr Whitelocke, who was preſent, declared it as his opinion that he could not [K] (u). It is ſaid, he gave Oliver timely notice of the deſign, and thenceforth became very gracious with that moſt active perſon (w). But he ſays himſelf, that at this debate, ſome who were preſent were falſe brethren, and informed Cromwell of all that paſt among them (x). He was not for the ſelf-denying ordinance, and made a ſpeech againſt it (y). In the beginning of the year 1645, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners at the Treaty of Uxbridge, and attended there. And on the 6th of Auguſt following, when the Houſe of Commons was in debate about ſending propoſitions of peace to his Majeſty, he furthered them as much as he could (z). He had been, the laſt year, nominated Attorney of the Duchy of Lancaſter, and ſo he was, on the 15th of April 1645, one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty: and December 16, Steward of the revenues of Weſtminſter College (aa). When the Preſbyterians were ſtriving to have the power of excommunication and ſuſpenſion from the ſacrament veſted in themſelves, he oppoſed it in the Houſe of Commons [L], for which they much cenſured, and termed him an Eraſtian (bb). Upon ſeveral occaſions he ſhewed himſelf a lover of learning. As for inſtance, in order to preſerve the Lord Keeper Lyttleton's books and manuſcripts from being ſold and diſperſed by the Sequeſtrators, as they would have been, he procured an order from the Houſe of Commons, that ſuch as could be diſcovered ſhould be beſtowed upon him: and by that means he ſaved them to have the preſent uſe of them, reſolving, when-

(o) Ib. p. 71.
(p) Ib. p. 99.
(q) Ib. p. 110, 111.
(r) Ib. p. 109. 323.
(s) Ibid. p. 111.—114.
(t) See his Memorials, from p. 153 to 161.
(u) Ibid. p. 116, 117.
(w) Wood, as above, col. 546.
(x) Memorials, p. 117.
(y) Ib. p. 117—119.
(z) Ibid. p. 165.
(aa) Ibid. p. 123, &c. 142. 165. 183.
(bb) Ib. p. 169, &c.

'Engliſh? and is it not then time for us who are 'all Engliſhmen, to be weary of theſe diſcords, and 'to uſe our utmoſt endeavours to put an end to 'them? .... Whilſt we differ upon the Committee, 'we loſe the buſineſs, and do not purſue peace. I am 'perſuaded, Sir, you can hardly name any Com'mittee, either within or without theſe walls, but 'would be ready to take pains to effect this good 'work, unleſs it were thoſe who have ſaid, "That if "this war be well managed, it may laſt 20 years." 'But thoſe were not Engliſhmen: and although we 'have Iriſh, French, Dutch, and Walloons, as well 'as other Papiſts, engaged for the ſettlement of the 'Proteſtant Religion, and Laws of England; yet I 'am perſuaded, that his Majeſty and you mutually 'endeavouring (as it is both your intereſts) none can 'hinder it.'—— He concludes, '.... Let us con'ſent to any thing that is juſt, reaſonable, and honour'able, rather than in the leaſt to neglect to ſeek peace, 'and to enſue it (10).'

(10) Memorials, p. 84.

[K] *Mr Whitelocke, who was preſent, declared it as his opinion that he could not.*] The ſubſtance of what was ſaid at that conſultation is preſerved by our Author in his Memorials (11). And he then declared, that he had not heard any particulars, nor did he know any in his private obſervations, which would amount to a clear proof of ſuch matters as would ſatisfy the Houſe of Commons in the caſe of Lieutenant General Cromwell (and according to our law, and the courſe of proceedings in our parliament) that he was an *Incendiary*, and to be puniſhed accordingly. At the ſame time he gave this character of him. 'I take 'Lieutenant General Cromwell to be a gentleman of 'quick and ſubtle parts, and one who hath (eſpe'cially of late) gained no ſmall intereſt in the Houſe 'of Commons, nor is he wanting of friends in the 'Houſe of Peers, nor of abilities in himſelf to ma'nage his own part or defence to the beſt advantage. 'If this be ſo, it will be the more requiſite to be well 'prepared againſt him before he be brought upon the 'ſtage, leſt the iſſue of the buſineſs be not anſwerable 'to your expectations.'

(11) P. 116, and 117.

[L] *When the Preſbyterians were ſtriving to have the po*[illegible]*xcommunication, &c. he oppoſed it.*] In his ſpeech upon that occaſion, he has theſe words.... 'Thoſe who are *ſcandalous* ſinners ought to be admo'niſhed to forſake their evil ways; and to amend their 'lives; and where can they receive this admonition, 'and hope for more conviction of their conſciences, 'than by hearing good ſermons, and being admitted 'to be partakers of the holy ordinances? but to *ex'communicate* them, deprives them wholly of the beſt 'means for their cure. The beſt *excommunication* is 'for *paſtors, elders*, and *people*, to *excommunicate* ſin 'out of their own hearts and converſations: to *ſuſ'pend* themſelves from all works of iniquity, this is 'a power, which put in execution, will prevent all 'diſputes about *excommunication* and *ſuſpenſion* from 'the ſacrament (12).'

(12) Memorials, p. 170.

ever

ever there was a happy accommodation, to reſtore them to the owner, or to ſome of his family. Neither was he leſs uſeful in preſerving the Herald's office, being one of the committee, and very active in promoting the ordinance, for ſettling and regulating that office; though great oppoſition was made by the lower levelling claſs of the then ruling powers, who were but of yeſterday. He cauſed alſo the manuſcripts and books at Whitehall (becauſe of the ſoldiers being there) to be removed to St James's-houſe, that thoſe rare monuments of learning and antiquity might be preſerved. And at the ſiege of Oxford, where he attended General Fairfax, and was one of his council of war, being a friend to the univerſity wherein he had been educated, and undeniably a man of conſiderable learning; he uſed all his intereſt to have honourable terms granted to the beſieged garriſon, and that the colleges and libraries ſhould not be hurt or plundered *(cc)*. Ever ſince the latter part of the year 1645, he appears to have departed from the ſpirit of true patriotiſm, and to have reſorted with the worſt incendiaries, Sir Henry Vane, and "other Grandees of that party;" to uſe his own words *(dd)*. He was thenceforth highly courted by Cromwell and his adherents, who began to make uſe of his advice in many points. As he had attended at the ſiege of Oxford, ſo did he alſo at that of Wallingford; where he acted the part of ſecretary *(ee)*: and kept a ſtrong garriſon in his ſeat of Phyllis-court, for the uſe of the then prevailing powers *(ff)*. In Dec. 1646, we find him earneſtly promoting the ordinances, for taking away all coercive power of committees; and all arbitrary power from both or either of the houſes of parliament, or any of their committees, in any matter between party and party: judging that to be for the honour of parliament, and the eaſe and right of the people *(gg)*. And being well ſkilled in foreign affairs, he was uſually in every committee relating to them *(hh)*. At the ſame time he applied himſelf cloſely to his practice of the law, and attended the aſſizes, much to his profit, as may be ſeen in his Memorials *(ii)*. When his old friends, Sir Philip Stapleton, Denzil Holles, Eſq; Recorder Glyn, and others, came to promote eagerly the diſbanding of the greateſt part of the army [*M*], he, whoſe flexible diſpoſition, and perhaps ambition and covetouſneſs, drew him always to the ſtrongeſt ſide, declared againſt that meaſure; believing, as he ſaid, and very likely knew, that the army would not ſubmit to it, and ill conſequences might follow. This highly ingratiated him with 'Cromwell 'and that party, who entertained him with all reſpect and affection, and highly courted 'him *(kk)*.' The patriot party in the Houſe of Commons wanting to get rid of Mr Whitelocke, moved, that he might be ſent Lord Juſtice into Ireland, to exerciſe the civil government; but he was not free to undertake that charge. And Cromwell and his adherents were againſt his going away, deſiring his company more than formerly, and began to uſe his advice in many things. In September 1647, the city of London were very deſirous of having him for their Recorder; which he declined upon ſome frivolous pretences [*N*]: but his chief reaſon was, becauſe he waited to be one of the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal; which he was accordingly appointed in March 1647-8, for one whole year, being agreed upon before-hand by a private junto of Cromwell's party *(ll)* [*O*]. For the ſame reaſon, he declined being Speaker of the Houſe of Commons *(mm)*. He was ſworn into his office of Commiſſioner of the Great Seal, April 12,

[*M*] *When his old friends ..... came to promote the diſbanding of the army ...... he declared againſt that meaſure.*] The promoters of it had chiefly in view 'the *advantage* which they had in proſecuting this 'buſineſs, as that which would generally pleaſe the 'people, by ridding them of the ſoldiers, and eaſing 'them of the taxes.'—But obſerve, what canting reflections our author makes upon his own conduct, and the reſt of thoſe diſhoneſt perſons who were againſt diſbanding the army. ... 'This was not upon deſign 'or policy in them to come off to a new party, who 'might be thought more growing into *power* than the 'other, but it was their *clear judgment*. But what 'they gained with one party, they loſt with the other, 'neither continuing firm to them, who were not thorow paced in all things which they laboured to 'bring to paſs: but we ſhall find in all ſorts of buſineſs, that honeſty is the beſt policy, and a clear 'and ſincere dealing, according to [illegible]gment 'and conſcience, is ſeldom without a bleſſing accompanying it (13).'—He takes notice, in one place, that 'Divers cenſures paſſed upon the parliament, for 'their cow votes and reſolution to comply with a 'mutinous army, who had their pay and power from 'them (14).' But was not he equally liable to cenſure, for his cowardly and abject, or ſelf-intereſted behaviour?—Self intereſted, I call it; for it turned to his advantage upon many occaſions. Namely, it ſcreened him from being one of the eleven accuſed members of the Houſe of Commons (15): of being again called to an account upon the former accuſation of the Lord Saville, &c. (16)

[*N*] *Upon ſome frivolous pretences.*] The reaſons he gives, are theſe. 'The place being extremely full of 'trouble and clamour, and moſtly upon buſineſs of 'life and death, wherein I was not fully ſatisfied in 'ſome points of our law in criminal caſes, and caſes 'of blood, I took off my friends from naming me, 'eſpecially at this time, the city being ſo diſtracted 'and tumultuous (17).'

[*O*] *Becauſe he waited to be one of the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, &c.*] He was appointed March 2, 1647. He tells us on that occaſion ... 'I can truly 'ſay I never heard of this buſineſs beforehand, nor 'was in the leaſt privy to it, or acquainted with it; 'but God was pleaſed ſo to order it, not my ambition 'that ſought or contrived it, for I may be believed on 'much experience that ſuch employments are not deſireable by a quiet and prudent ſpirit, they ſeldom 'afford quiet, never ſafety (18).' ... After he had taken the oath for that office ... 'I lifted up,' ſays he, 'my 'heart to God in prayer, that he would be pleaſed to 'direct me in the performance of my duty in this 'great employment, to his honour and the good of 'my country and of myſelf, and to preſerve me from 'all corruption and injuſtice in the execution of the 'place, and from all temptations and dangers unto 'which it is incident (19).' ... Some of the chief reaſons for his being put into that great employment, as we learn from himſelf, were, ... Becauſe 'the General [Fairfax] had an affection for him; and he had 'a good intereſt in the Houſe [of Commons], and 'Cromwell and his party were willing to engage him 'as far as they could with them (20).'

At the ſwearing of William Wilde, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, he made a very learned ſpeech about the antiquity, honour, and dignity of that court, and the Judges duty. Likewiſe, at the call of new Serjeants, he made another learned ſpeech upon the nature of their office (21).

with

(cc) Ibid. p. 172. 197. 288. 204. and Life of B. Whitlock, Eſq; Lond. 1712. 8vo. p. 58.

(dd) See his Memorials, p. 176. col. 2. and p. 177. col. 1.

(ee) Ib. p. 213. 217.

(ff) Ib. p. 217.

(gg) Ib. p. 230.

(hh) Ib. p. 235.

(ii) p. 234. 262. 263. 265. &c.

(kk) His own words, p. 248.

(ll) Memorials, p. 269. 290. 293. 295.

(mm) Ibid, p. 282.

(13) Memorials, p. 248.

(14) p. 255.

(15) p. 253.

(16) p. 257.

(17) p. 290.

(18) p. 293.

(19) p. 300.

(20) p. 293.

(21) Thoſe ſpeeches are in his Memorials, p. 349. 352. &c.

with a ſalary of 1000 pounds a year; and took much contentment in the privacy and credit of it. On the 17th he reſigned his place of Attorney of the Duchy of Lancaſter (*nn*). He gives us a remarkable inſtance of his own and fellow-commiſſioners moſt laudable and exemplary diſpatch in the Chancery-buſineſs; That in the morning of one day they determined thirteen cauſes, and forty demurrers in the afternoon; and ſometimes ſat from five o'clock in the morning till five in the evening (*oo*). According to his own account, he was no gainer by accepting of the place of Commiſſioner of the Great Seal; for the profit of it was not above 1500 l. a year, whereas his practice in the law brought him before near 2000 l. per annum. He thought himſelf but unfixed and unſettled in that high poſt; looking upon the ſelf-denying ordinance, debated in parliament, 6 Auguſt 1648, as a deſign to remove him. And ſuch a deſign appears in October following, when he was ordered by the Houſe to be one of the Serjeants at law then called, and Attorney-general of the Duchy; though in words the Houſe did expreſs much favour and reſpect to him, and their compliments were too high for him to remember (*pp*). The army's force upon the Houſe of Commons drew ſome ſerious reflections from him [*P*]. And he had no great mind to ſit in that Houſe, as it was then conſtituted (*qq*). He was one of the Committee of Thirty-eight, named to conſider of drawing up a charge againſt King Charles I. but he never attended; being reſolved to avoid meddling in that bad affair; and therefore he went into the country, on purpoſe to be out of the way, and not be liable to be over-perſuaded or compelled (*rr*) [*Q*]. But, before that, he had aſſiſted at the mock-meeting of ſome of the members of the Houſe of Commons, to conſult about ſettling the kingdom by the Parliament, and not to leave all to the ſword (*ss*) [*R*]: which was done only to amuſe a great part of the nation. For the ſoldiery, under the influence of that ambitious tyrant Cromwell, were now come to a full reſolution to overthrow the government. He returned to London January 9, 1648-9, after the King's trial was begun, though he ſeemed not to be particularly concerned in it: and refuſed afterwards to approve the proceedings of the high Court of Juſtice. But he had meetings, and free diſcourſes, with Cromwell, about the then affairs and actions of the army, and the ſettlement of the kingdom; and expreſſed his readineſs to obſerve and obey the commands of the Houſe of Commons (*tt*). Notwithſtanding his ſeeming and pretended heſitation, about engaging in the changes that followed the King's tragical death, he ſoon ſwallowed them all: for, February 1, he declared in the Houſe of Commons his diſapprobation of the vote of December 5, 1648, 'That his Majeſty's conceſſions to 'the propoſitions of the parliament, were ſufficient grounds for ſettling the peace of 'the kingdom.' And drew the Act to take away the Houſe of Lords, though he had declared his opinion againſt it (*uu*). He alſo brought in a Declaration, to ſatisfy the people touching the proceedings of parliament (*ww*). Moreover, he ſubmitted to be one of the new Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal; for theſe reaſons: 'Becauſe he was already 'very deeply engaged with this party; That the buſineſs to be undertaken by him was 'the execution of law and juſtice, without which men could not live one by another; a 'thing of abſolute neceſſity to be done (*xx*).' Which was in effect the ſame as ſaying in plain words, that he thought no one in the nation qualified for that place but himſelf:

(*nn*) Ib. p. 300.

(*oo*) Mem. p. 305. See alſo p. 394.

(*pp*) Ibid. p. 326, 342, 343, 345, 392.

(*qq*) Ibid. p. 363.

(*rr*) Ibid. p. 363, 365, 366.

(*ss*) Ibid. p. 362, 363, 364.

(*tt*) Ibid. and p. 269, 383, 384.

(*uu*) Ibid. p. 376, 359, 377.

(*ww*) Ibid. p. 389.

(*xx*) Ibid. p. 378.

[*P*] *The army's force upon the Houſe of Commons drew ſome ſerious reflections from him.*] 'Some thought it,' ſays he, 'a piece of high aſſumption in the army, ſo 'often and ſo earneſtly to preſs the diſſolving of that 'authority, under which themſelves had ſo highly 'acted.'——And again, 'We may take notice of the 'incertainty of worldly affairs; when the parliament 'and their army had ſubdued their common enemy, 'then they quarrelled among themſelves, the army 'againſt the parliament; when they were pretty well 'pieced together again, then the apprentices and 'others made an inſurrection againſt the parliament 'and army. Thus we were in continual perplexities 'and dangers, and ſo it will be with all who ſhall 'engage in the like troubles (22).'

[*Q*] *He went into the country, on purpoſe to be out of the way, &c.*] The committee for the trial of the King, ſent for him, and Sir Tho. Widdrington, December 26, to come to them; having ſome matters of importance, wherein they deſired their advice and aſſiſtance, and that they muſt not fail them. 'I knew,' ſays our author, 'what the buſineſs was, and I told 'Sir Thomas Widdrington, that I was reſolved not 'to meddle in that buſineſs about the trial of the 'King, it being contrary to my judgment, as I had 'declared myſelf in the Houſe. Sir Thomas ſaid, 'he was of the ſame judgment, and would have no 'hand in that buſineſs.'—Therefore they withdrew together to Mr Whitelocke's houſe in the country (23). —'My name,' ſays our author, 'was not brought 'in among them [the reſt of the King's Judges], I 'having declared my judgment in the Houſe againſt 'this proceeding, and having abſented myſelf at the 'time of naming of them, and wholly from attending this committee, ſo that they knew my mind, 'and therefore did forbear to name me, though I 'was then in ſo great an employment under them. 'But I reſolved to hazard, or lay down all, how beneficial ſoever, or advantageous to me, rather than 'to do any thing contrary to my judgment and conſcience (24).'

The reſt of his ſentiments on that tragical occaſion, take in his own words... Upon the mob's calling out in Weſtminſter-hall for *juſtice and execution:* 'Here 'we may take notice of the abject baſeneſs of ſome 'vulgar ſpirits, who ſeeing their King in that condition, endeavoured in their ſmall capacity, further 'to promote his miſery, that they might a little curry 'favour with the preſent powers, and pick thanks of 'their then ſuperiors. Some of the very ſame perſons 'were afterwards as clamorous for juſtice againſt thoſe 'that were the King's judges. A Prince is not exempt from the venom of theſe mad dogs.'... 'I was 'much troubled at the paſſing of ſentence of death 'againſt the King, and heartily prayed that it might 'not be executed.——January 30, I went not to the 'Houſe, but ſtayed all day at home in my ſtudy and 'at my prayers, that this day's work might not ſo 'diſpleaſe God, as to bring prejudice to this poor 'afflicted nation (25).'

[*R*] *To conſult about ſettling the kingdom by parliament, &c.*] This meeting was at the Speaker's houſe, the 23d of December; ſome were wholly againſt any King at all, others were againſt having the preſent King, or his eldeſt, or ſecond ſon, to be King; others were for the third ſon, the Duke of Glouceſter, who was among them, and might be educated as they ſhould appoint, to be made King. He and Sir Thomas Widdrington ſpake their minds freely (26).

(22) Memorials, p. 281. 299.

(23) Ibid. p. 365.

(24) p. 366.

(25) Ibid. p. 374. 376.

(26) Memorials, p. 364.

otherwiſe,

otherwiſe, there was no neceſſity for his taking it, more than any other man. The 14th of February 1648-9, he was nominated one of the Council of State: and June 13, choſen High-Steward, and Recorder of Oxford. Upon which he ſurrendered his office of Attorney of the Duchy on the 6th of July *(yy)*. At the inſtance of the learned Mr Selden, he undertook the care of the Royal Library and Medals at St James's; in order to prevent a deſign formed by ſome, to have them ſold and tranſported beyond ſea; which he thought would be a diſhonour and damage to this nation, and to all ſcholars here, and fearing that in other hands they might be more ſubject to imbezzling: this trouble therefore he undertook, to preſerve them for public uſe. John Dury, a German, a good ſcholar, and who had been a great traveller, was his Deputy-librarian *(zz)*. September 26, he was appointed one of the Governors for the School and Almshouſes at Weſtminſter: And in November following, oppoſed a motion made in the Houſe of Commons, That no Lawyers ſhould be of the Parliament *(aaa)*. The year following, in the debates upon the Act for putting all the books of the law, and the proceſs and proceedings in courts of juſtice into the Engliſh tongue, ſome having ſpoken in derogation and diſhonour of the laws of England, Mr Whitelocke ſtood up in defence of his gainful profeſſion, and endeavoured to prove, That our laws were not introduced by William the Conqueror *(bbb)*: which is true in part; but the worſt part of them, the tenures, were, and ſome of our common law ſtill is, a badge of that villainous conqueſt. September 9, 1651, he was appointed, with three other members of parliament, to go out of town to meet Ol. Cromwell on his way to London, and congratulate him upon his victory at Worceſter *(ccc)*. All oppoſition being fallen before the ambitious Cromwell, who was now arrived at the height of his wiſhes, he had a meeting, December 10, at the Speaker's houſe, with ſome members of parliament and officers of the army, to talk about the ſettlement of the nation; but with no other view in reality than to ſound their opinions and inclinations. Mr Whitelocke, who was preſent, delivered his ſentiments to this purpoſe: 'The laws of England are ſo interwoven with the power and 'practice of monarchy, that to ſettle a government without ſomething of monarchy in 'it, would make ſo great an alteration in the proceedings of our law, which they had 'ſcarce time to rectify, nor could they well foreſee the inconveniences that would ariſe 'thereby. Therefore he added, that there might be a day given for the King's eldeſt 'ſon, or for the Duke of York his brother, to come into the parliament; and, upon 'ſuch terms as ſhould be thought fit and agreeable both to our civil and ſpiritual liberties, 'a ſettlement might be made with them *(ddd)* [S].' In Nov. 1652, he repeated the ſame advice in a private conference with Cromwell, wherein he diſſuaded him from aſſuming the title of King, and perſuaded him to enter into a private treaty with Charles II *(eee)* [T]. This propoſal was very unpleaſing from the firſt to Cromwell, who thenceforward grew cool towards Mr Whitelocke, and had but little intercourſe and correſpondence with him. In order to get him out of the way, and deprive him of his office of Commiſſioner of the Great Seal, he was named one, and the chief, of the Commiſſioners for the adminiſtration of the civil government in Ireland. Arguments were not wanting to urge him to accept of it; as the great command, the honour, and the conſiderable profit of that employment. But as he perceived the offer proceeded rather from ill than good will, and that Cromwell was forward in it underhand, as not liking his advice abovementioned, and his noncompliance with his ſovereign pleaſure in ſome things, particularly in Chancery cauſes; he at firſt diſcreetly excuſed himſelf from that ſervice, which would have been no advancement either to his honour or profit, in a country too which he did not like. And when he was rather over-preſſed, he got himſelf off from being named, by a kind of reſolute denial *(fff)*. But not long after, Cromwell found occaſion by an honourable employment to ſend him out of the way, as ſome of his neareſt relations, particularly his daughter Cleypole, confeſſed, that he might be no obſtacle or impediment to his ambitious deſigns *(ggg)*. This we ſhall more particularly explain, after having taken notice of ſome other things wherein Mr Whitelocke was in the mean time concerned. When the two commonwealths of England and Holland began to quarrel, and the right of the fiſhery, and dominion of the Britiſh ſeas, came under debate, the maintaining of thoſe privileges was committed to him; [redacted] than any one was ſkilled in ſuch points, and in the hiſtory and antiquities of this nation *(hhh)*. He was very uneaſy and diſpleaſed at the

(yy) Ibid. p. 381. 409. 412. 441. and Wood, Ath. as above.

(zz) Memorials, p. 415, 416.

(aaa) Ibid. p. 427. 431.

(bbb) Ibid. p. 478.

(ccc) Ibid. p. 509.

(ddd) Ibid. p. 516. 518.

(eee) Ibid. p. 548—551.

(fff) Ibid. p. 536. 551.

(ggg) His own words. Memorials, p. 552. See p. 620.

(hhh) Ibid. p. 536.

[S] *A ſettlement might be made with them.*] At this meeting, our author obſerves, the lawyers were generally for a mixt monarchical government, and many were for the Duke of Glouceſter to be made King; but Cromwell ſtill put off that debate, and came off to ſome other point; and in concluſion after a long debate, the company parted without coming to any reſult at all, only Cromwell diſcovered by this meeting the inclinations of the perſons that ſpake, for which he fiſhed, and made uſe of what he then diſcovered (27).

[T] *And perſuaded him to enter into a private treaty with Charles II.*] His advice was to this effect. 'This 'Prince being now, by your valour and the ſucceſs 'which God hath given to the parliament and to the 'army under your command, reduced to a very low 'condition; both he and all about him cannot but be 'very inclinable to hearken to any terms, whereby 'their loſt hopes may be revived of his being reſtored 'to the crown, and they to their fortunes and native 'country. By a private treaty with him you may 'ſecure yourſelf and your friends, and their fortunes, 'you may make yourſelf and your poſterity as great and 'permanent to all human probability, as ever any ſubject 'was; and provide for your friends. You may put 'ſuch limits to monarchical power, as will ſecure our 'ſpiritual and civil liberties; and you may ſecure the 'cauſe in which we are all engaged, and this may be 'effectually done, by having the power of the *militia* 'continued in yourſelf, and whom you ſhall agree 'upon after you. I propound therefore for your Excellency 'to ſend to the King of Scots, and to have a 'private treaty with him for this purpoſe,' &c. (28)

(28) Memorials, p. 550, 551.

army's beginning to ſet up for themſelves without the parliament; and always and earneſtly declared his judgment againſt this, as the moſt *dangerous* and moſt *ungrateful* thing that could be practiſed. The 20th of April 1653, he urged the ſame arguments, at a great meeting of parliament-men and officers in Cromwell's lodgings, and ſaid, That diſſolving the parliament would neither be warrantable in conſcience or wiſdom. Again, when it was propoſed, that a number, about forty, of parliament-men and officers of the army, ſhould be nominated and impowered by the parliament for the managing the affairs of the commonwealth 'till a new parliament ſhould meet, and ſo the preſent one to be forthwith diſſolved; he oppoſed this propoſal, and the more, fearing leſt he might be one of theſe forty; who he thought would be in a deſperate condition after the diſſolution of the parliament (*iii*). But notwithſtanding his own and his party's endeavours, the parliament was diſſolved in a rude and arbitrary manner by Oliver Cromwell [*V*]. And yet Mr Whitelocke tamely ſubmitted to all the ſubſequent changes of the government. He durſt not proceed in the buſineſs of the Great Seal, till after Cromwell and his council of officers had ſet forth a declaration of the grounds and reaſons for their diſſolving the late parliament; and that all civil officers ſhould proceed as formerly in the execution of their offices (*kkk*). Cromwell was ſo much offended with him, that he did not admit him into his Little, or firſt Parliament, which aſſembled in July 1653, and his great commiſſion was ſuperſeded, by the vote for taking away the Court of Chancery (*lll*). To remove him yet further, the honourable employment juſt hinted at before was contrived for him, as a kind of creditable exile: that was an embaſſy to the famous Chriſtina Queen of Sweden, which he was nominated to by Cromwell, Sept. 4, 1653, and voted in parliament ten days after. He received his commiſſion and inſtruction from the hand of the Speaker, the 29th of October; and having very expeditiouſly prepared himſelf, he ſet out from London Nov. 2d, embarked at Graveſend the 5th, ſailed the 6th, and, after a difficult paſſage, arrived at Gottenburgh the 15th (*mmm*). A few weeks after his departure, the Parliament having reſigned up their powers to the General Cromwell, he aſſumed the ſupreme legiſlative authority, under the title of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and publiſhed his inſtrument of government, contrived, as is ſuppoſed, principally by Mr Whitelocke [*W*]. This great alteration at home made no alteration in his conduct; but he proceeded vigorouſly in the affairs of his embaſſy, notwithſtanding he met with great obſtructions from that pedant Queen Chriſtina; who, in his audiences, inſtead of hearkening to his buſineſs, entertained him with her crude notions of philoſophy, and with her balls and diverſions (*nnn*). In other reſpects ſhe ſhewed him and his ſons great civilities; and created him Knight of the order of Amarantha, of which ſhe herſelf was Sovereign, and wore as the badge of it a rich jewel tied to a crimſon ribband under her left breaſt (*ooo*). And on account of this Knighthood it was, that we ſometimes find him called Sir Bulſtrode Whitelocke. Having overcome all difficulties, he concluded a firm alliance between England and Sweden, about the beginning of May 1654 (*ppp*), before Queen Chriſtina's imprudent reſignation of her crown. And immediately ſetting out upon his return home, he came to Hamburgh June 10th, embarked at Gluckſtadt the 17th, and after a dangerous paſſage, having ſtruck upon a ſand near Yarmouth, he arrived in England the 28th. On the 6th of July he gave the Protector and his council a circumſtantial account of his embaſſy (*qqq*). As he valued his intereſt and ſafety too much to quarrel with Cromwell, tho' he did not approve all his meaſures; therefore he ſubmitted to all his changes, and was not only continued the firſt Commiſſioner of the great Seal, but alſo appointed, Auguſt 4, one of the Commiſſioners of the Exchequer, with a ſalary of 1000 *l.* a year. He was alſo Recorder of Briſtol (*rrr*). At the meeting of the Protector's ſecond parliament, Auguſt 4, in which he was choſen for the counties of

(*iii*) Ibid. p. 552. 554.

(*kkk*) Ib. p. 555.

(*lll*) Ib. p. 562. 564.

(*mmm*) Ibid. p. 564, 565. 567. 569. 620.

(*nnn*) Wicquefort de l'Ambaſſadeur, &c. ed. 1682. 4to. part ii. p. 97.

(*ooo*) Memorials, p. 580. 582.

(*ppp*) Ibid. p. 589. 595.

(*qqq*) Ib. p. 593.

(*rrr*) Ib. p. 584. 597. 599.

[*V*] *The parliament was diſſolved in a rude and arbitrary manner by Ol Cromwell.*] He marched with a party of ſoldiers to the Houſe, and led a file of muſqueteers in with him; the reſt he placed at the door of the houſe, and in the lobby before it. In this manner entering the houſe, he in a furious manner bid the Speaker leave his chair, and told the houſe, 'That they had ſat long enough, unleſs they had done more good; that ſome of them were whoremaſters,' looking towards Henry Martin and Sir Peter Wentworth: 'that others of them were drunkards, and ſome corrupt and unjuſt men, and ſcandalous to the profeſſion of the goſpel, and that it was not fit they ſhould ſit as a parliament any longer, and deſired them to go away.'... Among all the parliament-men of whom many wore ſwords, and would ſometimes brag high, not one man offered to draw his ſword againſt Cromwell, or to make the leaſt reſiſtance againſt him; but all of them tamely departed the houſe. He bid one of his ſoldiers 'Take away that fool's bauble,' the mace; and ſtaid himſelf to ſee all the members out of the houſe, himſelf the laſt of them, and then cauſed the doors of the houſe to be ſhut up. 'Thus was this Great Parliament, which had done ſo great things, wholly at this time routed by thoſe whom they had ſet up, and that took their commiſſions and authority from them; nor could they in the leaſt juſtify any action they had done, or one drop of blood they had ſpilt, but by this authority. Yet now the ſervants roſe againſt their maſters, and moſt ingratefully and diſingenuouſly, as well as raſhly and imprudently, they diſſolved that power by which themſelves were created officers and ſoldiers; a[redacted] took what they deſigned, all power into their own hands (29).'

[*W*] *And publiſhed his Inſtrument of Government, contrived, as is ſuppoſed, principally by Mr Whitelocke.*] It was printed at the time in folio; and is inſerted in our author's Memorials (30). Many parts of it are well worthy the ſerious conſideration of more ſettled and better times. For inſtance, the number of burghs was abridged, and many of them were to ſend but one burgeſs; but the counties were to ſend ſeveral repreſentatives: as, 'For the county of Bedford, ſix; viz. For the town of Bedford, one. For the county of Bedford, five.——For the county of Berks, ſeven; viz. For the borough of Abingdon, one. For the borough of Reading, one. For the county of Berks, five.——For the county of Eſſex, ſixteen; viz. For the borough of Maldon, one. For the borough of Colcheſter, two. For the county of Eſſex, thirteen,' &c.

(29) Memori 554.

(30) p. 571.

Bucks, Oxford, and Bedford, he carried the purſe with the Great Seal before him; and on the 6th gave a particular narrative of his negotiations at the court of Sweden: for which he not only received the thanks of the Houſe, but had alſo 2000 l. ordered him for arrears of the expences of his embaſſy, and as a teſtimony of their favour and reward of his ſervices (*sss*), the payment of which, however, was not made good till Feb. 1656-7, with the addition of 500 l. He was ſo diligent in his attendance upon parliament, and gained ſo great an intereſt in it, that Oliver became highly diſpleaſed with him, among the reſt. And he grew jealous of him, with many of his former tools, ſuſpecting that their deſign at bottom was, to bring in the King; becauſe they declared for a truly free parliament, which was indeed the way for the King's reſtauration. And this, ſays he, began now to be held fit and requiſite by many ſober and faithful patriots, who were diſtaſted at Cromwell's private ambition and inſolent domineering (*ttt*). After the diſſolution of his Little Parliament, he and his council having framed an ordinance for the better regulating and limiting the juriſdiction of the high court of chancery, Mr Whitelocke and Sir Thomas Widdrington made ſhrewd obſervations upon its inconveniences, and declared that the obſervation of it was contrary to their own judgments and conſciences. Therefore, no worldly conſiderations could prevail upon him to execute an ordinance, which he looked upon as illegal (*uuu*). Accordingly, on the 6th of June, 1655, he reſigned the ſeal; for which he underwent various cenſures, but ſays, he never had cauſe to repent of that action. However, he obſerves, that his fortunes and intereſt then decreaſed; and now his former pretended dear friends and frequent viſitors withdrew themſelves, and began neither to own nor to know him: Such is the courſe of dirty worldlings! But the Protector, ſenſible of his harſh proceedings againſt him, for keeping to that liberty of conſcience, which he himſelf held to be every one's right, and that none ought to ſuffer for, by way of recompence made him one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, with a ſalary of 1000 l. per annum (*www*), as we have hinted above. He alſo often adviſed with him in his greateſt affairs, and he was faithful in his advice, though ſometimes leſs pleaſing to Cromwell than the counſel of ſome others, who for their private ends would flatter him, and ſeldom differ from him in judgment, whereof he grew at laſt ſenſible. Particularly, the Protector ſeldom omitted to conſult him about his foreign affairs, wherein he thought him not unſerviceable, and did much follow his counſel. Often did Mr Whitelocke preſs him to have frequent parliaments, though contrary to the ſentiments and perſuaſions of others: But ſo far was he from taking it ill, that he conſtituted him, on the 2d of November, one of his council of trade; and nominated him, in the beginning of the year 1656, one of his Embaſſadors-extraordinary to Sweden (*xxx*). Though Mr Whitelocke declined that employment [*X*], yet he accepted of the office of being one of the Commiſſioners to treat with the Swediſh Embaſſador then in England. And, after long negotiations, of which we have a detail in his Memorials (*yyy*), a treaty was ſigned July 17th, between the Engliſh and Swedes. In the third parliament of Oliver Cromwell, which met September 17th, Mr Whitelocke was elected one of the Knights for the county of Bucks; and ſupplied the place of Speaker during Sir Thomas Widdrington's illneſs (*zzz*). He did not chooſe to preſent to the parliament The Humble Petition and Advice, &c. there being ſome things in it diſagreeable to him; but he was Chairman of the Committee appointed to confer with Cromwell about it, and he adviſed him among others, to take the title of King. But Cromwell durſt not aſſume it; being awed by the ſollicitations of the commonwealth party, and the fears of a mutiny and defection from the greateſt part of the army, whoſe threats ran very high (*aaaa*). At his ſolemn inauguration in Weſtminſter-Hall, June 26th, 1657, Mr Whitelocke rode by his ſon Richard, in one of the boots of the ſtate-coach, with a drawn ſword in his hand (*bbbb*). He ſeemed ſtill to be much in favour with the Protector, who adviſed with him about the beſieging of Dunkirk, and other important affairs. And he perſuaded the Protector to further the relief of the poor perſecuted Proteſtants in Piedmont. December 11th he received his writ of ſummons as one of the Lords of the other houſe. When Cromwell was about diſſolving that parliament, he diſſuaded him from it, telling him the danger of frequent diſſolution of parliaments, and what ſtraits it would bring him into for money. But his advice was not received: Nor was his application ſucceſsful, when he aſked for the Provoſtſhip of Eton College, a thing of good value, quiet and honourable, and fit for a ſcholar: Upon which occaſion he obſerves, that his ſervice was paſt, and therefore no neceſſity of a recompence. So thinking himſelf neglected, and not being ſatisfied with the public tranſactions, he lived much retired (*cccc*). April 23, 1658, he was one of the Committee for hearing appeals from Guernſey and Jerſey. And, three days after, nominated one of the Commiſſioners for the trial of Dr Hewet, and other conſpirators; but he never acted in that high court of juſtice, it being againſt his judgment, as he had before declared. He alſo waved the place of Governor of Dunkirk, of which overtures were made to him ſoon after. The laſt inſtance of the Protector's favour to him, was his ſigning, Auguſt 21ſt,

(*sss*) Ibid. p. 599—604, 655.

(*ttt*) Ibid. p. 606. 620.

(*uuu*) Ibid. p. 620—626.

(*www*) Ibid. p. 626, 627.

(*xxx*) Ibid. p. 632. 633.

(*yyy*) p. 627—650.

(*zzz*) Ibid. p. 650.

(*aaaa*) Ibid. p. 656—662. See the Life of B. Whitelock, Eſq; p. 271—344.

(*bbbb*) Memorials, p. 662.

(*cccc*) Ibid. p. 665. 672, 673.

[*X*] *Though Mr Whitelocke declined that employment.*] His reaſons for ſo doing, take in his own words. 'I 'thought I had enough of danger and trouble in my 'former embaſſy, without the leaſt reward or acknowledgment of my ſervice therein; but inſtead thereof, 'and notwithſtanding the ſucceſs which God gave 'me, yet at my return home, I found neglects and 'ſlightings, and was removed from my place of 'Commiſſioner of the Seal, and was 500 l. out of 'purſe upon my accounts (31).'

(31) Memorials, p. 633.

a warrant

a warrant for a patent to make him a Viſcount, but Mr Whitelocke did not think it convenient to accept of that honour *(dddd)*. The 22d of January 1658-9, Richard, the new Protector, having a particular reſpect for him, made him one of the Keepers of the Great Seal, without any ſeeking of his own: and he was one of his Lords of the other houſe. The Protector conſulting him, with others, April 21ſt, whether it were not fit to diſſolve his Parliament; he [Mr Whitelocke] doubted the ſucceſs of it, and wiſhed they were permitted to ſit a little longer, eſpecially when they had begun to conſider of raiſing money, whereby they would engage the army. But the general council of officers having taken a reſolution to diſplace Richard, at that critical time Mr Whitelocke was wary what to adviſe in this matter, but declared his judgment honeſtly, and for the Protector's good, when his advice was required *(eeee)*. After the officers had aſſumed the government without a ſingle perſon, kingſhip, or houſe of peers, his office of Commiſſioner of the Great Seal ceaſed; but he was named one of the Council of State, May 13th. In thoſe diſtracted times, he was accuſed of holding a correſpondence with Sir Edward Hyde, and other friends and miniſters of Charles II. but he poſitively denied it, and deſired no favour if they could prove any ſuch thing againſt him; ſo the matter dropped. On the 5th of June he was named Commiſſioner, with Algernon Sydney and Sir Robert Honeywood, to go and mediate a peace between the Kings of Sweden and Denmark; but diſliking Sydney's haughtineſs and over-ruling temper, he got himſelf excuſed from that troubleſome buſineſs. Being Preſident of the Council of State, he was very active in taking meaſures to ſuppreſs the inſurrections of Sir George Booth, and others, about that time *(ffff)*. And joined in the votes for renouncing the pretended title of Charles Stuart, and the whole line of King James, and of every other perſon as a ſingle perſon pretending to the government of theſe nations. About this time he was promoting an union between the kingdoms of England and Scotland, for which he brought a bill into parliament the 30th of July. General Monk hearing, that the conduct of that union was left to Mr Whitelocke, he ſent him letters of high compliment, wherein he wiſhed he might ſee him in Scotland *(gggg)*. Happy would it have been for him if he had accepted of that invitation; as moſt probably a man of his good ſenſe would have joined the General in the King's reſtoration. But his ill fate kept him at home; where, October 22d, he was nominated one of the Committee of Ten, to conſider of fit ways to carry on the affairs of the government; and the 26th of the ſame month one of the twenty three members of the Committee of Safety, for the preſervation of the peace, and management of the preſent government, as alſo for the preparing of a form of government for theſe nations upon the foundation of a commonwealth: likewiſe, November 16, one of the Committee of Nineteen, to determine the qualifications of members of parliament. Moreover, the Great Seal was put again into his hands. And in theſe ſeveral capacities he acted, though with much doubtfulneſs and perplexity, and far from being ſatisfied with the juſtice and legality of his actions *(hhhh)* [*Y*]. General Monk, and many of his officers, having now declared for the remains of the Long Parliament, againſt the officers of the army in England, the Committee of Safety iſſued out commiſſions for raiſing new forces, and Mr Whitelocke accepted of one for a regiment of horſe: To counterbalance Monk's endeavours and proceedings, he and ſome of the principal officers repreſented, November 8, to the Lord Mayor and Common Council of London, that the bottom of his deſign was to bring in the King by a new civil war; the danger of which to the city and nation he repreſented; and adviſed them to provide for their own ſafety, and to unite for preſervation of the peace, and the ſafety of the whole nation. And when Lambert, deluded by Monk's pretenſions of peace, ſtopped the march of his forces northward, our author foreſeeing that Monk only ſought delays till he could bring up his army to London, wrote to Lambert, to advance ſpeedily with all his forces, and endeavour to attack Monk, and bring the matter to an iſſue, before he was better provided *(iiii)*: but his advice was not followed. The various tumults and inſurrections almoſt in every part of the nation now filled him with the utmoſt perplexity and diſtraction. He wiſhed himſelf well out of theſe daily hazards, but knew not how to diſentangle himſelf. At one time he much furthered the meeting of a new parliament; a proclamation for which came out the 15th of December. But being hurried with the repeated and certain advices, that Monk's deſign was to bring in the King without any terms for the Parliament-party, whereby all their lives and fortunes would be at the mercy of the King and his adherents, who were ſufficiently enraged, he went, December 22, to Fleetwood, and propoſed to him this alternative, Either to order all his forces to be drawn together, and himſelf and his friends to appear at the head of them, and ſee what ſtand they could make, or elſe immediately to ſend ſome truſty perſon to the King,

(dddd) Ibid. p. 673, 674.

(eeee) Ibid. p. 676, 677.

(ffff) Ibid. p. 678, 679, 680. —682.

(gggg) Ibid. p. 680, 683.

(hhhh) Ibid. p. 685—688.

(iiii) Ibid. p. 686. 688, 689.

[*Y*] *And far from being ſatisfied with the juſtice and legality of his actions.*] See his doubts and ſcruples upon this occaſion, in his Memorials (32). What ſurmounted them, and prevailed upon him to act, was, That there was no viſible authority or power for government at that time, but that of the army; that if ſome legal authority were not agreed upon and ſettled, the army would probably take it into their hands, and govern by the ſword, or ſet up ſome form prejudicial to the rights and liberties of the people, and for the particular advantage and intereſt of the ſoldiery more than would be convenient. That knowing the purpoſe of Vane and others to be, to leſſen the power of the laws, and ſo to change them, and the magiſtracy, miniſtry, and government of the nation, as might be of dangerous conſequence to the peace and rights of this country, therefore, to prevent that, and to keep things in a better order and form, he might be inſtrumental in this employment (33).

(32) p. 685—688.

(33) Memorials, p. 686.

with offers of his own and his friends ſervices for reſtoring the King to his right, and that upon ſuch terms as the King ſhould agree upon; and he offered to go himſelf. But Fleetwood refuſing to do it without Lambert's conſent, who was at too great a diſtance, this propoſal dropped. The next day, Colonel Ingoldſby, and others, intimated to him, That his condition required he ſhould go to the King with the Great Seal: which overture he did not however comply with. The Rump Parliament being aſſembled December 26, he found that he was to expect no quarter from them; Scot, Nevil, and others, having threatened to take away his life; and Scot in particular having ſaid, that he ſhould be hanged with the Great Seal about his neck, for having acted in the Committee of Safety; therefore he thought it ſafeſt not to appear in the Houſe. However, the Speaker having by letter required his attendance, and uſed alſo perſuaſions, he came to the Houſe for about two days. But obſerving that many of his old acquaintance looked very cool upon him, and being informed of a deſign of ſome in the Houſe to queſtion him, and have him ſent to the Tower, he thought fit to provide for his own ſafety by retiring privately to a friend's houſe in the country. Before that he left order with his wife to carry the Great Seal to the Speaker; which ſhe did, locked up in a deſk, and gave him the key. She alſo burnt many of his papers relating to public affairs (*kkkk*). Such was the concluſion of the Lord Commiſſioner Whitelocke's various actings on the buſy ſcene of this world. As he had for many years, through the ſeveral revolutions that happened, joined always with K. Charles's profeſt enemies, the beſt he could expect was to be left unmoleſted, out of the world's obſervation. Accordingly he ſpent the remaining fifteen years of his life in a peaceable retirement [Z], moſtly at Chilton-park in the county of Wilts. It is ſaid, that he waited upon the King after his reſtauration, to beg his pardon for all that he had tranſacted againſt him; and that his Majeſty bid him, Go live quietly in the country, and take care of his wife and one and thirty children (*llll*). But it is hardly credible that he had ſo many children, though he had two wives. The firſt was Frances, daughter of William Lord Willoughby, of Parham, by his lady, Frances, daughter of John Earl of Rutland: ſhe died May 16, 1649 (*mmmm*). His ſecond wife was Rebecca, daughter of Thomas Bennet, Alderman of London. He was undoubtedly a man of conſiderable learning; endowed with many valuable qualities; of a tolerating ſpirit; (*nnnn*) an enemy to perſecution and cruelty; bewailed in private, and abhorred the national troubles, and the inſolencies of the army (*oooo*). But he was of too eaſy a nature, and yielding a diſpoſition, for the boiſterous times he lived in. He had not the neceſſary reſolution, vigorouſly and effectually to oppoſe what his own words and profeſſions declare he did not like: and conſequently is not he ſelf-condemned? Laſtly, we cannot forbear obſerving that he always ſided with the ſtrongeſt, and where moſt was to be gained; and therefore he is aptly ſtyled by ſome modern writers, That Temporizing Stateſman (*pppp*). The favourable character given of him by Lord Clarendon is ſet down below [*AA*].

(*kkkk*) Ibid. p. 690—692.

(*llll*) Life, &c. as above, p. 362.

(*mmmm*) Memorials, p. 402. His ſon James was created a Baronet, 6 Jan. 1656-7.

(*nnnn*) See his Memorials, p. 226. 229, 230. 239. 284. 331.

(*oooo*) See his Memorials, p. 47. 60. 417. 446.

(*pppp*) Monthly Review for May 1760, p. 376.

[Z] *In a peaceable retirement.*] But he was in no ſmall danger at the Reſtoration, as appears by this extract from the Journals of the Houſe of Commons.—'14th June 1660. The humble Petition of Bulſtrode Whitelocke was read. The queſtion being propounded, that Bulſtrode Whitelocke, Eſq; ſhall be one of the twenty perſons to be excepted out of the act of general pardon and oblivion, for and in reſpect only of ſuch pains, penalties, and forfeitures, (not extending to life) as ſhall be thought fit to be inflicted on him by another act intended to be hereafter paſſed for that porpoſe: And the queſtion being put, the Noes were 175, the Yeas 134. And ſo the queſtion paſſed in the negative (34).'

[*AA*] *The favourable character given of him by Lord Clarendon, &c.*] 'Mr Geoffrey Palmer, afterwards Attorney-general, Mr John Maynard, and *Bulſtrode Whitelocke*; all men of eminent parts, and great learning out of their profeſſions; and in their profeſſions of ſignal reputation; and though the two laſt did afterwards bow their knees to Baal, and ſo ſwerved from their allegiance, it was with leſs rancour and malice than other men; they never led, but followed; and were rather carried away with the torrent, than ſwam with the ſtream; and failed through thoſe infirmities, which leſs than a general defection and a proſperous rebellion could never have diſcovered (35).' Queen Chriſtina told King Charles II. that in all the conferences ſhe had with Mr Whitelocke, ſhe never heard him ſpeak a diſhonourable word of his Majeſty (36). C

(34) Journals of the Houſe of Commons, p. 63.

(35) Life of Edw. Earl of Clarendon, 8vo edit. vol. I. p. 59, 60.

(36) Memorials, p. 629.

WHITGIFT [JOHN] Archbiſhop of Canterbury, was ſon of Henry Whitgift, Merchant of Great Grimſby in Lincolnſhire, by Anne Dynewell, a young gentlewoman of good birth and reputation in that town, where he was born in the year 1530 (*a*). He was deſcended of the ancient family of the Whitgifts of Whitgift in the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, ſome of whom had been conſiderable benefactors to the Church [*A*]. But his grandfather John Whitgift, Gent. having a numerous family, and placing his ſons out in different ways of life, one of them [Robert] was bred to the church, and became Abbot of the Monaſtery of Wellow (*b*) near Grimſby. In this ſituation, as he applied himſelf to inſtruct young gentlemen in the firſt rudiments of learning, he took his Nephew (the ſubject of our preſent article) under his care. Here our author early imbibed an ill opinion of the Romiſh Church from this uncle, who often declared in his hearing, "That they and their religion could not long continue; becauſe he had read the whole Scripture over and over, and could never find therein that it was founded by God, which conſequently," ſaid he,

(*a*) Sir George Paul's Life of Abp Whitgift, p. 2. Mr Francis Thynne tells us he was born in 1533. But this muſt be a miſtake, ſince our author himſelf declares in the year 1590, that he was 60 years old.

(*b*) A monaſtery of Black Canons of the order of St Auſtin.

[*A*] *Some of whom had been benefactors to the church.*] January the 2d, 1308, John Fitz-Adams de Whitgift gave and granted to John de Gilling, Abbot of the monaſtery of St Maries in York, and to the reſt of the convent for ever, *quinque toſta & quatuor bovatas terræ cum omnibus ſuis pertinentiis, in villa de Stamburne*, or Stainburn (1).

(1) Strype's Life of Archbp Whitgift, &c. in the Appendix, No. I. Edition 1718, folio.

" cannot ſtand, ſince theſe are our Saviour's words, *Every Plant that my heavenly Father hath not planted ſhall be rooted up**." In the mean time obſerving the towardly genius of his nephew, he adviſed his father to ſend him to St Anthony's ſchool (c) at London. For this purpoſe he was lodged in St Paul's Church Yard at his aunt's, who had married one of the vergers of that church (d). While he was here [B], his aunt often importuned him to go to maſs, and procured alſo ſome of the canons of St Paul's to perſuade him to it; but having already ſome reliſh of the doctrine of the reformation, he conſtantly withſtood all their endeavours. By this his conduct ſhe grew at length ſo much exaſperated, as to turn him out of doors, imputing all her loſſes and domeſtic misfortunes to her harbouring of ſuch an heretic (as ſhe called him) under her roof; and at parting told him, that " ſhe thought at firſt ſhe had received a ſaint into her " houſe, but now ſhe perceived he was a devil." Thus rudely treated by his aunt, he repaired home to his father in Lincolnſhire, where his uncle the Abbot finding upon examination that he had made a good progreſs in grammar learning, adviſed the ſending of him to the univerſity. Accordingly he was ſent to Cambridge in the year 1548, or 1549, and placed firſt in Queen's college; but not liking the diſpoſition of ſome there, he was removed ſoon after to Pembroke-Hall, and put under the tuition of the celebrated John Bradford, the martyr, who was then lately choſen Fellow (e) of that ſociety. He had not been long here before he was recommended by his tutor and Mr Grindall, then Fellow (afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury) to the Maſter, Nicholas Ridley (f); by which means he was made ſcholar of that houſe, and choſen Bible-clerk. Theſe advantages were the more acceptable to him, as his circumſtances were then but indifferent, by reaſon of his father's great loſſes at ſea (g). Mr Bradford leaving Cambridge in the year 1550, our author fell under the care of Mr Gregory Garth, who continued his tutor while he ſtaid at Pembroke-Hall, from whence he went out B. A. in 1553-4 (h). But in 1555 being unanimouſly elected Fellow of Peter-houſe [C], he was admitted there in that quality by Thirlby, Biſhop of Ely, the 31ſt of May the ſame year (i). He commenced Maſter of Arts in 1557 (k). About this time he had a ſevere fit of ſickneſs; and ſoon after his recovery happened the remarkable viſitation of this univerſity by the authority of Cardinal Pole, in order to purge out the hereticks. To avoid the ſtorm [D], our author's firſt reſolution was to go to Straſburgh, Frankfort, or ſomewhere in Helvetia; but Dr Perne, the Maſter of his college, though at that time a profeſſed Papiſt, yet having a great eſteem for him, undertook to ſkreen him from the Commiſſioners [E], which prevailed on him not to leave the univerſity. The Maſter's promiſe was faithfully performed; and notwithſtanding the ſeverity of that viſitation, he eſcaped without any inquiry, by the connivance of his friend, who being then Vicechancellor, and ſhewing himſelf active in the preſent tranſactions, was the leſs ſuſpected to favour any but thorough devotees of Rome (l). In 1560 our author entered into holy orders, and ſoon after preached his firſt ſermon at St Mary's before the univerſity, upon Rom. i. 16. *I am not aſhamed of the goſpel of Chriſt*, &c. with general and great approbation (m). The ſame year he was appointed Chaplain to Dr Richard Cox, Biſhop of Ely, who gave him the rectory of Teverſham in Cambridgeſhire (n). In 1563 he proceeded Bachelor of Divinity; and Matthew Hutton, then Fellow of Trinity college, being appointed Regius Profeſſor of Divinity, the ſame year, our author ſucceeded him in the Margaret profeſſorſhip. Soon after this he joined with his brother Profeſſor and ſeveral Heads of Colleges, in a petition to Sir William Cecil, their Chancellor, for an order to regulate the election of public officers*, the want of which created great diſturbance in the univerſity at that time (o). Two years after this he diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo eminently in the pulpit, that Sir Nicolas Bacon, then Lord Keeper, ſent for him to court to preach before the Queen, who heard him with great ſatisfaction (p), and gave

* Matth. xv. 13.

(c) This was an eminent ſchool at that time.—See Stow's Survey, p. 65.

(d) His name was Michael Sheller, her name Iſabel, the only daughter of his Grandfather. Strype's life of Archbp Whitgift, p. 3.

(e) See his article.

(f) Soon after Biſhop of London, and burned in Queen Mary's reign. See his Article in the Supplement.

(g) Paul's Life of Abp Whitgift, p. 6.

(h) He was appointed domeſtic chaplain to Bp Ridley. See his article.

(i) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 4.

(k) Reg. Univ. of Cambridge.

(l) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 5.

(m) Id. p. 6.

(n) Id. p. 7.

* Viz. the Vicechancellor, proctors, and taxers.

(o) Ibid. p. 8.

(p) Upon this occaſion her Majeſty deſcended to make a pun upon his name, ſaying, He had a white gift indeed. Paul, ubi ſupra, p. 8.

[B] *While he was here.*] As he bedded with another ſchool-boy, once coming hot and thirſty from ſchool, he drank ſome of his bedfellow's urine, thinking it to be beer, and yet he received no harm nor infection, notwithſtanding (as S. George Paul (2) relates) the boy had then the plague, and afterwards died of it.

[C] *Elected Fellow of Peter-houſe.*] He had not been here above two years, when he was ſeized with a ſevere fit of ſickneſs; upon which occaſion Dr Perne, Maſter of the College, having a great regard for him on account of his good parts, took care to have him carried to a houſe near the college, whither the Doctor came often to viſit him, and ſpoke to the woman of the houſe to let him want nothing, nor to ſpare any expence in providing every thing that was proper for him towards the recovery of his health; telling her, that if he lived, he would be able to defray the charge himſelf; and if in caſe of his death, aſſuring her, that he [the Doctor] would ſatisfy her and pay for every thing (3). The ſequel will ſhew our author's gratitude for this and the reſt of that gentleman's kindneſſes to him.

[D] *To avoid the ſtorm.*] Theſe Viſitors, in order to re-eſtabliſh Popery in the univerſity, made a ſtrict enquiry into the books of every ſtudent, and ſeizing ſuch as they judged heretical, burnt them in the market-place, together with the dead bodies of Bucer and Fagius, which were dug up for that purpoſe. Three days were ſpent in the ſearch, during which ſeveral ſuſpected members of the colleges were ſuſpended and reſtrained from taking pupils; ſome were deprived of all the privileges of voting, and orders were given for ſtopping the preferment of others (4), and particularly to oblige all ſuch as were qualified, to take the *firſt tonſure* [the firſt entrance into Popiſh orders]; and Mr Whitgift was one of theſe, being that year Maſter of Arts (5).

[E] *Having a great eſteem for him, undertook to ſkreen him from the Commiſſioners.*] The Doctor hearing of his purpoſe to go beyond ſea, talked with him, and finding him reſolute in his religion, for which (as that gentleman often afterwards acknowledged) he gave many good and ſound reaſons, the Doctor thereupon directed him to be ſilent, and not troubleſome in uttering his opinion, whereby others might take occaſion to call him in queſtion, and for his part he would wink at him, and ſo order the matter, that he might continue in his religion, without travelling out of the univerſity (6).

(2) In his life of this Archbiſhop, p. 3. edit. 1699. 8vo.

(3) Idem, p. 5.

(4) Annals of the Reformation, p. 456. and Cardinal Pole's article in this work, vol. V.

(5) Paul's Life, ubi ſupra.

(6) Idem, p. 5, 6.

orders preſently to have him ſworn her Chaplain (*q*). The ſame year, 1565, being informed that ſome ſtatutes were preparing above to enjoin an uniformity of habits, particularly to order the wearing of ſurplices in the univerſity, he promoted the writing of a joint letter privately to Cecil, earneſtly deſiring him to ſtop (if poſſible) the ſending down any ſuch orders, which it was perceived would be very unacceptable to the univerſity: but this addreſs was taken ſo ill at court, that our author was obliged afterwards to make an apology for his conduct therein. However, he grew into ſo great eſteem at Cambridge, as well under the character of a preacher as the reſtorer of order and diſcipline there, that the next year, June the 10th, the univerſity granted him a licence under their common ſeal, to preach throughout the realm (*r*); and on the 5th of July following, the ſalary of his profeſſorſhip was raiſed, out of reſpect to him, by that body, from twenty marks to twenty pounds (*s*) [*F*]. He had the year before been a conſiderable benefactor to his college [*G*]; where the next year, 1567, he held the Preſident's place, but was called thence, April the 21ſt, to Pembroke-Hall, being choſen Maſter there; and not long after he was likewiſe appointed Regius Profeſſor of Divinity. In both theſe preferments he ſucceeded a ſecond time his old friend Dr Hutton (now made Dean of York), and to the firſt had the ſame recommendation which had been given to his predeceſſor, viz. that of Dr Edmund Grindal [*H*], then Biſhop of London. But his continuance here was very ſhort; for in leſs than three months, upon the death of Dr Beauchamp, her Majeſty promoted him to the Maſterſhip of Trinity college. This place was procured for him chiefly by the intereſt of Sir W. Cecil, who, notwithſtanding ſome objections had been made to his age [*I*], got him ſworn into it the 4th of July. The ſame year the univerſity admitted him Inceptor for the degree of Doctor in Divinity; and being appointed likewiſe to keep the Commencement Act (*t*), he choſe for his theſis upon that occaſion, *Papa eſt ille Antichriſtus* (*u*); the Pope is the Antichriſt. May the 21ſt, this year, he was alſo deputed by a grace of the univerſity to go to Leiceſter, upon a com-

(*q*) Strype, p. 9.

(*r*) Theſe preachers have the privilege of holding rich livings with their fellowſhips, as were otherwiſe not conſiſtent with the college-ſtatutes.

(*s*) Strype, p. 8.

(*t*) *Magiſter Johannes Whitgift ad incipiend. in Theolog. in prex. comitiorum veſperis.*—Regiſt. Acad. Cantab. communicated to Strype by T. Baker.

(*u*) Paul, p. 6.

[*F*] *His ſalary of the Margaret profeſſorſhip was raiſed.*] He choſe the Revelations and the Epiſtle to the Hebrews for the ſubject of theſe Lectures, both which books he expounded throughout. Theſe Lectures were prepared by him for the preſs, and Sir George Paul (7) intimates, that there was ſome likelihood of their being publiſhed in his time; but, whatever was the reaſon, they have never yet appeared in print. Mr Strype (8) tells us, that he ſaw this manuſcript, of Dr Whitgift's own hand-writing, in the poſſeſſion of Dr William Payne, Miniſter of White-Chapel, London, which after his death was intended to be purchaſed by Dr John More, Biſhop of Ely. This manuſcript contained likewiſe his Theſis, when he kept his Act for Doctor of Divinity, viz. that the Pope is the Antichriſt, *Papa eſt ille Antichriſtus.*

[*G*] *A benefactor to Peter-houſe.*] In the Commemoration-book of Peter-houſe there is the following paragraph. *Reverendus Pater Dom. Joh. Whitgift Arch. Cant. & Socius hujus Collegii, dum adhuc erat Rector de Teverſham infra Cantabrigiam, una cum Margaretta Relicta Bartholomæi Fulnetby de eadem villa, dederunt nobis quatuor marcharum penſionem annuam exeuntem de manerio de Carles in Elexia, ad ſuſtentationem unius Bibliotiſtæ.* The Grant bears date Oct. 4. 1565. Eliz. 7. This Margaret Fulnetby was probably a relation of our author. Mr Strype, p. 3, takes notice of his being related to a family of that name. In the parlour at Peter-houſe there is a picture of Whitgift, with this diſtich under it:

Quod Paci Whitgifte faves ſtudiiſque priorum,
Dat tibi pacis amans CANDIDA DONA * *Deus.*

[*H*] *He had the recommendation of Dr Edmund Grindal.*] The Fellows had their eye upon him, and deſigned to chooſe him for Dr Hutton's ſucceſſor, without any ſuch recommendation; however, they were more confirmed in their purpoſe by this letter of Biſhop Grindal, who had been formerly their Maſter. In a letter to him, dated ſoon after the election, they write, that Whitgift became the more acceptable to them from the love and good-will of Grindal; expreſſing great ſatisfaction at the ſame time, that the Ridleys were not ſo rooted from among them, but that Grindal, one fibre of that root, ſtill remained; whence Hutton ſprung, under whom they recovered conſiderable ſtrength, and more ſo, when after him Whitgift aroſe, *whom alſo they wiſhed for above all others* (9).

[*I*] *Notwithſtanding ſome objections had been made to his youth.*] This appears by the following letter wrote by our author to Cecil upon this occaſion, in which is ſeen his Apology, mentioned in the text. ‘As oft as I do remember your ſingular goodneſs towards me, Right Honorable, and earneſt deſire to do me good, I cannot but laud and praiſe my merciful God, and give moſt humble and hearty thanks unto your Honour. For what or who am I; that you ſhould be ſo careful for me? Notwithſtanding, Right Honorable, I do not ſo much rejoice at your Honor his good will, as I in myſelf lament, that the ſame ſhould in any reſpect by miſreports be diminiſhed. It is not unknown unto me what is reported unto your Honor, while you intend in your meer and ſingular goodneſs to place me in Trinity college; the which how true they be God ſhall judge at that day, when all ſecrets ſhall be revealed. In the mean time, what harm they do me, and what grief they have fixed in my hart, God knows, and you know.

‘For God ſake, Right Honorable, let it be judged what I am by my doings, and not by the report of thoſe, who do not to me as they would themſelves be done unto. As touching my not conformitie (which is one thing layd againſt me) I dare be judged by my Lord of Canterbury his Grace, your Honor, or my Lord of London, or Maſter Dean of York †, who knoweth more of my mind in theſe matters than any man does beſides. I never encouraged any to withſtand the Queen's laws in that behalf, but I both have and do, by all means I may, ſeek to perſuade men to conform themſelves; for it grieves me, that any man ſhould ceaſe from preaching for the uſe of thoſe things, being of themſelves indifferent (10).

‘As for my age and diſcretion, muſt commit that to your Honor his judgment. God forbid I ſhould ambitiouſly ſeek *that*, that I am not meet for. If it ſhal pleſe God by your Honor his means to cal me unto that function, I truſt he will alſo give me the ſpirit of wiſdom and diſcretion to ſatisfie the ſame,

‘That preferment that I have, whatſoever it is, I have it by your Honor his means, and therefore I owe myſelf wholly unto you, but it is not ſo much as it is reported. The maſterſhip of Pembroke Hall is but 4 l. the year, and 18 d. in the week for Commons; my benefice is one of the leaſt in all the dioceſe. My lecture is the whole ſtay of my life. My depts are more than I ſhal ever, being in the ſtate I am, be able to diſcharge, and extreme neceſſity, not any prodigality, hath brought me into them. I beſeech your Honor pardon me for being ſo bold to trouble you. God hath moved you to love me, God hath hitherto by you provided for me; what it ſhal pleſe God to put in your mind to do for me, I beſeech you let no reports from doeing the ſame diſſuade you. I truſt, hitherto I have not ſo behaved myſelf, that your Honor doth repent you of any thing done for me; and I truſt the day ſhal never

‘come

(7) Ibid. p. 8.

(8) Ubi ſupra, p. 8.

* His name in Latin.

(9) Epiſtola Aul. Pembroch Dom. Grindallo MSS. De Cuſtod. Pembroch.

† Matthew Parker, Cecil, Grindal, and Hutton.

(10) In the private letter to Cecil, mentioned in the text, to prevent orders for wearing ſurplices, it was alledged, that ſuch an order would give danger of forcing ſeveral worthy perſons from the univerſity, and become an hindrance to the preaching of the goſpel, which began much to flouriſh there.

a complaint made by that town againſt their preacher [*K*]. December the 5th, 1568, the learned Dr Cox, Biſhop of Ely, gave him the third ſtall, then vacant, in that cathedral, which he held till he was raiſed to the Epiſcopate, but reſigned his place of Regius Profeſſor in November the year following (*w*). The ſame year, June the 29th, he drew up an elegant Latin letter to Cecil [*L*], which was ſigned likewiſe by the ſenior Fellows of his college, complaining of the number of ſcholars impoſed upon them from Weſtminſter School, and intreating him to interpoſe with the Queen to deliver them from that burthen. Soon after which, as Maſter of that ſociety, he obliged the readers to read their

(*w*) Strype, p. 12 and 15.

‘ come, wherein your Honor ſhal have cauſe to ſay, I would I had not done this for him.

‘ I beſeech God preſerve your Honor, and proſper you, and ſo move you for me as ſhal be moſt for his honor, and to the profit of his church. From Cambridge, 17 June 1567 (11).’

Mr Strype ſuppoſes, that the benefice mentioned in this letter was ſome ſmall thing which he had before Teverſham; but it appears by the Commemoration-book of Peter-houſe, mentioned in Remark [*G*], that he was in poſſeſſion of that rectory before he wrote this letter: whence I am apt to think that living had been leaſed out by his predeceſſors upon a ſmall reſerved rent, as was the practice of thoſe times; and for the reſt, it is not improbable that he gave his paternal eſtate to his brother William, when the Bible-clerk place was forced out of the rents of his eſtate at Curles. By a Viſitation-book of the county of Surrey, William was in poſſeſſion of an eſtate of the name of Curles, or Curleis, in the 7th of Elizabeth ‡; and the Archbiſhop himſelf declares in 1599, that his brothers were in poſſeſſion of all the eſtate he had before his advancement ‖.

[*K*] *He went to Leiceſter, upon a complaint made againſt their preacher.*] One Mr William Hughes of this univerſity, who had obtained to be Lady Margaret's preacher, became a preacher at Leiceſter, where his doctrine giving great offence, the inhabitants made a complaint to the univerſity, deſiring to be releaſed of him; whereupon a grace was granted to our author, May 31, 1567, that he ſhould be ſent to Leiceſter, about the ſcandal given by their preacher; *ut ibi ſcandalo occurrat per prædicatorem veſtrum dato*, are the words in the Univerſity-regiſter (12). One of this preacher's doctrines was a ſenſe of his own concerning the Article of Chriſt's deſcent into hell, which in the Synod of London 1562 had been left without the explication that went with it under King Edward VI.

[*L*] *He drew up an elegant Latin letter to Cecil.*] It was occaſioned by an election of three ſcholars at Weſtminſter ſchool, when there being only two places vacant at Trinity college, the ſociety, at the inſtigation of their maſter, refuſed to take any more. The ſcholar that was refuſed, laboured to obtain a pre-election, which had been uſual, but was now withſtood by the college, as againſt their ſtatutes. The ſcholar, not content with this plea, applied to Cecil, the chancellor of the univerſity, who ſent an order for his admiſſion, to which this letter is an anſwer, which we have thought proper to inſert, as it gives us a taſte of our author's Latin ſtyle (13). ‘ Accepimus tuas literas, Honoratiſſime Vir, quibus petis, ut de intromittendo in collegium noſtrum tertio quodam Weſtmonaſterienſi ſcholaſtico ad duos illos in ſuperiori electione acceptos rationem habeamus. Eſt gravis ſane tua ſemper apud nos & authoritas & voluntas, nec quicquam animis noſtris jucundius accidere ſolet, quam cum facultas utriq; ſatisficiendi commoda & opportuna conceditur. Ea autem quandoquidem hoc tempore variis & neceſſariis de cauſis nobis non ſuppetit, tuamq; æquiſſimam ad omnia mentem, & in bonas literas conſtantem amorem ſæpe ſumus experti, præterquam quod reſpondere tuis literis officii noſtri eſſe ducimus, novas etiam petitiones & eas ſupplices, totius nomine collegii in quo verſamur, afferre non dubitamus.

‘ Ac primum quod ad tertium locum attinet, in quem unum deſignari & admitti cupis, formâ profecto literarum Patentium, quæ ea de re Weſtmonaſterienſibus conceſſæ erant; aut omnino verba ipſa nullam ejuſmodi neceſſitatem nobis in electione ſcholarium imponunt; utcunq; enim illi commoda quæq; inde ſibi arripiunt, nobis certe duabus cautionibus, nec dubiis nec obſcuris, ibidem proviſum eſt, *Si tot Idonei reperiantur*. Aut *ſi tot loca vacare contigerit*, ſuperiore vero electione plane neminem in tertium locum co-optare potuimus; quia, alio eundem occupante, non patebat cuiq; aditus. Accedit etiam, quod licet tot loca vacua fuiſſent, & ea vel ſexcenti ad præfinitum tempus petiiſſent electionis, nos tamen, ut hac liberalitate in eos uteremur, nullum ſuperioris cujuſquam Præfecti exemplum, ab eo ſtatuto primum ſancito invitavit; ne Doctoris quodam *Billi*; qui ut illa electio inſtitueretur primus ſuaſiſſe, & ſumma contentione agiſſe dicitur. Cujus contra quoq; non deeſt exemplum, uno ſolo quandoq;, quem in noſtrum cætum inde aſciſceret, contenti.

‘ Atq; hæc noſtra eſt, quo minus tertium aliquem admitteremus, juſta defenſio. Cui opportunum videtur querelam graviſſimi etiam incommodi, quod ex tota illa electione jamdiu accepimus, neceſſariam adjungere. Ac nonniſi magno quidem cum dolore commemorare poſſumus, quàm ipſa optimarum artium ſtudiis apud nos inimica fuerit, & quam multorum progreſſioni ſpem omnem pæne præciderit. Sunt enim in collegio noſtro & fuerunt complures, optima indole, ſumma diligentia, laudata doctrina, adoleſcentes, quorum alii per tres annos hic commorantes, alii quoad gradum Baccalaureatus initiarentur, vel relinquere Academiam, premente eos inopia, coacti fuerint, vel ulterius in eadem degentes langueſcunt animis, & ſtudia remittunt deſperatione præmiorum. Quam nos certe bonarum literarum peſtem vere eſſe putamus; & eo magis lætalem, quod iidem illi adoleſcentes alios e ſchola grammatica recens egreſſos, nondum primis Academiæ diſciplinæ hauſtis incunabilis, nullo judicio, nulla ne mediocri quidem ſcientia præditos, ſibi præponi vident. Atqui optandum ſane eſſet, ut quemadmodum in ſtadio multis currentibus, certis tamen quibuſdam qui reliquos pedum velocitate ſuperant, victoriæ inſignia, ſeu præmia tribuuntur; ita eorum, qui in hoc literario curſu procul cæteros a tergo reliquerint, juſta foret & debita remuneratio. Sed ejus facultas vel cupientibus nobis hac externorum & plane indignorum introductione eripitur. Quod & perinde etiam uſu venit in eo, cujus ſtatutorum noſtrorum præſcripto valde ſolliciti eſſe debemus, ut ex alumnis noſtris collegii eos potiſſimum cæteris paribus deligamus, quos ex illis locis ubi nobis prædia & poſſeſſiones ſunt, profectos eſſe conſtiterit. Eorum enim nonnullis, qui & eximiæ ſpei, & non contemnendæ doctrinæ ſunt, & ſumma egeſtate laborant, nullum ſtipendium, quo ſubleventur, a collegio ſuppeditatum eſt, quandoquidem in alios parum idoneos erogare coactum, fontem ipſum liberalitatis, quem ad iſtos promanare æquum erat, exhauſtum.

‘ Ex quo duntaxat evenit, ut cum ejuſdem eſſet collegii dignitatis, doctiſſimorum, quoad licet, & probatiſſimorum multitudine abundare, eorum bonam partem inviti dimittamus, & ornamenta illa quibus illuſtretur, eidem non poſſimus pro arbitratu adjungere: quod noſtro quidem acerbiſſimo cum dolore recordamur, qui experientia edocti, plus etiam ſenſimus, quàm alii queunt in hac tota re cauſâq; ſuſpicari. Nos vero & ad iſtum dolorem alia moleſtia alieni temporis perturbat, quod quo tempore abeſſe academia nobis & precipue Præfecto valde incommodum eſt, in ipſis Comitiis intereſſe electioni apud Weſtmonaſterium ſemper aliqui tenemur.

‘ Quare eo rès redit ad extremum, ut hoc tanto detrimento jamdiu affecti, & majorem in poſterum verentes bonarum literarum imminutionem, ſupplices illud ab Honore tuo & obnixe petamus, ut pro ſolito in nos patrocinio tuo, & ſingulari benevolentia, qua collegium totum complexus es, cauſam noſtram apud ſereniſſimam Regiam Majeſtatem agas, ab eaq; precibus, ſi fieri poteſt, & gratia impetres, ut hoc prorſus externo onere, quo premimur, nos dignetur de reliquo liberare. Quod ſi feceris, & perpetuo quodam inſtituto tuo ad extremum uſq; de ſtudioſis bene meritus eſſe videberis, & nos ſeorſim multis nominibus tibi antea devinctos, aſtringes etiam, ſi modo fieri

‘ queat,

(11) From Strype's Appendix, No. iv.

‡ William had a ſon John, who was heir to the Archbiſhop, John had likewiſe a ſon John, whoſe ſon Aylmer Whitgift ſettled in Surrey in 1627.

‖ See Remark [*EEE*].

(12) As it was communicated to Mr Strype by T. Baker, of St John's college.

(13) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 14. and Appendix, b. i. No. 6.

their lectures in the time of the long vacation, according to the ſtrict letter of the College ſtatutes (*x*). He was this year alſo appointed by her Majeſty one of the Commiſſioners for viſiting King's College [*M*]. In 1570, having firſt applied to Cecyl for the purpoſe, he compiled a new body of ſtatutes for the univerſity, which were of great ſervice to that learned community [*N*]. This work he finiſhed in Auguſt, and the ſame month he was the principal agent in procuring an order from the Vice-chancellor and heads to prohibit Cartwright, who was now Margaret profeſſor (*y*), from reading any more lectures without ſome ſatisfaction given to them of his principles and opinions [*O*]. Our Author informed the Chancellor of this ſtep, and at the ſame time acquainted him with Cartwright's principles, and the conſequences of them, upon which he received the Chancellor's approbation of what had been done. Whereupon Cartwright being convened, and refuſing to renounce his principles, was deprived of his Profeſſorſhip; and as he gave out that his aſſertions were rather ſuppreſſed by authority, than refuted by reaſon, our Author took an effectual method to obviate that calumny. In the mean time, at the Chancellor's requeſt, he likewiſe wrote

(*x*) But the readers, upon an appeal, obtained a royal diſpenſation. Idem, p. 13.

(*y*) He held this place next after Dr Chadderton, who ſucceeded our author therein. Id. p. 11.

'queat, arctius. Deus te nobis Reiq; publicæ in 'ſummo ſplendore quam diutiſſime conſervet incolu'mem. Cantabrigiæ, 3 Calend. Julii 1569. E Col'legio SANTÆ ET INDIVIDUÆ TRINITATIS.

'Honori tuæ deditiſſimi,

'Johannes Whitgift, Nicolaus Browne,
'Nicolaus Shepherdus, Edmundus Chapman,
'Thomas Cartwright, Johannes Cooke,
'Gulielmus Bingham, Iſaac Baro.
'Robertus Weſt.'

'Clariſſimo & Honoratiſſimo
Viro D. Gulielmo Cecilio,
Regiæ Majeſtatis Secretario
& Patrono noſtro ſingulari.'

[*M*] *One of the Commiſſioners for viſiting King's college.*] This is a remarkable inſtance of the high credit our author was now in at court. The Fellows of King's college had before complained of their Provoſt (14) to the Viſitor Biſhop of Lincoln, who, upon hearing the cauſe, had made ſeveral injunctions to keep the Provoſt in his duty; but no regard being ſhewn to the Viſitor, the Fellows applied to the Queen, who appointed Dr Whitgift, together with the Biſhop of Ely, Dr May, and Ithel, the Biſhop of Ely's Chancellor, to ſettle this matter, who followed the Provoſt ſo cloſe, that he was obliged to fly from the college; upon which the Fellows choſe into his place Roger Goad, B. D. by the permiſſion of the commiſſioners, who having confirmed him Provoſt, proceeded with him to make a reformation there, and particularly removed all the Popiſh relicks, that had been carefully preſerved by Baker. The ſociety afterwards addreſſed a letter of thanks to the Queen, for giving them liberty to elect one of their own number; declaring that her Majeſty teſtified her good-will towards King's college to all the world in ſuch a manner, that they could not have hoped for a greater bleſſing from God; that when they felt themſelves oppreſſed, ſhe ſent them ſuch as took the burthen off them; when they were afflicted, ſhe ſent them ſuch as cheriſhed and refreſhed them; when they were ſick both in their head and members, ſhe ſent them ſuch as applied wholeſome medicines to both (15).

(14) Dr Baker, who, in diſlike of the reformation, had not only neglected to preach himſelf, but took no care to keep up the ſtudy of divinity, ſo that there was not above five fellows upon that line in the college, ch. 1. ct. 3.

(15) Idem, p. 16, 18.

[*N*] *A body of ſtatutes, which were of great ſervice to that learned community.*] Our author had lately acquainted Cecil, how needful it was theſe ſtatutes ſhould be reviewed and amended; as alſo that a ſupplement ſhould be added to them. Cecil having approved the matter, referred the conſideration thereof at his inſtance to the Vice-chancellor, and ſome of the graveſt of the Heads; who having finiſhed the work, Dr Whitgift ſent it to the Chancellor to peruſe, and propoſed to him to put it to the Archbiſhop [Parker] and ſome others well acquainted with the univerſity, to review what was drawn up by them, and ſo to report to him their judgment, in order to get them ratified by the crown *. In a deſcription of the foundation and privileges of the univerſity of Cambridge, ſuppoſed to be written by Dr Perne and Dr Caius, in 1572, mentioning Cecil Chancellor of the univerſity, it is expreſſed, that in his time both the number of ſound and good exerciſes were greatly encreaſed by his godly wiſdom and great authority, and that he had not only procured a very good and neceſſary reformation of the ſtatutes of the univerſity, made and examined with great advice, for the maintainance of learning and good order in all degrees within the ſaid univerſity, the which were made and eſtabliſhed by the Queen's authority under the great ſeal of England, and generally received by the whole univerſity; but alſo he had for this conſideration procured the enlarging and confirmation of the privileges of the ſaid univerſity by authority of parliament. But it ſeems the Puritans were not a little diſpleaſed with this ſtep, ſince the Heads were now furniſhed with greater power to keep them in order. Mr Edward Deering, ſome time Fellow of Chriſt's college, in a letter to Cecil, after having given characters diſparaging enough of the reſt of the heads ‖ concerned in theſe new ſtatutes, comes to Dr Whitgift, *who was a man*, he ſaid, *that he loved; and yet he was but a man that God had ſuffered to fall into great infirmities: ſo froward a man againſt Mr* CARTWRIGHT *and others, ſuch as betrayed a conſcience that was full of ſickneſs, that his faction ruled him, and not his learning, when he framed his cogitations to get more ſtatutes* (16).

* See the iſſue and concluſion of this affair in Strype's life of Archbiſhop Parker.

‖ Viz. Perne, Harvey, Hawford, Ithel, May, and Chadderton.

(16) Idem, chap. 3.

[*O*] *Prohibited Cartwright from reading any more lectures*, &c.] Dr Whitgift acquainted the Chancellor with this, in a letter, the ſame month, in which, becauſe the Chancellor ſeemed to him not ſo perfectly to underſtand Cartwight's principles, and the conſequences of them, he ſet them down in ſeveral particulars, that by the reading thereof (as he ſaid) it might appear how dangerous and deſtructive they were, both unto religion and the ſettled conſtitution of this Church. Cartwright had not yet publiſhed his notions in print, but our author, as Maſter of the College, having often convened him, and held ſeveral private conferences with him about them, could not be unacquainted therewith. Sir George Paul obſerves, that Cartwright's diſcontentment had its firſt riſe at a diſputation in the univerſity before Q. Elizabeth, when Mr Preſton, then of King's Coll. (but afterwards Maſter of Trinity-hall) for his comely geſture and pleaſing pronunciation, was both liked and rewarded by her Majeſty, while he was paſſed untaken notice of †. That preſently after this neglect, he began to kick againſt the diſcipline and her government in the Church; and going in this humour to Geneva, he grew confirmed and confident in theſe principles, which upon his return he preached up in the univerſity, and drew a great number of followers to him; inſomuch that upon a Sunday Dr Whitgift being from home, Cartwright, with ſome of his adherents, preached three times in the college chapel on that day, and inveighing with extraordinary vehemence particularly againſt the ſurplice, they moved their audience ſo much, that at evening prayer all the congregation was placed in the chapel without ſurplices, three only excepted *. Wherever after Mr Cartwright and his accomplices had broached their doctrine, Dr Whitgift would always the Sunday following in the ſame church anſwer and confute their opinions; yet all this time the Doctor uſed no forcible means againſt them, only private conferences and admonitions (17), but, on the other hand, frequently offered to diſpute with him, and that even upon his own terms; and the ſame is alſo atteſted by an Inſtrument, which at our author's inſtance, upon the miſreport of Cartwright, was ſigned by the chief heads, dated March the 18th 1570, as follows. 'Whereas 'it is reported that Maſter Cartwright offering diſpu'tations and conference touching the aſſertions ut'tered by him, and ſubſcribed with his hand, and 'that he could not obtain his requeſt therein; this is 'to teſtify, that in the preſence of us here underwritten,

† Cartwright was unhewn and aukward both in his perſon and manners.

* Doctor Legge, Mr Weſt, and the Chaplain.

(17) Paul's life, &c. p. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

wrote a confutation of ſome of the chief of thoſe principles, and ſent them to Archbiſhop Parker, in a letter dated December 29th, with an intention to publiſh them, but was prevented (z). In 1671 he ſerved the office of Vice-chancellor. The ſame year an order was made by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, that all thoſe who had obtained faculties to preach, ſhould ſurrender them before the 3d of Auguſt; and that upon their ſubſcription to the Thirty-nine Articles, and other conſtitutions and ordinances agreed upon, new licences ſhould be granted. This being ſignified to the univerſity, and an order ſent, requiring them to call in all the faculties granted before, our author in purſuance thereof ſurrendered his former licence, obtained in 1566, and had another granted him Sept. 17, 1571, wherein he was likewiſe conſtituted one of the Univerſity-Preachers (aa). June the 19th, in conſequence of the Queen's nomination, he was elected Dean of Lincoln, into which dignity he was inſtalled Auguſt the 2d following (bb). October the 31ſt, he obtained a diſpenſation from the Archbiſhop, impowering him, together with this Deanery, his Prebend of Ely, and Rectory of Teverſham (beſides the Maſterſhip of Trinity College) to hold any other benefice (cc) whatſoever [*P*]. Towards the end of the ſame year he preached the Latin ſermon (dd) at the meeting of the Convocation, being then Proctor for the Clergy and Chapter of Ely. May the 14th, the next year, he was preſented to the lower Houſe for their Prolocutor and choſen. In Auguſt the ſame year, he reſigned the rectory of Teverſham (ee). He was now, by particular appointment from the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, writing his anſwer to the *Admonition* (ff) [*Q*], which requiring more eaſe of mind and leiſure hours than the execution of his office as Maſter of Trinity College (where he met with much trouble and oppoſition) ſeemed to allow of, he even deſired to leave the Univerſity. However, the Heads applied to the Chancellor in a letter dated September the 28th, to prevent it. He had a little before, in the ſame month this year, expelled Cartwright from his Fellowſhip, for not taking orders in due time, according to the ſtatute of the college [*R*]. November the 2d, by the appointment of the Biſhop of London, he preached at Paul's croſs; and before the expiration of the

‘ ten, and in our hearing, the ſaid Maſter Cartwright
‘ was offered conference of divers, and namely of M.
‘ Dr Whitgift, who offered, that if the ſaid Maſter
‘ Cartwright would ſet down his aſſertions in writing,
‘ and his reaſons to them, he would anſwer the ſame
‘ in writing alſo; the which Maſter Cartwright re-
‘ fuſed to do. Farther, the ſaid Dr Whitgift, at ſuch
‘ time as Maſter Cartwright was deprived of his lec-
‘ ture, did in our preſence aſk the ſaid Maſter Cart-
‘ wright, whether he had both publicly and pri-
‘ vately divers times offered the ſame conference
‘ unto him, or not? To which Maſter Cartwright an-
‘ ſwered, that he had been ſo offered, and that he
‘ refuſed the ſame. Moreover, the ſaid Maſter Cart-
‘ wright did never offer any diſputation, but upon
‘ theſe conditions, viz. That he might know who
‘ ſhould be his adverſaries, and who ſhould be his
‘ judges, meaning ſuch judges as he himſelf could beſt
‘ like of. Neither was this kind of diſputation denied
‘ unto him, but only he was required to obtain licence
‘ of the Queen's Majeſty, or the Counſel, becauſe his
‘ aſſertions be repugnant to the ſtate of the common-
‘ wealth, which may not be called into queſtion by
‘ public diſputation, without licence of the Prince or
‘ her Highneſs's Counſel. *John Whitgift*, Vicechan.
‘ *Andrew Perne*, *John Mey*, *Edward Hawford*, *William*
‘ *Chadderton*, *Henry Hervey*, *Thomas Ithell*, *Thomas*
‘ *Bing*.

Et ego Mathæus Stokis, Sarum Dioceſ. in Artibus Magiſter, publicus authoritate legitima Notarius quia Interfui deprivationi dicti Cartwright, factæ undecimo die Decembris, anno 1570. *& tunc & ibidem audivi Doctorem Whitgift interrogantem eum* [*Cartwright*] *de præmiſſis allegatis, & M. Cartwright eadem confitentem. Ideo in fidem & teſtimonium præmiſſorum nomen meum requiſitus ſuperſcripſi Anno Domini* 1570 (18).

[*P*] *He obtained a diſpenſation of the Archbiſhop to hold any other benefice whatever.*] Our author, as ſoon as it lay in his power, expreſſed his gratitude to the Archbiſhop [Parker] by ſeevral kindneſſes conferred upon his ſon, to whom he firſt granted the parſonage of Reculver and rectory of Hoath in 1587, and the following year appointed him ſteward of his houſhold, and gave him the leaſe of the manor of Broughton, without taking any fine at all (19).

[*Q*] *He was now writing his anſwer to the Admonition.*] One Thomas Norton, a learned clergyman, had taken ſome pains to diſſuade our author from this undertaking. Not that Norton approved of Cartwright's book; but he doubted it ſeems whether an anſwer might not do more harm than good, by widening the difference, rather than edifying the church; and concluding that Whitgift had in this deſign preferment in his eye, he ſignified to him that in *that* view it was even a dangerous attempt, and that he might even be diſappointed thereby of what hopes he now had, in point of policy he adviſed him to deſiſt. (20) But he afterwards changed his mind, being convinced of his miſjudgment by Whitgift, whoſe reaſons for anſwering the Admonition were, 1. Becauſe that book defaceth the whole ſtate of religion, the whole order of ſervice, the whole miniſtry, the whole kind of government uſed and allowed in the Church of England, which I think, ſays he, no ſound Proteſtant or favourer of the ſtate can willingly ſuffer. 2. Becauſe the Anabaptiſts in Germany are herein followed. 3. Becauſe the books are in every man's hand, and by many thought unanſwerable. 4. It is every man's part to ſuppreſs errors. 5. Becauſe I myſelf am particularly ſlandered, that I refuſed conference, which indeed I have ſundry times offered (21). Norton was afterwards fully convinced, as he wrote to Archbiſhop Parker, You know that I have offered you divers times this kind of conference, though not in this public manner.

[*R*] *He expelled Cartwright for not taking orders according to the college-ſtatutes.*] He upon this occaſion addreſſed a letter to the Archbiſhop, in the following terms. ‘ My duty moſt humbly unto your Grace re-
‘ membred—I am conſtrained ſooner to trouble you,
‘ than I had purpoſed. So it is, that I have pro-
‘ nounced Mr Cartwright to be no Fellow here;
‘ Becauſe, contrary both to the expreſs words of his
‘ oath, and plain ſtatutes of this college, he hath
‘ continued here above his time, not being full mini-
‘ ſter*, which truly I did not know until now of
‘ late; for if I had known it before, I might have
‘ eaſed myſelf of much trouble, and the college of
‘ great contention. Hitherto, I thank God, it hath
‘ been a quiet college as any was in Cambridge; now
‘ it is clean contrary, marvellous troubleſom and
‘ contentious: which I can aſcribe to no cauſe, ſo
‘ much as to Maſter Cartwright's preſence here. I
‘ doubt he will make ſome friends in the court to
‘ maintain him, yea though it be againſt the ſtatutes;
‘ and I have ſome underſtanding that he goeth about
‘ the ſame.

‘ I beſeech your Grace, let me have your aſſiſtance,
‘ either by your letters to my Lord Burleigh or my
‘ Lord of Leiceſter, or both, or by any other means
‘ you think beſt. Their whole purpoſe is to make
‘ me weary, becauſe they take me to be an enemy to
‘ their factiouſneſs and lewd liberty. If they may
‘ triumph over me once, peradventure the ſtate here
‘ will be intolerable; but I doubt not of your Grace's
‘ full aſſiſtance. Maſter Cartwright is flatly perjured;
‘ and

(z) Apparently by the publication of Cartwright's ‘ Admonition to ‘ the parliament,’ which came out the ſame year, the ſubſtance of thoſe articles being contained in our author's anſwer to that book.

(aa) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 22.

(bb) In Collect. Featly M. S. p. 336. are found theſe words.—‘ June 19, 1571. ‘ Johan. Whitgift S. T. P. ‘ virtute literarum reginæ ‘ electus in Decan. & inſtallat. Aug. 2, 1571.

(cc) ‘ Facultas ‘ conceſſa Joh. ‘ Whitgift 31 ‘ Octob. 1571. ‘ ut cum Decan. ‘ Lincoln. Prebend. Elienſ. ‘ (unâ cum cuſtodia Coll. S. ‘ Trin. Cantab.) ‘ quodcunque ‘ aliud beneficium teneat.’ Regiſt. Matthæi Archiepiſcopi Cantuar.

(dd) His text was *Convenerunt apoſtoli & ſeniores videre de verbo hoc.* Acts xv. Extract. Convoc. a Franciſco Atterbury, D. D.

(ee) Auguſt the 8th the Biſhop of Ely collated Roger Kelk, S. T. P. upon Whitgift's reſignation.—Regiſt. Elienſ.

(ff) It was compoſed in the midſt of the heats about wearing the univerſity-habits.

(18) Regiſt. Univ. Cantab. and the whole judicial proceedings by the heads may be read in Strype's Appendix, No. 9.

(19) Strype, ubi ſupra.

(20) See Norton's whole letter in Strype's life of Archbiſhop Parker.

(21) Strype, ch. 6.

* He was only in Deacon's orders.

the year came out his anſwer to the *Admonition* [S]. To this a reply being publiſhed by Mr. Cartwright the next year 1573, our Author wrote his defence the ſame year ‡. March

‡ In the title-page it is ſet down 1574. But that was according to the printer's account of the year.

'and I am thoroughly perſuaded, that it is God's judgment that he ſhould for not being miniſter be ſo puniſhed, which hath ſo greatly defaced the miniſtry (22),' [God ſo often diſpoſing, that the ſin is viſible in the puniſhment.]

(22) Chap. 5.

[S] *He publiſhed his Anſwer to the Admonition.*] As Archbiſhop Parker was the chief perſon that ſet Whitgift about this work, ſo he gave him conſiderable aſſiſtance therein*; and the ſeveral parts of the copy as it was finiſhed were ſent to him to reviſe; and Cooper, Biſhop of Lincoln, another of the moſt learned biſhops of that time‖, together with other biſhops and learned men, were conſulted with. For, in September 1572, the Doctor having made an end of his confutation, as ſoon as he had written out fair the firſt part of it, he ſent it to the Biſhop of Ely [Dr Cox], Dr Perne [Dean of Ely], and ſome other learned men, for them to peruſe; and then afterwards, for the laſt peruſal of it, it was by him ſent to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, accompanied with a letter, dated from Trinity college, September the 21ſt; and ſhortly after having deſcribed the ſecond part, which the Biſhop of Lincoln had read over, he ſent that alſo to the Archbiſhop, with a letter, bearing date October the 21ſt, from Ely, deſiring his Grace to peruſe it, and to correct it as ſhould ſeem good to him; he likewiſe deſired to be directed by the Archbiſhop to whom he ſhould dedicate it, whether to the Queen or Parliament, as Cartwright had done, or any other; and laſtly he prayed his Grace, that the printer might be charged not to give a copy of it, or a ſheet thereof, till all were printed. In this letter he acquainted the Archbiſhop, that he had an Epiſtle of Mr Gualter (the learned divine of Zurich) written of late to the Biſhop of Ely (a copy whereof he ſent him incloſed), which would be, he ſaid, a very fit anſwer for the Epiſtle of the ſame eminent foreigner ſet at the end of the admonition by the compilers thereof, as favouring their cauſe. He did not know the Biſhop of Ely's pleaſure, whether he would have it printed; but he told his Lordſhip the Archbiſhop, that he would reſort unto his Lordſhip of Ely for the ſame (23). It appears that he had that Biſhop's leave, this letter being publiſhed in Latin and Engliſh at the end of his book, with this preface: And foraſmuch as the authors of the Admonition, for their better credit, had ſet down in print the Epiſtles of Mr Beza and Mr Gualter, ſo he thought good to ſet down an Epiſtle of Mr Gualter, revoking the ſame upon better information; as alſo another of Mr Bullinger, chief miniſter of Zurich, concerning the ſame ſubject (24). So that (as Mr Strype obſerves) in this book, taking in his defence printed a year or two after, may be ſeen all the arguments and policy uſed in thoſe times for laying Epiſcopacy and the Liturgy aſide, and all the exceptions to them drawn up to the beſt advantage; and herein alſo are ſubjoined a full and particular anſwer and refutation of the one, and vindication of the other; together with the *favourable* ſenſe of the learned men abroad, as Peter Martyr, Bucer, Zuinglius, Bullinger, Calvin, Gualter, expreſſed in their letters, or other writings of theirs, and their approbation of this Church's frame and diſcipline, and the government of it by Biſhops. Mr Strype was of opinion, that this book may be juſtly eſteemed and applied to as one of the public books of the Church of England concerning her profeſſion and principles, and as being of the like authority in reſpect to its worſhip and government, in oppoſition to the diſciplinarians, as Biſhop Jewel's Apology and Defence in reſpect of the reformation (25) and doctrine of it, in oppoſition to the Papiſts (26). It was firſt printed in quarto, and reprinted the year following, with this title: *An Anſwer to a certain libel, intitled,* An Admonition to the Parliament, *by John Whitgift, D. of Divinity, newlie augmented by the Authour, as by Conference ſhall appear.* Imprinted at London by Henrie Bynneman, for Humfrey Toy. Anno 1573.—It is dedicated to his Loving Nurſe, the Chriſtian Church of England. It contains the following heads. 1. Whether Chriſt forbid rule and ſuperiority in his miniſters. 2. Of the authority of the church in things indifferent; that ſome things may be tolerated in the church concerning order, ceremonies, diſcipline, and the kind of government, not expreſſed in the word of God. Under this head he obſerves, that the aſſertion which is the chief and principal grounde of the *Admonition*, is, that thoſe things only are to be placed in the church, which the Lord himſelf in his worde commandeth; as though they ſhould ſay, nothing is to be tolerated in the church of Chriſt touching either doctrine, order, ceremonies, diſcipline, or government, except it be expreſſed in the word of God. And therefore the moſt of their arguments in this book be taken *ab authoritate ſcripturæ negative*, which by the rules of logique prove nothing at all. It is moſt true, that nothing ought to be tollerated in the churche as neceſſarie unto ſalvation, or as any article of faith, except it be expreſly conteyned in the word of God, or may manifeſtlie thereof be gathered; and therefore we utterlie condemne and reject tranſubſtantiation, the ſacrifice of the maſſe, the authority of the Biſhop of Rome, worſhipping of images, &c. And in this caſe an argument taken *ab authoritate ſcripturæ negative* is moſt ſtrong. As for example, it is not to be found in ſcripture, that the Biſhop of Rome ought to be the head of the church; and therefore it is not neceſſarie unto ſalvation to beleeve that he oughte to be the head of the church. Again, it is alſo true, that nothing in ceremonies, order, diſcipline, or government in the church is to be ſuffered, beeinge againſt the word of God; and therefore we reject all ceremonies wherein there is any opinion to ſalvation, worſhipping of God, or merit; as creeping to the croſſe, holy bread, holy water, holy candle, &c. But that no ceremonie, order, diſcipline, or kind of governmente may be in the church, except the ſame be expreſſed in the word of God, is a greate abſurditie, and breedethe many inconveniences. The ſcripture hath not preſcribed any place or tyme, wherein or when the Lord's ſupper ſhould be celebrated, neyther yet in what manner. The ſcripture hath not appointed what tyme or where the congregation ſhall meet for common prayer, and for the hearing of the word of God, neyther yet any diſcipline for the correcting of ſuch as ſhall contemne the ſame*. 3. Of the election of miniſters, and of the trial of miniſters both in learning and controverſy. 4. Of miniſters having no paſtoral charge, and of ceremonies uſed in ordaining miniſters; of apoſtles, evangeliſts, prophets. 5. Of the reſidence of paſtors. In this tract there is a chapter of pluralities. 6. Of miniſters that cannot preach, and of giving licences to preach. 7. Of the apparel of miniſters; and the cauſes why ſome refuſed the apparel examined. 8. Of archbiſhops, archdeacons, &c. 9. Of the Communion-book; the general faults examined, wherewith the public ſervice was charged by T. C. In this tract is likewiſe an examination of the particular objected faults, either in matter or form, wherewith the book of Common-prayer was charged. 10. Of holydays and of holyday-eves, that they may be appointed by the church, and the uſe of them. 11. What kind of preaching is moſt effectual. 12. Of preaching before the adminiſtration of the ſacrament. 13. Of reading the ſcripture; and a compariſon between reading and preaching. 14. Of miniſtring and preaching by deacons. 15. Of matters touching the communion; of the orders and ceremonies uſed in the celebration of the communion; of ſhutting men from the communion, and of compelling to communicate. 16. Of matters touching baptiſm; of interrogatories miniſtred to infants; of godfathers, and their promiſes; and of the ſigns of croſſing in baptiſm, and of the parties that are to be baptized. 17. Of the ſignory, or government of ſeniors; whether there were ſuch as the *Admonition* called ſeniors in every congregation; whether the government by ſeniors ought to be perpetual. 18. Of certain matters concerning diſcipline in the church; of excommunication, and in whom the execution thereof does conſiſt; of biſhops courts, and their officers. 19. Of deacons and widows. 20. Of the authority of the civil magiſtrate in eccleſiaſtical matters. 21. Of ſubſcribing to the Communion-book; certain general faults wherewith the book is charged by the Admoniſhers; of reading of homilies and the Apocrypha in the church; of the name Prieſt given to the miniſters of the goſpel; matters concerning the ſolemnization of marriage; of confirmation of children; of burials, and matters thereunto appertaining; and other particular matters for which they refuſe to ſubſcribe to the book. 22. Of cathedral churches. 23. Of civil offices in eccleſiaſtical perſons; a trial of the

* His Grace was very contumeliouſly treated in the *Admonition*, and called Petty Pope, &c.

‖ See his article.

(23) Appendix, No. 71. in Strype's life of Archbiſhop Parker.

(24) By the method the whole Admonition is inſerted by paragraphs, and then follows our author's anſwer.

(25) Biſhop Jewel communicated to our author a paper in defence of the power and juriſdiction of Archbiſhops; a tranſcript of which is inſerted in Strype's Appendix, No. 10. It is entitled, *Novitiorum Aſſertio Archiepiſcoporum & Archidiaconorum nomina ſimul cum muneribus & officiis ſuis ſunt abolenda.*

(26) Strype's life of Whitgift, ch. 7.

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[*T*]. March the 26th, 1574, he preached before the Queen at Greenwich, upon the controverſies of the Puritans, and the ſermon was printed with this title, *Teſtamini veritatem in charitate* (gg). This year he bore the office of Vice-chancellor a ſecond time, having, before his election, carried a petition from the former Vice-chancellor, Dr Perne,

the places alledged by the *Admonition* againſt ſuch civil offices as are exerciſed by eccleſiaſtical perſons in the realm. In the Admonition it was aſſerted, that the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, as it then ſtood, had neither a right miniſtry of God, nor a right government of the church, and that this preſcript form of ſervice in the church maintained an unlawful miniſtry, and the book for ordaining deacons and miniſters was here ſtiled the Pontifical; affirming that we were ſcarce come to the outward face of a church; that although ſome truths were taught by ſome preachers, yet no preacher might, without great danger of the law, utter all truth comprized in the book, it was ſo circumſcribed and wrapt up within the compaſs of ſome ſtatutes, ſuch penalties, ſuch injunctions, ſuch advertiſements, and ſuch articles; ſuch ſober caveats, and ſuch manifold pamphlets, that in a manner it did but peep out from behind the ſcreen. That there were intolerable abuſes in the communion-book. That the ſacraments were wicked, mangled, and profaned. That the word of God was negligently, fantaſtically, profanely, and heathenly preached, and the ſacraments wickedly miniſtred. In what ſtrain the whole *Admonition* ran, may be ſeen by the Preface, which begins thus: ‘Two treatiſes ye have here inſuing (beloved in Chriſt) which ye muſt reade without partialitie or blind affection; for otherwiſe, you ſhall neither ſee their meaning, nor refrain yourſelves from raſh condemning them without juſt cauſe. For there are certaine men of great countenance, which will not lightly like of them, becauſe they principally concerne their perſons and unjuſt dealings, whoſe credite is great, and their friends are many. We mean the lordly lords archbiſhops, biſhops, ſuffraganes, deans, doctors, archdeacons, and chancellours, and the reſt of that proude generation, whoſe kingdom muſt down, holde they never ſo harde, becauſe their tyrannous lordſhippe cannot ſtand with Chriſt's kingdom. And it is the ſpecial miſchief of our Engliſhe church, and the chief cauſe of backwardneſs, and of all breach and diſſention. For they whoſe authoritie is forbidden by Chriſt, will have their ſtroke upon their fellow-ſervants; yea tho' ungratiouſly, cruelly, and pope-like, they took upon them to beate them, and that for their own childiſh articles, being for the moſt part againſt the manifeſt truthe of God. Firſt, by experience, their rigour hathe too playnely appeared ever ſince their wicked raigne, and ſpecially for the ſpace of theſe five or ſix yeres laſt paſt together. And that of the enormities which with ſuch rigoure they mayteyned, theſe treatiſes did in part make mention, juſtly craving redreſſe thereof.’ In another place of the book, in the ſecond *Admonition*, ſpeaking of the Biſhops, is this paſſage. ‘Take them for better who ſhall, they are no other but a remnant of antichriſt's brood, and God amend or forgive them; for elſe they bid battel to Chriſt and his church; and it muſt bid defiance to them till they yield. And I proteſt before the eternal God, I take them ſo, and thereafter will uſe myſelf in my vocation; and many more too, no doubt, which be careful of God, his glory, and the churche's liberty, will uſe themſelves againſt them as the profeſſed enemies of Chriſt.’— In anſwer to this, our author in his preface writes thus: ‘Theſe two treatiſes contayned in this admonition, as they be voyde of ſound learning, ſo are they full of blinde affection, and ſtuffed with uncharitable and unchriſtian termes and phraſes. Wherefore it is to be feared, that they proceede not of love, but of hatred; not of zeal, but of malice; not of humilitie, but of arrogancie; not of mindes deſirous to reforme, but of ſtomaches ſeeking to deforme, and confounde that which is in due forme and order by lawfull authoritie eſtabliſhed. For what charitable, zealous, and humble ſpirite would ſo ſpitefully and ſlaunderouſlie ſpeake of their brethren, whoſe doctrine is pure, whoſe zeal is fervent, whoſe ſuffering for the goſpell hath beene in time of triall comparable with any man's that now liveth; who have alſoe paynefully taught the worde of God in this realme, and do at this day; and by whoſe miniſtrie the goſpell hath taken roote, and is come to that encreaſe, that nowe (God be thanked) appeareth. Surely theſe opprobrious terms, *proud generation, tyrannous lordſhippes, ungratious, cruell, pope-like, wicked raigne, proud enemies*, &c. applied to brethren, proceede not from the humble and milde ſpirite of God, but from the proude and arrogante ſpirite of Sathan. Therefore by this unſeemelie preface, it may appeare from what ſpirite the reſt of this *Admonition* ſpringeth.’ He concludes therefore with exhorting the civil magiſtrate to take care of theſe ſectaries, from the example of the Anabaptiſts of late in Germany, and from the Donatiſts of old. He tells them, it was time to awake out of ſleep, and to draw the ſword of diſcipline; to provide that laws made for uniformity, as well of doctrine as ceremonies, might be obſerved, boldly to defend the religion and kind of government in this kingdom eſtabliſhed; or elſe, if they could, to reform and better the ſame. For it could not be, but that this freedom given to men to obey and diſobey what they liſted, and where they liſted, to preach what opinions and doctrines they liſted, muſt in the end burſt out in ſome ſtrange and dangerous effect. As the *Admonition* was printed in two parts, a particular reaſon was given for the writing of the ſecond part, viz. That it was a petition to the parliament (that ſat 1572) upon the ſubſcription to the articles required by the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, authorized by the parliament; and for non-ſubſcription to loſe their places and livings; and ſome, beſides the loſs of their livings, were complained to be unbrotherly and uncharitably treated. On this reaſon the petition run, that it might therefore pleaſe that honourable and high court of parliament, in conſideration of the premiſſes, to take a view of ſuch cauſes as then withheld, and ſtill did, the aforeſaid miniſters from ſubſcribing and conſenting unto the foreſaid articles, by way of purgation, to diſcharge themſelves of all diſobedience towards the church and their ſovereign, and by way of moſt humble intreaty for the removing away and utterly aboliſhing of all ſuch corruptions and abuſes as withheld them. In regard to this charge of their unbrotherly and uncharitable treatment, our anſwerer told them, that they were as gently treated as might be; no kind of brotherly perſuaſion omitted towards them; moſt of them as yet kept their livings, though one or two were diſplaced. They were offered, as he adds, all kind of friendlineſs, if they could be contented to conform themſelves, yea if they would but be quiet and hold their peace; but that they, on the contrary ſide, moſt unchriſtianly and moſt unbrotherly, both publicly and privately, railed on thoſe that ſhewed this humanity towards them, ſlandered them by all means they could, and moſt unnaturally reported of them, ſeeking by all means their diſcredit. Soon after the *Admonition* came forth, it was backed with three other pamphlets, ſent to Dr Whitgift, as it were for a challenge. The firſt was a *preface* to the other two. The ſecond was *An Exhortation to the Biſhops to deal brotherly with their brethren*. The third was called *An Exhortation to the Biſhops and their Clergy to anſwere a little Booke that came forth the laſt Parliament, and to the other Brethren to judge of it by God's Word, until they ſhould ſee it anſwered; and not to be carried away with any reſpect of men*. To all which our author gave, as he ſaid, a brotherly anſwer, toward the end of his anſwer to the *Admonition*.

[*T*] *He wrote his D*[redacted] *the ſame year.*] He [redacted]ſented it to the Lord Treaſurer, [redacted] as follows. ‘It becometh me not, neither is it needeful, to deſire your Lordſhip to be zealous in this cauſe. For you know better what you have to do therein than I am able to inform you. Onelie this I am well aſſured of, that if they ſhould be ſuffered to procede as they have begun, nothing elles in the end can be looked for than confuſion both of the church and of the ſtate. But convenient diſcipline, joyned with doctrine, being duelie exequuted, wil ſone remedie al; for ſectes and ſchiſmes can by no meanes abyde theſe two, neyther wyll they long continew, where they are not by ſome one in authoritie cheriſhed and meynteyned. This, experience, and the ſtory of all ages, teach to be trew. February the 5th, 1573. From Trinity College in Cambridge.’

(gg) The text was John vi. 26.

and Heads of Colleges, to the Chancellor, to grant the Univerſity a power of diſpenſing with the rigor of the ſtatutes in giving degrees to foreigners and others of extraordinary merit without performing the ſcholaſtic exerciſes. He had likewiſe a letter of credence, dated Feb. 19th *(bb)*, wherein the Heads prayed the Chancellor to give him as much credit, in regard to the manner of doing this, as he ſhould think ought to be given to their own letters. In 1575 a *Rejoinder* § being publiſhed by Cartwright to our Author's *Defence*, he conſulted his friends upon it, who adviſing him to let it paſs as not worthy his notice, he yielded to that opinion *(U)*. At the ſame time he appeared with that warmth that was natural to his temper, againſt a deſign, then on foot, of aboliſhing pluralities, and taking away the impropriations, and tythes, from Biſhops, and Spiritual (not including Temporal) perſons, for the better proviſion of the poorer clergy [*W*]. March the 24th, the laſt day of the year 1576, he was nominated to the Biſhoprick of Worceſter, to which being confirmed, April 16, he was conſecrated April the 21ſt, 1577; and as this Biſhoprick brought him into the council for the Marches of Wales, he was preſently after* appointed Vice-Preſident of thoſe marches in the abſence of Sir Henry Sydney, Lord Preſident, made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He did not reſign his Maſterſhip of Trinity College till June; and in the interim procured a letter from the Chancellor, in order to prevent the practice (then in uſe) of taking money for the reſignation of Fellowſhips [*X*]. He likewiſe

[*U*] *He yielded to their opinion.*] Amongſt others who diſſuaded him, the learned Dr Whitaker (though himſelf much inclined to favour puritaniſm) was one; who, in a letter to Dr Whitgift upon this occaſion, has theſe words: *Quem Cartwrightus nuper emiſit libellum ejus magnam partem perlegi: ne vivam, ſi quid unquam viderim diſſolutius ac pene puerilius. Verborum ſatis ille quidem lautam novamque ſupellectilem habet, rerum omnino nullam, quantum ego judicare poſſum. Deinde non modo perverſe de Principis in rebus ſacris & eccleſiaſticis authoritate ſentit, ſed in Papiſtarum etiam cæſtra transfugit, a quibus tamen videri vult odio capitali diſſidere. Verum nec in hac causâ ferendus, ſed aliis etiam in partibus tela a Papiſtis mutuatur. Denique ut de Ambroſio dixit Hyeronymus verbis ludit, ſententiis dormitat, & plane indignus eſt, qui a quoquam docto refutetur.* Thus tranſlated by Dr Bancroft (27): I have read a great part of that book which Mr Cartwright hath lately publiſhed. I pray God I live not, if ever I ſaw any thing more looſely written, and almoſt more childiſhly. It is true, for words he hath a great ſtore, and thoſe both fine and new; but for matter, as far as I can judge, he is altogether barren. Moreover, he doth not only think perverſely of the authority of Princes in matters eccleſiaſtical, but alſo flyeth unto the Papiſts holds, from whom he would be thought to diſſent with a mortal hatred. But in this point he is not to be endured, and in other points alſo he borroweth his arguments from the Papiſts. To conclude, as Jerom ſaid of Ambroſe, he playeth with words, and is lame in his ſentiments, and is altogether unworthy to be confuted by any man of learning.

[*W*] *For the better proviſion of the poor clergy.*] A paper to this effect was communicated to him by the Biſhop of Ely, who deſired his advice and aſſiſtance about printing it, with a proper anſwer. To this our author replied, That he had not the leiſure to be wiſhed to peruſe the ſcript that his Lordſhip had ſent him; that the matter was worthy to be dealt in, and very neceſſary to be conſidered, and he wiſhed to God the like care and circumſpection were in many others that was in his Lordſhip; that the time and ſtate of the church required it; and as touching impropriations, he thought they were warily to be dealt withal: for conſidering now that every man ſought to pull from the church, how alſo the temporality did envy any property in the clergy, and what enemies they moſt of them were to the cathedrals, biſhopricks, and colleges, and other places of learning, and that moſt part of theſe conſiſted of impropriations, he feared leſt under pretence of reforming the one, the diſſolution and utter undoing of all the other would be ſought for, which, he added, would be the ruin of the church, at leaſt the fall of religion, and the decay of learning. He obſerved, that only the clergy ſhould be obliged thereby; for the temporal men would ſtill keep their intereſt in their leaſes that they had in ſuch impropriations, as he himſelf perceived by ſome conference he had with ſome great ones in the matter. Again, where it is ſaid *if the men of the church gained benefice to benefice, &c.* he acknowledged, that was to be reproved in ſuch as had no care in doing their duties; not in ſuch as laboured and were diligent; and that it was better, and more for the profit of the church, that ſome had many, than other ſome one. Moreover, that it was to be conſidered how long and injurious leaſes there were of the moſt part of eccleſiaſtical livings, dignities, prebends, and benefices; ſo that the living which was worth to the farmer 200 marks, was not worth to the incumbent 20 l. as he himſelf was able to prove in divers and ſundry ſuch kind of livings: ſeeing alſo that men had not now a-days that conſcience in paying their duties, that they had in times paſt; beſides many other commodities that were wont to be incident to ſuch livings, which were now utterly taken away; ſo that except it were lawful for men to join more livings together, you would have a beggarly clergy, which would be the decay of learning, religion, and in time of the church alſo: for that there would be no meet livings for learned men, beſides a few biſhopricks. Wherefore he thought ſuch things where they were amiſs, were rather to be reformed in the perſons that were not worthy of them, than by any common rule. In a word, that the temporality ſought to make the clergy beggars, that they might depend upon them; and this would be one means to bring it to paſs (28). Whitgift promiſed the Biſhop, that for his part, he would be ready to do any thing that might do good, and beſtow ſome pains in examining and anſwering the treatiſe, as he could get leiſure. It is remarkable, that theſe impropriations (ſome at leaſt) had not long before been ſettled upon the biſhopricks by Queen Elizabeth, in lieu of the good manors and Lordſhips then belonging to them, which the Queen took to herſelf, by virtue of an act of parliament to that purpoſe (29).

[*X*] *To prevent the practice of taking money for the reſignation of fellowſhips.*] The parliament had lately, viz. in the 18th of Elizabeth, taken notice of this abuſe, and a bill was brought in to prevent it, which paſſed both houſes; but, by the repreſentation of the Lord Treaſurer, the Queen had been prevailed upon not to give the royal aſſent. Dr Whitgift upon this occaſion wrote to that Lord, March the 28th this year, a letter, in which he firſt took notice of the reaſons for not paſſing the act, on account of the public declaration therein unavoidably to be made of the ſcandal of the univerſity, and alſo a great ſlander to the goſpel; beſides, what was only a fault of ſome colleges, would thereby ſeem to be common to all. However, that unleſs it would pleaſe his Lordſhip to procure ſome ſtrict order to be taken againſt ſuch corruption, the ſtaying of that act would rather animate thoſe that were evil diſpoſed to go on in their corrupt dealings. For it could not be denied that ſuch corruption had been uſed in ſome colleges in Cambridge, and that it was directly contrary to their oaths, and the ſtatutes; and that then it began to be an ordinary practice for fellows of colleges, when they were not diſpoſed to continue, to reſign up their fellowſhips for ſums of money, which as it was ſlanderous, he ſaid, to the univerſity, ſo it was againſt all good dealing, and in time would be the cauſe of much evil; wherefore he urged this Lord, as Chancellor of the univerſity, either by his letters to the univerſity, or otherwiſe as he ſhould think fit, to give ſtrait charge againſt all ſuch kind of dealings; and then, he truſted, the thing

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(bb) It is dated 11 Cal. Martii, Procancellar. Perne.—— See Strype ubi ſupra, in the Appendix, No. 18, B. I.

§ This was entitled, 'The ſecond Reply of T. C. againſt Dr Whitgift's ſecond anſwer touching church-diſcipline.'

* Sir Geo. Paul tells us, it was a year after. Ubi ſupra, p. 31.

(27) In his Survey of diſcipline, p. 375. ed. 1593.

(28) Kennett's Caſe of Impropriations, Appendix, No. IX.

(29) Strype's Life of Archbp Grindall, p. 28.

likewiſe gave a ſolution of a caſe of conſcience, which was put to him upon a remarkable occaſion [*Y*]; and was very ſolicitous, before he left the college, that the ſtatutes of the Founder ſhould be religiouſly obſerved, in his ſucceſſors living unmarried [*Z*]. Whilſt he held the government of this college, he took pupils, and had ſeveral noblemen (*ii*) under his care. He was a very ſtrict obſerver of the ſtatutes himſelf, and held others to their public diſputations and exerciſes and prayers, (which he never miſſed) puniſhing any neglects or abſence from theſe ſeverely. For the ſame reaſon he uſually dined and ſupped in the common-hall. At parting he preached a farewel ſermon before the Univerſity at St Mary's, and another in Trinity College Chapel (*kk*), and was attended by a numerous train of the Heads and others his friends in the univerſity on his way from Cambridge towards Worceſter. Here finding the biſhoprick much impoveriſhed by long leaſes, he made a diligent ſearch into that matter, and paid 300l. out of his own purſe for the ſurrendry of a leaſe of Hollow and Grimley, two of the beſt manors belonging to that biſhoprick [*AA*]; and when the commiſſioners of concealed crown lands attempted to wreſt Hartlebury * from it, he had not only a warm conteſt with the Earl of Leiceſter, but likewiſe made a very bold ſpeech to the Queen upon that occaſion [*BB*]. At the ſame time he was very active in ſearching out and putting the laws in

(*ii*) As particularly the Earls of Worceſter and Cumberland, the Lord Zouch, and Sir Francis Bacon, afterwards Lord Verulam. Paul's Life, &c. p. 23.

(*kk*) The laſt-cited author tells us, p. 26. that he preſſed upon his collegians their continuance in peace and unity ſo movingly, that there were ſcarce any dry eyes in the congregation. His text was 2 Cor. xiii. 11.

* The Biſhop's palace.

would be reformed (30). But it ſeems his Lordſhip's orders had not the deſired effect; for an act of parliament paſſed to this purpoſe in 1589, the 31ſt of Eliz.

[*Y*] *He ſolved a caſe of conſcience put to him on a remarkable occaſion.*] It ſeems there were a ſort of pure brethren, chiefly about Malden in Eſſex, who, concluding themſelves abſolutely freed from all obligation to the whole law of Moſes, begun to argue, that the obſervation of the carnal precepts in the moral branch of that law was no neceſſary part of their duty; but rather a breach of the ſpiritual law of Chriſt. One Robert Bird, a miniſter, ſent to Dr Whitgift for his opinion a caſe upon it, including theſe two points. 1. Whether the whole law of Moſes was given particularly to the Jews, or no? 2. Whether, if it were given both to the Jews and Gentiles, it be abrogated by Chriſt his coming in whole or in part? To which our profeſſor returned the following ſolution. 1. We have nothing to do with the ceremonial and judicial laws, whereof one was given for a certain time, the other for a certain nation; but touching the moral law, which is the perfection of the law of nature, and afterwards was written in tables of ſtone, being the rule of God's juſtice, that remaineth for ever. 2dly, We are indeed free, but not from the obedience of the law, but from the curſe of the law. He further bid Mr Bird, if he met with any of thoſe pure and ſpiritual brethren, to aſk them this queſtion: Whether we ought to love God with all our hearts, and our neighbour as ourſelves? and then to go forward with them, if this be our duty, why is it not lawful for us to know how we ſhould perform the ſame (31). Hence we learn that in theſe days ſprung up the ſect of Solifidians, or Antinomians, which afterwards grew ſo rank and prevalent in the times of the uſurpation.

[*Z*] *In his ſucceſſors living unmarried.*] The Doctor had been always a very religious obſerver of the founder's will in the ſtatutes, while he was maſter; and nothing ſhews more how much he had this point at his heart, than the letter he wrote to his friend the Chancellor on this occaſion. He knew Dr Redman had very good intereſt at court, and that he had his eye upon the maſterſhip; he knew alſo that the doctor had a deſign to marry; and therefore notwithſtanding he had a great value and friendſhip for the doctor, yet he thought himſelf obliged, in conſcience to the founder, to write to Lord Burleigh, in order to let him know that the ſtatutes of that college required the maſter to live ſingle (32).

[*AA*] *He paid 300l. for the ſurrendry of a leaſe belonging to that biſhoprick.*] Sir George Paul gives the following accout of this matter (33). 'Dr Whitgift 'found,' ſays he, 'the biſhoprick, at his firſt coming, 'much impaired, by his predeceſſor's having granted 'away in long leaſes divers manors, parks, and manſion-houſes *: but that which much troubled him, 'and wherein he moſt of all ſtirred, was the letting 'to Maſter Abington, Cofferer to the late Queen '[Mary] the rent-corn of his two beſt manors, Hollow and Grimla, which are the chief upholding of 'the biſhop's hoſpitality, and without which, eſpecially in dear years, he is not able to keep houſe. 'This leaſe being let to Maſter Abington, a great 'man then to contend with, his wife being ſome time 'alſo the Queen's bedfellow, the Biſhop notwithſtanding did call it in queſtion; having now, beſides his 'honourable friends, the Lord Keeper and the Lord 'Treaſurer, gained, by his attendance at court, many 'more about her Majeſty, who much favoured him, 'and profeſſed great love unto him; eſpecially the 'Earl of Leiceſter, Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, Vicechamberlain, and Sir Francis Walſingham, Principal 'Secretary: all in ſpecial grace with her Highneſs. 'Maſter Abington, by his wife's means, procured her 'Majeſty's gracious letters, written earneſtly in his 'behalf. The Biſhop returning anſwer unto her Majeſty, and informing her by his friends, how prejucial it was to the biſhoprick, ſhe was thereupon 'much diſpleaſed wtih Maſter Abington, and took 'part with the Biſhop; inſomuch as Abington would 'willingly have yielded the rent corn for the Biſhop's 'own time, ſo that his leaſe might have ſtill ſtood on 'foot againſt his ſucceſſor, which the Biſhop utterly 'refuſed; and in the end was rather contented, by way 'of compoſition (*notwithſtanding that the leaſe was 'void, becauſe the rent-corn was never before let*) to 'give Abington 300l. out of his own purſe, to have 'the leaſe ſurrendred, and to redeem the ſaid corn; '*which*,' ſays Sir George, '*yet remaineth; and I hope 'ever will remain, unto his ſucceſſors in that ſee.*'

[*BB*] *He made a bold ſpeech to the Queen upon that occaſion.*] He beſought her Majeſty to hear him with patience †, and to believe that her's and the church's ſafety were dearer to him than *his life*, but his conſcience dearer than both. *He* prayed her, that ſhe would give him leave to do his duty, and to tell her that princes were deputed *nurſing* fathers to the church, and owed it protection; and therefore God forbid that ſhe ſhould be ſo much as paſſive in its ruin, when ſhe might prevent it, or that he ſhould behold it without horror and deteſtation, or ſhould forbear to tell her *of* the ſin and danger. That though this was an age when the primitive piety and care of the church lands were much decayed, he beſeeched her to conſider that there were ſuch ſins as profaneneſs and ſacrilege; for, if there were not, they could not have names in the holy writ, and particularly in the New Teſtament. He mentioned that judiciary act of our Saviour (though he did not meddle in ſecular judgments) in making a whip, and driving profaners out of the temple; and that it was a ſaying of St Paul to the Chriſtians of his time that were offended with idolatry, *Thou that abhorreſt idols, doſt thou commit ſacrilege?* That the conſideration thereof would incline her Majeſty to prevent the curſe thereof, which how heavily her royal father ~~felt, he did not care to men~~tion. That Conſtantine the firſt Chriſtian Emperor, and Helena his mother, that King Edgar, and Edward the Confeſſor, and many more of her Majeſty's predeceſſors, and many others, had given to God and his church much lands and many immunities, and gave them as an abſolute right and ſacrifice to God, and that they had impoſed a curſe upon the alienators; adding theſe words, *God forbid your Majeſty ſhould be liable to that curſe.* He ſaid further, that ſhe was entruſted with their preſervation; and to make her the better underſtand the danger of the curſe, he beſeeched her not to forget that the church's lands and power had been endeavoured to be preſerved as far as human reaſon and the laws of this nation had been able to preſerve them, by an immediate and moſt ſacred obligation upon the conſciences of the princes of this realm. That thoſe who conſulted *Magna Charta*, ſhould

(30) Strype's life of Whitgift, book 1. ch. 13.

(31) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 75.

(32) The famous Dr Barrow was afterwards in the ſame way of thinking.— See his article.

(33) In our Archbp's life, p. 27, 28.

* This was no more than was common to all eccleſiaſtical corporations.

† A writ was come out of chancery into Worceſterſhire, to enquire of ſuch lands as the Duke of Northumberland had 30 Henry VIII. It was put in execution, and though the chief ſhooting (it is his own term) was at him, yet the jury found nothing that might hurt him.

in execution againſt the Popiſh Recuſants [*CC*], having received her Highneſs's expreſs commands for that purpoſe, from whom, by the intereſt of Lord Burleigh, he obtained a grant in the latter end of the year 1578, to beſtow the Prebends of his church on ſuch perſons as he thought fit [*DD*], which diſpoſal before this time had not been in the nomination of the Biſhop, but of the crown, nor did ſhe now give away the right of ſuch diſpoſal to him, and his ſucceſſors, but only as a particular favour to himſelf, during his continuance in that See. In his character of Vice-preſident of Wales the ſame ſpirit and reſolution ſhewed itſelf, as had been ſeen in him at Trinity College. For though we are told (*ll*), that he ſat a whole year in that court before he took upon him to bear any ſway there, yet it is certain he was during that time oppoſed by his brother judges, and for that reaſon he applied to the privy council for a ſpecial commiſſion, which was granted to him, and two of the Welſh Biſhops §, excluſive of others, to be his aſſociates. After this he acted with ſuch a vigilance and intrepidity as gave offence to the Preſident †, [*EE*] upon whoſe return from Ireland, and taking the charge upon himſelf, our author was diſmiſſed from the Vicepreſidentſhip February 8th, 1579: but being ſtill of the council, he acted with the ſame reſolution, as far as lay in his power, and many years afterwards oppoſed the Preſident in a ſuit made by him for a new commiſſion in religious matters [*FF*]. In 1580 he obtained the nomination of the juſtices of the peace for

(*ll*) By Sir Geo. Paul, ubi ſupra, p. 32.

§ Bangor and St Aſaph.

† Sir Henry Sydney.

ſhould find that all her predeceſſors were at their coronations, and ſo was ſhe alſo, ſworn before the nobility and biſhops then preſent, and in the preſence of God, and in his ſtead of him that anointed her, to maintain the church's lands, and the rights belonging to it, and this teſtified openly at the holy altar, by laying her hand upon the bible there lying before her. And that many modern ſtatutes denounced a curſe againſt thoſe that brake *Magna Charta*; and what account could be given for that breach at the great day, either by her Majeſty or himſelf, were it wilfully or but negligently violated, he knew not. He begged ſhe would not ſuffer certain light exceptions againſt ſome few clergy to prevail with her to puniſh poſterity. He went on telling her, that religion was the foundation and cement of human ſociety; and that when they that ſerved at God's altar ſhould be expoſed to poverty, then religion itſelf would be expoſed to ſcorn, and become contemptible, as ſhe might obſerve in too many poor vicarages of this nation; and in ſhort, that as ſhe was intruſted by the Almighty with a great power by the late act or acts, either to preſerve or waſte the church-lands, *Diſpoſe of them for Jeſus' ſake*, ſaid he to her, *as the donor intended; let neither friends nor flatterers prevail with you to do otherwiſe, and put a ſtop to the approaching ruin of the church, as you expect comfort at the laſt day; for kings muſt be judged*. He concluded, imploring her pardon for his great plainneſs, and begged ſtill to be continued in her favour (34).

(34) Strype, b. II. ch. I.

[CC] *He was active in putting the laws in execution againſt Popiſh recuſants.*] Purſuant to an order of the privy council, he was ſo haſty to ſend certificates of the names of all theſe recuſants, that his certificates were found by the privy council very faulty, ſeveral of them being without the Chriſtian and proper names, others having no mention of the places of their abode, whilſt ſome were even wrongfully accuſed, being certified not to come to church, who afterwards made due proof of the contrary, that albeit they did not at all times attend divine ſervice in the church, being detained by their lawful buſineſs, yet did they commonly and for the moſt part, and were well known and well affected that way. Wherefore the privy council thought proper to ſend him particular directions how to make theſe certificates (35).

(35) Id. ibid.

[DD] *He obtained a grant to diſpoſe of the prebends in his church.*] The letter he wrote to Lord Burleigh * on this occaſion, gives us a remarkable inſtance of his thirſt after power. He addreſſes his Lordſhip in theſe terms: 'That he ſhould be glad now to begin his 'ſuit to her Majeſty for the gift of the prebends of 'his church of Worceſter; and that ſince his coming 'to that biſhoprick, he had not one living to beſtow '[which was almoſt two years], neither was he in 'hope ere long to have any, unleſs it would pleaſe 'her Majeſty to be gracious unto him in this ſuit. 'That it could not be expreſſed how much good wiſe 'and learned preachers might do in thoſe countries, 'where, although there were many very backward, 'yet the moſt part were moſt deſirous and willing to 'hear; ſo that if he had, he ſaid, leave to beſtow 'the prebends upon ſuch perſons as he found fitting, 'he perſuaded himſelf that he could do very much 'good, by placing ſuch there as he was purpoſed by 'the grace of God to do: *wherefore for God's ſake*,' (as he earneſtly concludes) '*for the church's ſake, and 'for the commonwealth's ſake, I beſeech your Lordſhip 'to help forward my ſuit* (36).'

* It is dated Feb. 5, 1578.

(36) Ibid.

[EE] *Behaved with ſuch vigilance and intrepidity, as gave offence to the Preſident.*] At his entrance upon this office, his friend the Lord Treaſurer had given him a particular caution to ſend an account duly to the Preſident of every thing that was done in that court. Nevertheleſs, it was not long before Sir Henry complained of his remiſſneſs in that reſpect, of which when he was advertiſed by his friend, he ſent the following account, repreſenting that Sir Henry ſent ſundry letters to him at other mens ſuits, ſome whereof he was forced to deny, becauſe they were grounded upon wrong informations; yet that he did commonly anſwer ſuch letters, eſpecially if they required an anſwer: but, as he adds thereupon, it was very like that ſome who found themſelves grieved, did their endeavour to breed ſome miſlike, for that there were divers within that commiſſion, who thought by letters and friends to prevail in their evil cauſes, and that they ſuppoſed that none dared to withſtand them; but he truſted his Lordſhip [the Preſident] would not eaſily give credit to ſuch, and that when he [the Vice-preſident] lawfully might, he was ready to yield: *But if juſtice and conſcience otherwiſe required, he could not conſent; for ſure he was that they would bring a man peace at the laſt, and never be confounded, whereas friendſhip ſometimes failed, and was very mutable.*— He concludes thus: Therefore, my ſingular good Lord, I do think myſelf ſo bound unto you for your moſt friendly or rather fatherly advertiſements, that I cannot deviſe how to expreſs my thankfulneſs; but God, who knoweth all, knows my heart towards you (37).

(37) Id. p. 85.

Sir George Paul aſſures us (38), that while he continued in this poſt, he would never hear any cauſe or informations, or receive petitions privately, but openly, and from the petitioners themſelves; and when one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber made a requeſt to have the delivery of ſuitors petitions, and endorſe their anſwers, he was ſo much offended, as ſuppoſing the young gentleman had been tampered with, that he preſently diſcharged him his bedchamber, and could never afterwards very well brook him.

(38) In the life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, p. 33.

[FF] *He acted with the ſame reſolution, and oppoſed the Preſident in his ſuit for a new commiſſion in religious matters.*] Mr Strype tells us, he was a check upon the Preſident and ſome of the council his adherents, who were extremely addicted to rake and ſcrape from the people in the marches, and eſpecially from the clergy, by nice examinations and ſearches into their lives and all their private actions *; and particularly Scory, Biſhop of Hereford, made a complaint that his fame and life were both in danger by them, there being no appeal to Weſtminſter from the marches. In 1580 an act being paſſed for laying a penalty of 20 l. a month for ſuch as were abſent from divine ſervice †, Sir Henry Sydney endeavoured to get the laſt commiſſion for matters of religion within the marches renewed, as alſo to procure ſome ſpecial commiſſion of oyer and terminer for the ſame. Our author

* It was the practice of theſe courts to examine upon the oath *ex officio*.

† It is intitled. An act for reſtraining her Majeſty's ſubjects within their due obedience. 2d of Eliz.

(mm) Strype, ubi ſupra.

for the counties of Worceſter and Warwick (mm). In January 1582, he was appointed by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury chief commiſſioner for viſiting the church of Lichfield upon a particular occaſion, during which the government of that dioceſe was put under his care[GG]. The ſame year he compiled a new body of ſtatutes for the church of Hereford, and recovered ſome of the revenues belonging to it out of the hands of the concealers[HH]. The Queen had it in her eye to raiſe him to the higheſt dignity in the church before her intentions took place, and ſhewed an inclination, as was ſaid, to put him into Archbp Grindal's room before that prelate's death. So much is certain, that Grindal, in the condition he then was, had been deſirous to reign, and as deſirous of Whitgift for his ſucceſſor *; but Whitgift could not be perſuaded upon to comply with it; and in the Queen's preſence begged her pardon for not accepting thereof upon any condition whatſoever, during the life of the other. But upon Grindal's death, which happened the 6th of July 1583, the Queen nominated Whitgift to ſuceeed him, Auguſt the 14th following; and accordingly he was elected the 23d of the ſame month, and confirmed the 23d of September (nn). On the 17th of November, the Queen's acceſſion happening on a Sunday, he preached at Paul's Croſs upon this text, *Put them in mind to be ſubject to principalities*, &c. Tit. 3. At his firſt entrance upon this charge he found the Archbiſhoprick over-rated, and procured an order for the abatement of 100 l. to him and his ſucceſſors, on the payment

(nn) Idem, who p. 113. expoſes a ſlanderous ſtory firſt printed by Fitz-Herbert, and reprinted by N. N. in 1658, *permiſſu ſuperiorum*, in a book entitled, *The Politician's Catechiſm*, that the Queen at the Archbiſhop's conſecration laid her hand on his head.

* In teſtimony of his great eſteem for Whitgift, he bequeathed him in his will a ring with a ſapphire. Strype, ch. 1. book 3.

author being perſuaded the intent of it was only to get the 20 l. forfeiture from the recuſants, wrote a letter to Lord Burleigh to prevent it; intimating that there might likewiſe be a deſign to procure ſome further authority in the Lord Preſident over the clergy, which aſſuredly, ſays the Biſhop, was not for the bettering of any thing, but for the cauſes above ſpecified, to the greater charging of them within that commiſſion than any part of the realm beſides. It muſt be obſerved, that by this act the recuſants were to be tried at the ſeſſions for the reſpective counties, and our Biſhop had received a letter from the council with orders to him to prefer thoſe for that end to the *Cuſtos Rotulorum* of Worceſterſhire, and upon the conviction, the fines accrued to the crown, of which he takes notice in this letter to Burleigh, repreſenting to his Lordſhip, that, in his opinion, neither of the ſaid commiſſions (applied for by the Preſident) were convenient, nor like to tend to any reformation, but rather to the further burthening of her Majeſty's ſubjects within that principality for private gain, and alſo to the abridgment of her Majeſty's commodity; that the meaning was to convert the 20 l. a month forfeited by the recuſants for the benefit of the houſe [council] there, which, he ſaid, was needleſs, for that they received more already than was well employed. He concludes, that he was bold to ſignify unto his Lordſhip what he thought, meaſuring that to come by that which was paſt; and therefore humbly beſeeching him to have conſideration thereof (39).

(39) Ch. 2. book 2. p. 95, 96.

[GG] *The government of that dioceſe was put under his care.*] The Bp of this dioceſe, Dr Overton, had commenced a law-ſuit with the Dean and Chapter, for refuſing to pay what he called a *Subſidium charitativum* of 12d. in the pound, due, as he affirmed, to every Biſhop at his firſt entrance, by ancient preſcription and uſage of that dioceſe. He had likewiſe another law-quarrel with the Chancellor, one Dr Beacon, who had brought an action againſt him for taking upon him to put one Babington in a joint commiſſion with him into that office, and for aſſigning to Babington a moiety of the profits. The affair had been before the privy council, by whom it was referred to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury [Grindal], who appointed the Biſhop of Worceſter, with the aſſiſtance of Dr Aubrey, his Vicar-General, Dr Coſin, L L. D. and one Gryffyth, preacher of God's word, to viſit the church; and particularly commiſſioned the firſt to take care likewiſe of the dioceſe, in the room of Biſhop Overton, who was then ſuſpended *ex officio*. Grindal's letter is to this effect: That he left to him [Whitgift] to find occaſion for the appeaſing theſe contentions, ſo offenſive, in the opinion of the Lords of the Council and his, ſo ſcandalous to all the perſons who were concerned, and ſo prejudical and hurtful to the quiet of the dioceſe; and therefore he truſted his Lordſhip would take pains to end it, and in the mean time to have a care of the government of the dioceſe in effect during this commiſſion. This letter of Grindal's is dated in January 1582; the commiſſion bears date in February; and, 13 of June, he received a letter from the Vicar-General (by the Archbiſhop's order) to put off the viſitation to the end of that month; but Dr Whitgift finding Biſhop Overton greatly involved in debt by means of theſe broils, he got this altered *, and the Biſhop reſtored to his juriſdiction and temporalities, on the 27th. There was next year eſtabliſhed, and endowed with 40 l. per annum, a divinity lecture, to be read Wedneſdays and Fridays; the Lecturer to be appointed by the Dean and Chapter; and for the encreaſe and advancement of his living, he had an annual ſtipend of 10 or 12 l. per ann. of the Queen's allowance to that church, for 4 ſermons to be preached in Lent, in the chapel called St Mary's. This was ordered by the privy council, January 7th, 1582, during Whitgift's viſitation; and therefore it is more than probable, as Mr Strype ſays, that it was ſettled by his means (40).

* Overton had deſired the lord treaſurer that his debts might be paid out of an extent of his lands by 3 or 400 l. a year, till all ſhould be diſcharged. p. 105. ch. 3.

(40) p. 106.

[HH] *He compiled a new body of ſtatutes for the church of Hereford, and recovered ſome of its revenues out of the hands of the concealers.*] Scory, Biſhop of Hereford, had more than once complained of the ill ſtate of that church, and prayed that it might be reformed, and had applied to Secretary Walſingham for that purpoſe, which had occaſioned an order from the privy council to the biſhop of Worceſter, jointly with the biſhop of Hereford, and ſome others of the council for the marches of Wales, to look into this matter, and to frame the ſtatutes of that church ſo as they might comport with the reformation. This being done, and ſent to the privy council for their approbation, our prelate acquainted his friend Lord Burleigh with it. The letter is dated February the 11th, 1582, wherein he takes notice, that ‘ in their ‘ reformation of theſe ſtatutes, they had due conſider- ‘ation as well to the preſent ſtate of the church, as ‘ alſo to the ancient ſtate and order in the ſame, reform- ‘ing the abuſes in them both, and adding that which ‘ was therein wanting. That the Dean and Chapter ‘ had peruſed them, and ſeemed to like them very ‘ well; yet he feared, he ſaid, ſome ſecret working ‘ to the contrary, becauſe they were ſomewhat ſtrait, ‘ and in his opinion moſt neceſſary.’ One of theſe new ſtatutes was for the ſettling a divinity lecture and a free ſchool, which occaſioned a petition of that church, that upon giving up to her Majeſty ſome poſſeſſions, the rectory of Lugwarden, then in the hands of the concealers, might be again granted to them for their divinity lecturer, upon his payment of ſome penſion for the ſupport of the free ſchool. This petition was incloſed in his letter to Lord Burleigh by our author, who prayed that lord to think well of the miſerable condition of that church and divers others, greatly impoveriſhed by unreaſonable leaſes and other means, ſo that they were not able to perform what was exacted from them, and that if they were further ſifted, they would come in the end to nothing; that theſe were the chief and principal rewards fit for learned divines, and he was perſuaded God had the rather bleſſed and proſpered his Lordſhip in his doings, and would add to his bleſſings wherewith he had bleſſed him long continuance in them, if he would take upon him to bring this iſſue to a good ſucceſs. That St Ambroſe called the goods and lands of the church *the patrimony of Chriſt*, and the wrongs and injuries done thereto, *wrongs and injuries done to Chriſt, &c.* Accordingly the petition was granted, and the church put into poſſeſſion of the good rectory of Lugwarden, with its chapelries, the next year (41).

(41) Chap. 4.

of firſt-fruits. He ſhortly after recovered from the Queen, as part of the poſſeſſions of the Archbiſhoprick, Long-Beach Wood in Kent, which had been many years detained from his predeceſſor by Sir James Croft, Comptroller of her Majeſty's houſhold. But that which moſt concerned him was to ſee the eſtabliſhed uniformity of the church in ſo great diſorder as it was from the noncomplying Puritans, who taking advantage of his predeceſſor's eaſineſs in that reſpect, were poſſeſſed of a great many eccleſiaſtical benefices and preferments, in which they were ſupported by ſome of the principal men at court. He therefore ſet himſelf with extraordinary zeal and vigour to reform theſe infringements of the conſtitution [*II*], for which he had the Queen's expreſs orders (*oo*). With this view, on the 5th of December this year, he moved for an eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, which was ſoon after iſſued to him with the Biſhop of London, and divers others. To the ſame purpoſe in 1584, he drew up a form of examination, containing 24 articles,

(oo) Paul's life, &c. p. 39.

[*II*] *He ſet himſelf with extraordinary zeal and vigour to reform theſe infringements of the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution.*] His alertneſs in this matter will be ſeen by attending to the dates of the ſeveral ſteps he took therein, as well as from the nature of thoſe ſteps. He was not confirmed in the archbiſhopric till the 23d of September, and yet before the month was expired, he drew up twelve articles of inquiry with the conſent of the reſt of the biſhops of his province, to whom they were ſent by him in a circular letter, dated October the 19th, being twelve injunctions concerning ſo many particulars for uniformity; by the ſixth of which every miniſter was required to ſubſcribe, 1. to the Queen's ſupremacy, 2. to the Book of Common Prayer, and 3. to the XXXIX Articles of Religion. To the ſame purpoſe ten other articles being ſent to him by the privy council, he ſent them to the biſhops incloſed in a circular letter, dated December the 12th. (42) The 5th of the ſame month, he moved for a new eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, which ſhortly after was granted. In the interim, ſome oppoſition being made, and objections urged by ſeveral at court againſt it, he drew up a paper, which he ſent to Lord Burleigh, containing the following reaſons for it. ' 1. Eccleſiaſtical cenſures are too ſhort to meet with notorious offences and iniquities, which were puniſhed only by a white ſheet; but by the commiſſion they are puniſhed by fines, which is very commodious to the Queen, or by impriſonment, &c. 2. If any ſuch notorious offenders fly out of the dioceſe of his ordinary into another, and ſo from dioceſe to dioceſe, he cannot be gotten to be puniſhed, but by the ſaid commiſſion. 3. If any man put away his wife *ſine alemoniis*, and flee into another dioceſe, and ſo on, he cannot be compelled, but by the commiſſion, nor ſhe relieved. 4. If any wife, either contracted or married, flee from her huſband into another dioceſe, and ſo on, ſhe cannot be come by, but by the commiſſion. 5. There is no law to compel any man or woman to ſtay *lite pendente* from contracting and marrying, but the admonition of the judge, which they contemn; but the commiſſion binds not to contract. 6. The commiſſion ſees that ſearch be made for unlawful books, and examineth the writers, printers, and ſellers, upon their oath, which the ordinary cannot do. 7. Diſordered perſons, commonly called Puritans, contemn the cenſures eccleſiaſtical; ſo that the realm will ſwarm with them, if they be not met withal by the commiſſion. 8 If a benefice be litigious, the church doors will be ſhut up, ſervice ſhall be unſaid, and great quarrels ſhall grow about the fruits, if the commiſſion don't by ſequeſtration help it, for the biſhop's ſequeſtration they will contemn, becauſe they can but excommunicate; and by that time the writ *de Excommunicato Capiendo* can be ſued out, the ſervice of God will be intermitted peradventure a year or two. 9. No notorious fault in any miniſter can be notoriouſly puniſhed, but by the commiſſion. 10. The whole eccleſiaſtical law is a carcaſe without a ſoul, if it be not in theſe wants ſupplied by the commiſſion. 11. The lack of the commiſſion one half year would breed great inconveniences, and more than would in long time after be wholly redreſſed.—— Mr Strype obſerves (43), that the danger from the activity of the Popiſh prieſts haſtened this commiſſion; preceding the ſuit for which, he preached at St Paul's Croſs, before the Queen, November 17th, 1583 (44), when he very warmly expoſed the dangerous tendency to her Majeſty's government of the Puritans doctrine, and particularly of Hacket's principle for murdering princes who ordered any thing againſt the law of Chriſt. But I would to God, ſays he, they did not deceive many whoſe duty it is rather to ſuppreſs this vain faction, than to nouriſh it, [meaning ſome, as Fr. Knolles, &c. even in the court and privy council]. Not long after he made his metropolitical viſitation, beginning with the dioceſe of Bangor. Some of his officers having ſummoned the Kentiſh clergy to ſubſcribe the three forementioned articles, were, upon their refuſal, pronounced contumacious; upon which they appealing to the Archbiſhop, were heard by him for two or three days ſucceſſively; and perſiſting in their contumacy, he ſuſpended them. In pronouncing ſentence, it was declared, that in denying the two firſt articles, they ſeparated themſelves from the church, and condemned the right ſervice of God, in prayer and adminiſtration of the ſacraments, in the church of England, and the miniſters of the ſame, and diſobeyed her Majeſty's authority. Upon their appealing to the Lords of the Council, he acquainted that board, February 8th, that ſeeing it had pleaſed her Majeſty her own ſelf in expreſs words to commit theſe cauſes eccleſiaſtical to him, as to one who was to make anſwer to God and to her Majeſty in that behalf, his office and place alſo requiring the ſame, therefore they were not incident to the council-board. He then proceeds to give them an account of his conference he had with the miniſters, and repeats the three articles to them; concluding with this challenge: *And here I do proteſt and teſtify unto your Lordſhips, that the three articles whereunto they are moved to ſubſcribe are ſuch as I am ready by learning to defend in manner and form as they are ſet, againſt all miſlikers thereof in England or elſewhere.* February 4th, 1483 (45). However, he had better ſucceſs with ſome miniſters in Suſſex, who had been ſuſpended by his Commiſſary, for refuſing to ſubſcribe, but were afterwards convinced by the Archbiſhop, and complied. Their objections being the ſame as have been conſtantly offered ſince by the Preſbyterian Diſſenters, who ſprung out of the Puritans, deſerve a place here, together with our Archbiſhop's anſwer, as follows. 1. In the Rubric ſet before the Catechiſm it being ſaid, *That no man ſhall think that any detriment will come unto children by deferring their confirmation. He ſhall know for truth, that it is certain by God's word, that children being baptized, have all things neceſſary to their ſalvation, and be undoubtedly ſaved.* They doubt, whether by theſe words the book confirmed the opinion that ſacraments conferred grace *ex opere operato?* The Archbiſhop anſwered, No: the reaſon was, to ſhew that confirmation was not neceſſary to ſalvation, againſt the Papiſts. 2. In the rubric for the form of baptiſm, it is ſaid, *Then the prieſt ſhall make a croſs upon the child's forehead.* They doubt, whether this were made an addition to the ſacrament, as if the baptiſm were imperfect without it? Anſwer. No: croſſing was only a ſignificant ceremony, and profitable circumſtance, as is expreſſed in the book. 3. doubt. In the book of ordering deacons and prieſts, concerning the words *receiveth the Holy Ghoſt*, whether thereby it is meant that the biſhop had authority to give the Holy Ghoſt? Anſwer. The biſhop does not thereby take upon him to give the Holy Ghoſt, but only *inſtrumentaliter*, not as the author, but the miniſter: the words are Chriſt's, uſed in admitting the apoſtles to the miniſtry, and therefore uſed by us on the like occaſion, to ſignify that God by our miniſtry and impoſition of hands, as by the inſtruments, doth give the holy Spirit to all ſuch as are rightfully called to the miniſtry. The laſt doubt was, of baptizing by women: To which it was anſwered, that the book did not name women, when it ſpake of prieſt's baptiſm; and that their ſubſcription was not required to any thing that was not expreſſed in the book (46).

(42) Book iii. ch. 2.

(43) Ibid. chap. 4.

(44) The Anniverſary of her Majeſty's acceſſion which happened that year to fall on a Sunday.

(45) Id. p. 126.

(46) Ibid. ch. 3.

which he ſent to the Biſhops of his province, enjoining them to ſummon all ſuch clergy as in their reſpective dioceſes were ſuſpected of nonconformity, and to require them to anſwer thoſe articles ſeverally upon oath *ex officio mero*, likewiſe to ſubſcribe to the Queen's ſupremacy, the Book of Common Prayer, and the 39 articles of religion. At the ſame time he held conferences with ſeveral of the Puritans, and by that means brought ſome to a compliance; and when others appealed from the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion to the council, he reſolutely aſſerted his juriſdiction, and vindicated his proceedings at the peril of his life, and even in ſome caſes againſt the opinion of Lord Burleigh [*KK*], who was

[*KK*] *Even at the peril of his life, and againſt the opinion of Lord Burleigh.*] The 24 articles mentioned above in the text, were drawn up in May 1583, and confirmed in November this year. Some miniſters of Ely being ſuſpended, for refuſing to anſwer theſe interrogatories, applied to the council, who wrote a letter to the Archbiſhop in their favour, May 26; to which he ſent an anſwer preſently, and in the concluſion he told the council, *that rather than grant them liberty to preach, he would chuſe to die, or live in priſon all the days of his life, rather than be an occaſion thereof, or ever conſent unto it.* My Lord Burleigh likewiſe thinking them hardly uſed in the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, adviſed them not to anſwer to the articles, except their conſciences might ſuffer them; of which he informed the Archbiſhop, intimating his diſlike of the 24 articles, and their proceedings in conſequence of them, in ſeveral letters. To theſe the Archbiſhop anſwered ſeverally, and immediately after the receipt of them, in ſubſtance as follows. In a letter, dated June 14, from Croyden, he declares himſelf content to be ſacrificed in ſo good a cauſe. That the laws were with him, whatever Sir Francis Knollys (who, he ſaid, had little ſkill) ſaid to the contrary *. Burleigh, in a ſecond letter, dated July 1, expreſſing himſelf in ſtronger terms againſt theſe proceedings, concludes, that the articles were branched out into ſo many circumſtances, that he thought the Inquiſitors of Spain uſed not ſo many queſtions to trap others; and that this critical ſifting of miniſters was not to reform, but to enſnare: but however, upon his requeſt, he would leave them to his authority, nor *thruſt his ſickle into another man's harveſt.* To this the Archbiſhop ſends an anſwer, dated July 3, to the following purport: That as touching the 24 articles, which his Lordſhip ſeemed ſo much to diſlike, as written in a Romiſh ſtile, and ſmelling of the Romiſh Inquiſition, he marvelled at his Lordſhip's ſpeeches, ſeeing it was the ordinary courſe in other courts, as in the Star chamber, the Courts of the Marches, and other places; and that the objection of encouraging the Papiſts by theſe courſes, had neither probability nor likelihood [ſo he expreſſes himſelf]. That as to his Lordſhip's ſpeech for the two miniſters, viz. that they were peaceable, obſerved the book, denied the things wherewith they were charged, and deſired to be tried, the Archbiſhop demanded, now they were to be tried, why did they refuſe it *qui male egit odit lucem?* That the articles he miniſtred unto them were framed by the moſt learned in the laws, and who, he dared to ſay, hated both the Romiſh doctrine and Romiſh Inquiſition; and that he miniſtred them to the intent only that he might truly underſtand whether they were ſuch manner of men, or no, as they pretended to be, eſpecially ſeeing by public fame they were noted of the contrary, and one of them preſented by the ſworn men of his pariſh for his diſorders, as he was informed by his official there. That time would not ſerve him to write much, that he referred the reſt to the report of the bearer; truſting his Lordſhip would conſider of things as they were, and not as they ſeemed to be, or as ſome would have them: that he thought it high time to put thoſe to ſilence, who were and had been the inſtruments of ſuch great diſcontentment, as was pretended; that conſcience was no more excuſe for them than it was for the Papiſts or Anabaptiſts, in whoſe ſteps they walked. He knew, he ſaid, that he was eſpecially ſought, and many threatning words came to his ears to terrify him from proceeding: that the Biſhop of Cheſter had wrote to him of late, and that in his letter a little paper was incloſed, the copy whereof he ſent to his Lordſhip. '*You know* (ſaid 'the Archbiſhop) *whom he knoweth*; but it moves 'me not; he can do no more than God will permit 'him. It is ſtrange, continues he, to underſtand 'what devices have been uſed to move me to be at 'ſome mens becks, the particularities of all which he 'would one day declare to his Lordſhip; but *Dominus illuminatio mea, & ſalus mea quem timebo.* I am, 'ſays he, therefore at a point, and ſay with David, '*In manibus tuis, Domine, ſortes meæ*; they can't do 'more againſt me than he will ſuffer them; and, if 'there be no other remedy, I am content to be ſacrificed in ſo good a cauſe; which I will never betray nor give over, God, her Majeſty, all the laws, 'my own conſcience and duty, being with me.' He concludes, beſeeching his Lordſhip not to be diſcomfited, but continue: the cauſe is good, and the complaints being general, are vain and without cauſe, as will appear when they deſcend to particularities. To encourage his Lordſhip, the Archbiſhop likewiſe, June 24, ſends him a ſchedule of the number of Puritan preachers in his province, with their degrees, confronting them with the conformiſts, whereby it appeared that there were 786 conformiſts, and only 49 recuſants.—Lord Burleigh, in another letter, ſtill inſiſting that he would not call his proceedings rigorous and captious, but that they were ſcarcely charitable; by way of defence againſt this, in a letter, dated July the 15th, the Archbiſhop ſends a paper, ſuperſcribed thus: *Reaſons why it is convenient that thoſe which are culpable in the Articles miniſtred judicially by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and others, her Majeſty's Commiſſioners for cauſes eccleſiaſtical, ſhall be examined of the ſame Articles upon their oaths.* 1. That by the eccleſiaſtical laws remaining in force, ſuch articles may be miniſtred; this is ſo clear by all, that it was never hitherto called into doubt. 2. That this manner of proceeding hath been tried againſt ſuch as were vehemently ſuſpected, preſented, and detected by their neighbours, or whoſe faults were notorious, as by open preaching, ſince there hath been any law eccleſiaſtical in this realm. 3. For the diſcovery of any Popery, it hath been uſed in King Edward's time, in the deprivation of ſundry biſhops at that time, as it may appear by the proceſſes, although withal for the proof of thoſe things that they denied witneſſes were alſo uſed. 4. In her Majeſty's moſt happy reign, even from the beginning, this manner of proceeding hath been uſed againſt the one extreme and the other as general, againſt all the Papiſts, and againſt all thoſe that would not follow the book of Common Prayer eſtabliſhed by authority; namely, againſt Mr Sampſon, and others; and the Lords of the Privy Council committed certain to the Fleet, for counſelling Sir John Southword and other Papiſts not to anſwer upon articles concerning their own facts and opinions, miniſtred unto them by her Highneſs's Commiſſioners for cauſes eccleſiaſtical, except a fame thereof were firſt proved. 5. It is meet alſo to be done *ex officio mero*, becauſe upon the confeſſion of ſuch offences no pecuniary penalty is ſet down, whereby the informer (as in other temporal courts) may be conſidered for his charge and pains, ſo that ſuch faults would elſe be wholly unreformed. 6. This courſe is not againſt charity, for it is warranted by law as neceſſary for reforming of offenders and diſturbers of the unity of the church, and for avoiding delays and frivolous exceptions againſt ſuch as otherwiſe ſhould inform, denounce, accuſe, or detect them; and becauſe none are in this manner to be proceeded againſt, but whom their own ſpeeches or acts, the public fame, and ſome of credit, as their ordinary, and ſuch like, ſhall denounce, and ſignify to be ſuch as are to be reformed in this behalf. 7. That the form of ſuch proceedings by articles *ex officio mero* is uſual; it may appear by all records in eccleſiaſtical courts from the beginning; in all eccleſiaſtical commiſſions, namely, by the particular commiſſion and proceedings againſt the Biſhops of London and Winton in King Edward's time, and from the beginning of her Majeſty's reign, in the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, till this hour; and therefore warranted by ſtatute. 8. If it be ſaid that it be againſt law, reaſon, and charity, for a man to accuſe

* He had wrote a paper in defence of thoſe puritan recuſants, and ſent it to the Archbiſhop.

was his chief friend there. He waited this year alſo, about theſe matters, upon the Queen, who had been ſolicited in favour of ſome of the Innovators againſt the Liturgy, and ſoon after ſent her highneſs his anſwer to all their moſt plauſible objections that were commonly urged by them, and gives her ſeveral reaſons why the diſcipline was rather to be ſuppreſſed, than by writing confuted [*LL*]. In the mean time he prevailed to have ſome of the ſees filled, that had been vacant ever ſince the ejection of the Popiſh biſhops; and obtained a promiſe from Burleigh to complete the whole bench *(pp)*. Nor did his zeal for the eſtabliſhed eccleſiaſtical polity diſplay itſelf with leſs warmth in oppoſing the election this year of Mr Walter Travers to the Maſterſhip of the Temple, and in adviſing a reſtraint to be laid upon the preſs at Cambridge [*MM*]. Several petitions

accuſe himſelf *quia nemo tenetur ſeipſum prodere aut propriam turpitudinem revelare*; I anſwer, that by all charity and reaſon, *Proditus per denunciationem alterius ſive per famam, tenetur ſeipſum oſtendere, ad evitandum ſcandalum, & ſeipſum purgandum. Prælatus poteſt inquirere ſine prævia fama, ergo a fortiori Delegati per principem poſſunt; ad hæc in iſtis articulis turpitudo non inquiritur aut flagitium, ſed exceſſus & errata clericorum circa publicam functionem miniſterii, de quibus Ordinario rationem reddere coguntur.* 9. Touching the ſubſtance of the articles, firſt, is deduced there being deacons or miniſters in the church, with the lawfulneſs of that manner of ordering; (2.) The eſtabliſhing the book of Common Prayer by ſtatute, and the charge given to biſhops and ordinaries for ſeeing the execution of the ſaid ſtatute; (3.) The goodneſs of the book, by the ſame words whereby the ſtatute of Elizabeth calls and termeth it; (4.) ſeveral branches of breaches of the book being *de propriis factis*; (5.) is deduced detections againſt them, and ſuch monitions as have been given them to teſtify their conformity hereafter, and whether they wilfully ſtill continue ſuch breaches of law in their miniſtration; (6.) their aſſembling of conventicles for the maintenance of their factious dealings. 10. For the ſecond, fourth, and ſixth poyntes, no man will think it unmeet they ſhould be examined, yf they would have them touched for any breach of the book. 11. The article for examination whether they be deacons or miniſters ordered according to the law of the land, is moſt neceſſary; firſt, for the grounds of the proceeding, leſt the breach of the book be objected to them who are not bound to obſerve it; (2.) to meet with ſuch ſchiſmaticks, whereof there is ſufficient experience, which either thruſt themſelves into the miniſtry without any lawful calling at all, or elſe take orders at Antwerpe, or elſewhere beyond the ſeas. 12. The article for their opinion of the lawfulneſs of their admiſſion into the miniſtry, is to meet with ſuch hypocrites, as to be enabled for a living, will be content to be ordered at a biſhop's hands, and yet, for ſatisfaction of their factious humour, will afterwards have a calling of certain brethren miniſters, with laying on of hands, in a private houſe, or in a conventicle, to the manifeſt ſlaunder of the church of England, and the nouriſhing of a flatte ſchiſm; (2.) for the detecting of ſuch as not by private, but by public ſpeeches, and written pamphlettes ſpread abroad, do deprave the whole order eccleſiaſtical of this church, and the lawfulneſs of calling therein; advouching no calling lawful, but where their fancied monſtrouſe ſignorie, or the aſſent of the people, do admit into the miniſtrie. 13. The ſequel that would follow of theſe articles being convinced or proved, is not ſo much as deprivation from eccleſiaſtical livings, if there be not obſtinate perſiſting in, or iterating, the ſame offence; a matter far different from the bloody Inquiſition in time of Popery, or of the ſix articles, where death was the ſequel againſt the criminal. 14. It is to be conſidered, what encouragement and probable appearance it would breed to the dangerous papiſtical ſacraments, if place be given by the chief magiſtrates eccleſiaſtical to perſons that tende of ſingularitie, to the diſturbance of the good peace of the church, and to the diſcredit of that, for diſallowing whereof the obinate Papiſt is worthily puniſhed. 15. The number of theſe ſingular perſons, in compariſon of the quiet and conformable, are few, and their qualities are alſo, for excellence of gifts in learning, diſcretion, and conſiderate zeal, far inferior to thoſe other that yield their conformity; and for demonſtration and proof both of the numbers and alſo of the difference of good parts and learning in the province of Canterbury, there are but —— hundred that refuſe, and —— thouſandes that had yielded their conformities. — Lord Burleigh being not ſtill perſuaded of the juſtneſs and blameleſſneſs of his proceedings, he wrote again, September the 14th, repreſenting that it was not variety in judgment concerning ſome circumſtances, that could, he truſted, diminiſh that good affection in his Lordſhip or in himſelf, which had been by ſo long time and experience confirmed; that hereof he was aſſured himſelf, and it was his belief, that however he was blamed, yet upon trial he ſhould not be found blame-worthy. To this that Lord writes, That he muſt clear himſelf, for he meant nothing in any conceit to his Grace; for that notwithſtanding of late he had differed in his poor opinion from his Grace, in that by his order certain ſimple men had been rather ſought by inquiſition to be found offenders, than upon their facts condemned, yet he did not, for all this, differ from his Grace in amity and love. Upon which the Archbiſhop takes heart, and writes in the following terms. 'I am as 'yet fully perſuaded, that my manner of proceeding againſt ſuch kind of men is both lawful, uſual, 'and charitable: neither can I deviſe how otherwiſe 'to deal, to work any good effect. It is the only thing 'wherein your Lordſhip and I differ; and I doubt 'not but that upon conference we ſoon herein 'ſhall agree: not ſeverity, but lenity, has bred this 'ſchiſm in the church, but the accuſation of ſeverity 'is the laſt thing I fear; if I be able to anſwer to the 'contrary fault, I ſhall think myſelf well paid. It 'was the ſame ſeverity with which I kept Trinity 'College and my late dioceſe of Wigorn in good order.' It was thought neceſſary to relate our Metropolitan's behaviour ſo particularly in this important point of the oath *ex officio* (47), for the ſame reaſon that Mr Strype gives for inſerting his letter to Lord Burleigh, of July 15, at length ‡, becauſe the true ſpirit of his Grace is ſo conſpicuous therein.

[*LL*] *He waited upon the Queen, and gave her reaſons why the diſcipline was rather to be ſuppreſſed, than by writing confuted.*] Upon the 8th of May, the Archbiſhop had a conference at Lambeth with ſome gentlemen of Kent, who applied to him in behalf of the ſuſpended miniſters in that county, as is related in Note [*II*]. The Archbiſhop aſſured them, that they [the miniſters] had come in a tumultuous manner, and rather with a deſign to quarrel, than to be convinced; and that they were ſo young and unlearned, that he would not have put them into orders, had they not had them before (48). Sir George Paul tells us, (49) that there was this year a conference at Lambeth with theſe non-compliers, at the inſtance of ſome of the privy council, who had provided the ableſt men among them for this purpoſe; that theſe privy counſellors were preſent at this debate, and after four hours ſpent therein, they profeſſed themſelves ſatisfied and convinced as well of the ſtrength of the Archbiſhop's reaſons, as of the weakneſs of the Diſciplinarians, and that ſo, they ſaid, they would inform her Majeſty. September the 20th, the privy council applied in favour of ſome of the deprived preachers, and againſt the Biſhop's Commiſſaries: To which the Archbiſhop returned an anſwer, the 27th, vindicating himſelf and his proceedings; and now, after he had drawn out to her Majeſty ſeveral of their arguments, with his anſwers to them, he concludes, *Your Majeſty of yourſelf will eaſily diſcern many of them* [the objections] *to be very childiſh, ſome irreligious, and ſome perilous, tending to the great offence of her ſubjects, and invaſion of this moſt happy ſtate of government; and therefore rather the diſcipline to be repreſſed, than by writing confuted* (50).

[*MM*] *Adviſing a reſtraint to be laid upon the preſs.*] Mr Travers, before mentioned, had before this publiſhed a book in Latin, intitled *Diſciplina Eccleſiaſtica ex Dei verbo deſcripta*, which, being now tranſlated into Engliſh, was printed at Cambridge. But the

(pp) Strype, b. iii, ch. 9.

(47) Upon the whole, theſe letters evidently ſhew Burleigh's diſlike of this oath, as well as the complaints of it by others at this time; and it appears in the courſe of our Archbiſhop's life afterwards, that there was a general diſſatisfaction and murmuring about it; particularly a paper was wrote in 1590 by one James Morrice, Attorney of the Wards, againſt it, to which Dr R. Coſin, Dean of the Arches, drew up an anſwer in 1590. The oath continued till King Charles the IId's time, when it was aboliſhed by act of parliament.

‡ In the Appendix, No. xi. to b. iii.

(48) Ch. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. ann. 1582, 1583, 1584.

(49) Life of Whitgift, p. 41.

(50) Ch. 8. p. 169.

petitions being offered to this parliament in favour of the Puritans, for receiving their new platform and book of public prayer, as alſo againſt pluralities and the court of faculties, the Archbiſhop anſwered them, and preſented his anſwer to the Queen in perſon. He ſent notes alſo upon them to Lord Burleigh [*NN*], Dec. 26. However, being made ſenſible of the juſtneſs of a complaint againſt the exceſſive fees taken in ſpiritual courts, he ſet about drawing up a new ſtate of thoſe fees, according to ancient cuſtom †, and at the ſame time prevailed with the Queen not to give her aſſent to ſome bills that had paſſed both houſes, which affected the preſent good eſtate of the clergy; namely, one giving liberty to marry at all times, another for the trial of miniſters ſufficiency by twelve laymen, and ſuch like. This laſt was a precedent for a like act paſt and rigidly executed againſt the Royaliſts during the rebellion and uſurpation of Cromwell. In the ſame parliament he procured an act for the better foundation and relief of the poor of the hoſpital of Eaſtbridge in Canterbury [*OO*]; and before the year was expired he found means to put a ſtop to a commiſſion that was then upon the anvil for a *melius inquirendum* [*PP*]. In 1585, by ſpecial order from the Queen, he drew up rules for regulating the preſs [*QQ*]; which were confirmed and ſet forth by the authority of the Star-Chamber, June 23d. In all his tranſactions for uniformity he had conſtantly both the permiſſion and countenance of the Queen, as well as the general concurrence of Burleigh, Leyceſter, and Walſingham. Yet in his proceedings with the Nonconformiſts his grace had received ſometimes, even from theſe his friends, very hard words *. Upon which account about this time he joined himſelf in a more cloſe friendſhip with Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, then Vice-chamberlain to the Queen, to whom he now (July 16) opened his mind, and complained of the others uſage of him. The Earl of Leyceſter particularly, not content with having made Cartwright Maſter of his hoſpital newly built at Warwick (*qq*), attempted by a moſt artful addreſs to procure a licence for him to preach without the ſubſcription ‡, but the Archbiſhop peremptorily refuſed to comply. Preſently after this the ſame earl applied to him to declare his judgment about the Queen's aiding the Low Countries, to which he gave a very wary anſwer [*RR*]. This was

† This table was not compleated till 1597. Strype, p. 195.

‡ The Archbiſhop had been very courteous to his old antagoniſt, who ſeemed now to be diſpoſed to make no diſturbance againſt the church. The Earl thereupon in this letter thanked him for his kindneſs to Cartwright, adding that it would do him much good, viz. in bringing him into a better opinion of the church. But the plot at bottom was to obtain the licence. Strype, p. 227.

* See the note [*KK*]. They all three were inclined to favour the Puritans or Diſciplinarians.

(*qq*) The Earl gave Cartwright 50 l. per ann. as Maſter, beſides 50 l. more as an annuity.

Vice-chancellor getting intelligence of it, had the whole impreſſion, or moſt part of it, ſeized; and acquainting the Chancellor of it, he applied to the Archbiſhop upon the affair, who returned an anſwer to this tenor: That ever ſince they had a printing preſs at Cambridge, he feared that this and greater inconveniences would follow. For though the Vice-chancellor was a very careful man, and in all reſpects greatly to be commended, yet he might be ſucceeded by ſome of another turn and temper, not ſo well affected to the church, and that if he thought fit to continue that privilege to the univerſity, ſufficient bonds with heretics ſhould be taken of the printer not to print any books, unleſs they were firſt allowed by lawful authority, for, ſays he, if reſtraint be made here, and liberty granted there, what good can be done? He aſſured his Lordſhip, as to Travers's election at the Temple, that unleſs he would teſtify his conformity by ſubſcribing, as all others did which now entered into eccleſiaſtical livings, and did alſo make proof unto him that he is a miniſter ordered according to the laws of this church, as he verily believed he could not, becauſe he forſook his place in the college [Trinity College in Cambridge] upon that occaſion, he could by no means yield to conſent to the placing him there or elſewhere in any function of this church. But Travers refuſed now to take orders in the church of England, though he was perſuaded to it by Lord Burleigh (whoſe chaplain he had been) the better to qualify him for the Temple. The Archbiſhop now recommended one Dr Bond to that place, but Mr Hooker was choſen (51). This Dr Bond here mentioned was probably Nicolas Bond, who now was Queen's chaplain, and prebendary of Weſtminſter. He was bred at Magdalen College, Oxon, of which he was choſen Preſident in 1590 †.

[*NN*] *He ſent notes upon the bill againſt pluralities to Lord Burleigh.*] Theſe were, 1. This bill takes away the prerogative of the crown. 2. It abridges the Queen's revenue. 3. It is the next way to an unlearned miniſtry. 4. It requireth an impoſſibility; for of 8800 benefices with cure, there are not 600 ſufficient for learned men; neither, if they were all ſufficient, could there be found the third part of learned men to ſupply that number. 5. It takes away apt governours againſt reaſon * from the univerſities. 6. It ſpoils cathedral churches of houſe keeping. 7. It increaſes the number of the factious and waywarde ſort, in favour of whom this bill ſeems to be deviſed. At this time two papers came out, one intitled, *Means how to ſettle a godly and charitable quietneſs in the church*, &c. addreſſed to the Archbiſhop; the other, *A note of certain other acts very meet to be conſidered of in the convocation, and to come from them.* This paper pretended to ſhew divers defects in the eccleſiaſtical law, to which the Archbiſhop anſwered in general. The author, ſays he, of theſe articles would ſeem to make doubt where none is, and to adviſe laws for things already ſufficiently provided for (52). He wrote alſo anſwers to both theſe papers, which may be ſeen in the Appendix to Strype, No. 16 and 17 to Book *III.*

[*OO*] *For the hoſpital of Eaſtbridge in Canterbury.*] In this act there were ordinances for the government and order of that hoſpital, which were framed by the Archbiſhop. He had before recovered it, and the revenues thereof, out of the hands of one Farnham, one of the gentlemen penſioners, who had obtained it under the pretence of concealed lands, and had ſold it to another (53).

[*PP*] *He ſtopt a commiſſion for a* melius inquirendum.] By this commiſſion a ſtrict enquiry was to be made into the value of all biſhopricks, deaneries, archdeaconries, canonries, prebends, rectories, vicarages, and their ſalaries, &c. under the pretence of advancing the Queen's firſt fruits and tenths. The Archbiſhop wrote a letter to Lord Burleigh upon this occaſion, containing ſeveral articles againſt this commiſſion. One of theſe is in his own hand writing as follows; ‘*It ſhould alſo be conſidered, whether it be not*
‘*the meaning of the preferrers of this ſuit, or of ſome*
‘*others moving them thereunto, to bring ſuch of the clergy*
‘*as pleaſeth them into bondage or awe, for fear of enhancing their livings, ſo that they which could not pre-*
‘*vail in parliament, may this way be revenged* (54).’

[*QQ*] *He drew up rules for regulating the preſs.*] Theſe were, 1. No printing preſſes to be allowed beſides thoſe in London, except one in each univerſity; the number of thoſe in London to be regulated by the Archbiſhop and Biſhops, who ſhould preſent ſuch as the ſtationers ſhould chooſe to be governors of preſſes before the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners. 3. No perſon to print any books except firſt allowed, according to the Queen's injunctions, and to be ſeen and peruſed by the Archbiſhop and Biſhop of London. 4. No books to be printed againſt any ſtatute or law of this realm. Theſe articles were drawn up by ſpecial order of the Queen, who had been informed of ſeveral treaſonable books by the Arrchbiſhop (55).

[*RR*] *He gave a very wary anſwer.*] In the 6 firſt articles of his anſwer he takes notice of the danger of his meddling in this matter; and in the 7th obſerves, that the conſtant report was, that her Majeſty is pleaſed to give them aid; and to that end ſoldiers are levied, as the common opinion is: and therefore my was in the end of July; and before the end of Auguſt he prevented the iſſuing of a commiſſion for farming out the firſt fruits and tenths, with a view of enhancing thoſe payments, to the detriment of the clergy *. This year he ſilenced Mr Travers from preaching at the Temple; notwithſtanding, about the ſame time being called upon for his judgment in the diſpute betwixt him and Hooker, he gave his opinion leſs in favour of the Papiſts than Hooker had done [*SS*]. On Candlemas-day he was ſworn into the Privy Council (*rr*), and the next month framed the ſtatutes of cathedral churches, ſo as to make them comport with the reformation. And the year was not expired when he ſent a prohibition to Cartwright, forbidding him to publiſh his anſwer to the Rhemiſh Bible *. In 1586, his name appears among thoſe counſellors who condemned Secretary Daviſon for procuring the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, without the conſent of his ſovereign [*TT*]; and upon the diſcovery of Babington's deſign to marry the ſaid Queen, the Archbiſhop put forth ſome prayers under the title of *A form of prayer for theſe dangerous times*. This year likewiſe he granted a licence to an Italian merchant-bookſeller to import ſeveral Popiſh books [*UU*]. The Lord Chancellor's place becoming vacant by the death of Sir Thomas Bromley, April 12, 1587, the Queen made the Archbiſhop an offer of that poſt, which he declined; but recommended Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, who on the 29th of April was made Lord Chancellor in his grace's palace at Croydon (*ss*). The following year 1581 he joined with Lord Burleigh in reſtoring to his fellowſhip at St John's College at Cambridge, Mr Everard Digby, who had been expelled by Dr Whitaker the Maſter, and ſome of the Fellows, upon ſuſpicion of Popery †; and about the ſame time gave an anſwer to a captious ſyllogiſm, in which he was concluded, by practice of Popiſh tyranny, to endanger her Majeſty's ſafety [*WW*]. Upon the alarm of

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(51) Hooker's article, and the additions to his life, prefixed to Eccleſiaſtical Polity, and Strype, B. iii. ch. 16.

† Wood's Faſti, vol. I. col. 100, 121.

* Divers of the maſterſhips being but 40 l. a year wages, not a ſufficient maintenance without ſuch help of benefices.

(52) Strype, ch. ii. p. 193. anno 1584.

(53) *Cantuaria Sacra*, by Nic. Battely, p. 71.

(54) Strype, p. 2[illegible]4.

(55) Ibid. p. 222.

* His letter to Lord Burleigh, now Lord Treaſurer, is dated the 23d of Auguſt, where he ſhews how little it was like to anſwer the deſign of impr[illegible] her Majeſty's revenues, but certainly deſtructive of the good eſtate of the clergy. Ibid. p. 232.

(*rr*) Strype, p. 247. At the ſame time was ſworn alſo Lord Buckhurſt, a faſt friend to our archbiſhop.

* It was publiſhed afterwards in the year 1618 by Cartwright, who in the preface mentions this prohibition by our archbiſhop. The bible was the Rhemiſh bible tranſlated into Engliſh, with notes by the Jeſuits at Rheims.

(*ss*) Paul, ubi ſupra, p. 49, 50.

† He was father to Sir Everard Digby, concerned in the gun-powder plot, and he left the college ſoon after he was reſtored. Tho. Baker.

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my moving thereof would be needleſs. 8. I wiſh with all my heart great compaſſion to be had to them, and think that their cauſe being religion, they ought to be relieved by all lawful ways and means poſſible. But if any further thing be required, I muſt be reſolved of the lawfulneſs thereof, and know what it is, before I uſe any perſuaſion thereunto. It muſt be obſerved, that the Queen had taken them into her protection before this letter of Lord Leyceſter's, which was dated the 19th of July 1585 (56).

(56) Ibid. p. 229. where Strype well obſerves, that this matter ſeems to be nothing but a trial of the Abp.

[*SS*] *He ſilenced Travers, and gave his opinion leſs in favour of the Papiſts than Hooker had done.*] Travers was Fellow of Trinity College, while Dr Whitgift had that maſterſhip, and by his means, but proved refractory and troubleſome afterwards; and on Whitgift's requiring him to take orders according to the church of England, he left the college to avoid expulſion: he went firſt to Geneva, and afterwards to Antwerp, where he was ordained by Cartwright, Villers, and others, after the Geneva form. Whilſt he was abroad, he wrote his book *De diſciplina eccleſiaſtica*, mentioned in note [*LL*], which was the model and ground of all the platforms of the Puritan diſcipline that were more than once in this reign offered to parliament. In 1644, when the common-prayer book was aboliſhed, it was tranſlated into Engliſh, and reprinted under the title of *A Directory of Government anciently contended for, and as far as the time would ſuffer practiſed by the firſt Nonconformiſts in the days of Queen Elizabeth, found in the ſtudy of that moſt accompliſhed divine Thomas Cartwright after his deceaſe, and reſerved to be publiſhed for ſuch a time as this. Publiſhed by authoritie.*— Travers appealed from the Archbiſhop's ſentence, in a petition to the privy-council, but without ſucceſs, by a ſupplication *, in which he had charged Mr Hooker very ſeverely for his charitable opinion of Papiſts dying in their ſuperſtition. Mr Hooker, in anſwer to this, obſerved, that what he had ſaid was only, *I doubt not but that God was merciful to ſave thouſands of our fathers living heretofore in Popiſh ſuperſtition, in as much as they ſinned ignorantly.* Upon this the Archbiſhop made the following (weak) refutation. Ignorance did not excuſe the fault of Papiſts, to make it no fault: but the leſs their fault was in reſpect of ignorance, the more hope we have that God was merciful to them. General repentance may ſerve to their ſalvation, though they confeſs not their error of merit. *Archbiſhop*. General repentance will not ſave any but the faithful man; nor him for any ſin, but for ſuch ſins only as he doth not mark nor know to be ſins. 4. The church of Rome is within the new covenant. *Archbiſhop*. The church of Rome is not as the aſſemblies of Turks, Jews, and Painims. 5 The Galatians joining the law with Chriſt, might have been ſaved before they received the epiſtle. *A.* Of the Galatians, before they were told of their error [of making the obſervation of circumciſion neceſſary to believers] which letteth us to think as of our fathers before the church of Rome was admoniſhed of her defection from the truth (57). Mr Hooker had likewiſe aſſerted, *Papiſts hold the foundation of faith, ſo that they may be ſaved, notwithſtanding their opinion of merit*. Anſwer of the Archbiſhop. Papiſts overthrow the foundation of faith both by their doctrine of *merit*, and otherwiſe many ways. So that if they have as their errors deſerve, I do not ſee how they ſhould be ſaved.

* Travers [illegible] mong[illegible] [illegible]a- ſons [illegible] the [illegible] Whitt[illegible] who, [illegible] ordai[illegible] Preſbyters only abroad, [illegible] executed the miniſtry here; to which Whitgift replied, that the caſe of Whittingham was different, and that he would however have been deprived, had he lived [illegible] diſpenſation; and th[illegible] by the law of [illegible], ſuch [illegible] to be [illegible] as miniſters in this church, ſhould be ordained by a biſhop, and ſubſcribe the articles before him.

(57) Idem, ch. 14.

[*TT*] *Without the conſent of his Sovereign.*] He approved Daviſon's fact of getting the warrant ſigned, and commended it, but the manner and way of executing it he thoroughly condemned, that is, as it was urged againſt him by the Queen's counſel, for that ſhe never intended (as Popham, queen's attorney, declared and aggravated) that the Queen of Scots, though condemned, ſhould have been put to death, for cauſes beſt known to herſelf, and not to be ſearched into by others: not that ſhe could by any means be perſuaded to conſent thereto, either by the ſituation of the realme, or by the repeated inſtances and reaſons of the council, notwithſtanding ſhe had, for preventing of dangers, commanded a warrant for the Queen's execution to be drawn up, and committing it to Daviſon's truſt and ſecrecy; that he nevertheleſs, being ſworn ſecretary, forgetting his allegiance and duty, contrary to what the Queen had commanded him, acquainted the council therewith, and put the warrant in execution without her knowing any thing at all of it. This was what moved the Archbiſhop to give his judgment as he did (58).

[*UU*] *He granted a licence to import Popiſh books.*] Here is the licence;

(58) Ibid. chap. 18. p. 267.

'Whereas ſundry books are from time to time ſet 'forth in the parts beyond ſeas by ſuch as are addicted 'to the errors of popery, yet in many reſpects expe'dient to be had by ſome of the learned in this realm, 'contayninge alſoe oftentimes matter in them againſt 'the ſtate of this land, and ſlaunderous unto it, and 'therefore not fit books to paſs through every man's 'hand freely; in conſideration whereof I have tole'rated Aſcanio de Renialme, merchant bookſeller, to 'bring into this realme, from the parts beyond ſeas, 'ſome few copies of every ſuch ſort of books, upon 'this condition onlie, that any of them be not had or 'diſperſed abroad, but firſt brought to me, or ſome 'other of her Majeſty's privy-council, ſo that they 'may be delivered, or directed to be delivered furth 'unto ſuch perſons onlie, as by us or ſome of us ſhall 'be thought moſt meet men, upon good conſiderations 'and purpoſes, to have the reading and peruſal of 'them.

'Given at Lambeth, the   day of October,
'1586. Anno Regni Reginæ Eliz. 28º (59).'

(59) Ibid. p. 269.

[*WW*] *A captious ſyllogiſm*] This ſyllogiſm had been handed about ever ſince the year 1584, and was aſ-of the Spaniſh Invaſion this year, he procured an order of the council to prevent the clergy from being ceſſed by the Lord Lieutenants for furniſhing arms, and wrote circular letters to the Biſhops, to take care that their clergy ſhould be ready with a voluntary appointment of arms, &c (*tt*). This year came out a virulent pamphlet entitled, *Martyn Marprelate*, in which the Archbiſhop was ſeverely handled in very coarſe language [*XX*]. The univerſity of Oxford loſing their chancellor, the Earl of Leyceſter (*uu*) this year, ſeveral of the heads and others ſignified to the Archbiſhop their intention to chooſe him into that poſt. This offer, being a Cambridge man, he declined for himſelf, but made uſe of it to recommend his friend Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, who was elected: by which means the Archbiſhop came into a great ſhare of the government of that univerſity (*ww*). In 1590, Cartwright being cited before the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion for ſeveral miſdemeanours, and refuſing to take the oath *ex officio*, was ſent to the Fleet priſon, and the Archbiſhop drew up a paper containing ſeveral articles, more explicitly againſt the Diſciplinarians than the former, to be ſubſcribed by all licenſed preachers [*YY*]. The

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(*tt*) Idem, ch. 19. p. 275.

(*uu*) He died the 4th of September. Paul's Life of Whitgift, p. 50.

(*ww*) Paul's Life, &c. p. 50, 51.

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cribed to Sir Francis Knolles§, but was not taken notice of till this year by the Archbiſhop, who now wrote *The reſolution of a pretended ſyllogiſm, captiouſly and inſufficiently concluding the Archbiſhop of Canterbury by practice of Popiſh tyranny to endanger her Majeſty's ſafety.* I ſee, ſays he, three parts of a reaſon indirectly concluding the ſame, but from the ſyllogiſm there is none either in mood or figure. The firſt ground or propoſition conteyneth matter of two or three ſyllogiſms to be framed to that purpoſe which they pretend, which I will reſolve into logical form, that the inſufficiency and captiouſneſs of the reaſon may the more eaſily appear, in manner following. *Maj.* Whoſoever practiſeth popiſh tyranny is a ſubject dangerous to her Majeſty's ſafety. *Min.* The Archbiſhop practiſeth Popiſh tyranny. Therefore he is a ſubject dangerous to her Majeſty's ſafety. *Proof of the Minor.* What clergyman ſoever taketh upon him any ſupreme authoritie, above the common authoritie equally given by the word of God to all lawful miniſters, doth practiſe Popiſh tyranny. But the Biſhop of Canterbury doth, &c. *Ergo.* —*Anſwer.* The Biſhop of Canterbury taketh upon him no ſupreme authoritie, for he knoweth right well that the Queen's Majeſty, by the laws of this realme, and right of her crown, is ſupreme governor of both ſtates, as well eccleſiaſtical as temporal. Therefore appeals be made from the inferior Biſhops to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as to a higher authoritie, and from the Archbiſhop to the Prince by her delegates in the court of chancery, as to the ſupreme authoritie. The reſt of that major is likewiſe untrue, as that what clergyman ſoever taketh upon him any ſupreme authoritie equally given by the word of God to all lawful miniſters, doth practiſe Popiſh tyranny. *The reſt of this paper is loſt* (60).

§ Who had likewiſe made another ſuch ſyllogiſm againſt Dr Bancroft, the archbiſhop's chaplain, which was anſwered by that doctor, and is inſerted by Strype, ubi infra.

(60) Ch. 21. p. 295. ann. 1588.

[*XX*] *Martyn Marprelate, in which the Archbiſhop was handled in very coarſe language.*] The author, John ap Henry, among other things maintained, that *no one Biſhop had ever ſuch an aſpiring and ambitious mind as he, no not* STEPHEN GARDINER *of Wincheſter. None ſo tyrannous as he, no not* BONNER. Upon which the Archbiſhop ſaid, the ſchiſmatics were impudent liars, and that the world knew what he had ever been, and what he was, and that he diſdained to anſwer ſuch ſenſeleſs calumniations. In another paſſage of that book where *Marprelate* was bid to take care leſt the Spaniard ſtole him away, he replied, he wiſhed the beſt Martiniſt in England durſt ſay it to his face. This was the year of the Spaniſh invaſion. About the ſame time theſe libels, *The Epitome—The Demonſtration of Diſcipline—The Supplication—Diotrephes—The Minerals—Have you any Work for a Cooper?—Martin Junior, alias Theſes Martinianæ—Martin Senior—More Work for the Cooper.* Theſe and ſeveral others were printed at a kind of wandering preſs, firſt ſet up at Moulſey near Kingſton upon Thames, thence conveyed to Fawlſley in Northamptonſhire, thence to Norton, afterwards to Coventry, thence to Whetſtone in Warwickſhire, from which place the letters were ſent to another preſs in or near Mancheſter in Lancaſhire, where in printing *More work for a Cooper* it was diſcovered by Henry Earl of Derby *. Upon this occaſion the Archbiſhop writes to Lord Burleigh as follows: 'For my own part, in reſpect of myſelf (the 'greateſt mote in their eyes) I make little account of 'their malice, neither do I ever break ſleep for the 'care thereof. Yet in reſpect of my calling and pro'feſſion, and of the ſcandal that may by ſuch lewd 'libels be miniſtered to men apt to believe any 'thing; I could wiſh them to be dealt with according 'to their deſert, and quality of their offence, wiſhing 'alſo that it might be done rather by their Lordſhips 'of the council, than by themſelves' [the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion] 'that the world might know that they 'were men not caſt off of all ſides, as abjects of the 'world, but that juſtice ſhould as well take place in 'their caſes as in all other mens; the rather, becauſe 'they ſuffered theſe injuries by *Martiniſts* for doing 'their duty in ſuppreſſing ſects and wicked opinions, 'and in maintaining the ſtate and government by law 'eſtabliſhed, which was wounded through their ſides.' This letter is dated Auguſt 4, 1589, from Canterbury. (61)

* Paul's life, p. 51, 52.

(61) Ch. 22, 23. Mr Strype juſtly obſerves, that theſe ſlanderous writings againſt the archbiſhop, by putting him upon his juſtification, brought many ſingular paſſages of his conduct, learning, wiſdom, and virtue, to light, which might otherwiſe never have come to our knowledge.

[*YY*] *Cartwright was ſent to the Fleet priſon, and the Archbiſhop drew up ſome more articles to be ſubſcribed by all licenſed Preachers.*] Though the Archbiſhop had denied Cartwright a licence without ſubſcription, yet he preached in and about Warwick; and particularly at Banbury; and in 1589 he had theſe (which were his uſual) words in his prayer before ſerman, *Becauſe they* [the Biſhops] *which ought to be pillars in the church, do band themſelves againſt Chriſt and his truth, therefore, O Lord, give us grace and power all as one man to ſet ourſelves againſt them* §. Lord Burleigh wrote a letter to the Archbiſhop, dated Auguſt 4, 1590, adviſing him not to be preſent at Cartwright's trial before the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, and he was not there, as Fuller informs us (62), when this his old antagoniſt was committed to the Fleet, for printing without licence his anſwer to the *Rhemiſh Teſtament*, and for appointing ſeveral ſeditious meetings of the ſynods at Cambridge and elſewhere; in which it was decreed, that the diſcipline ſhould within a time limited be put in practice: for this theſe diſciplinarians decreed in their private conventicles, that the Queen's authority ought to be reſtrained in cauſes eccleſiaſtical (63). The Archbiſhop therefore drew up a paper, and ſent it to Lord Burleigh, who it appears by ſeveral interlineations in his own hand, and by himſelf underſcored, yielded his allowance to the ſeveral articles contained in it, which follow.

§ Paul, p. 62.

(62) In his Church Hiſtory, p. 129.

(63) Paul's life, ubi ſupra, p. 61.

Feb, 4, 1590.

ARTICLES for a general Enlargement of the Laws Eccleſiaſtical.

We whoſe names are ſubſcribed, each man for himſelf, do unfeignedly acknowledge,

1. Her Majeſty's ſupremacy in cauſes eccleſiaſtical.

2. That there ought not to be any ſynods, conventicles, or aſſemblies, to make laws, conſtitutions, or ordinances, but by the Queen's aſſent, and by virtue of her authority, and that ſuch ſynods otherwiſe held are ſeditious and unlawful for any innovation or alteration to be made within this realm.

3. That the eccleſiaſtical government now received and eſtabliſhed by her Majeſty's authority, *and by the laws of the realme*, is lawful and allowable by the word of God, *and not repugnant*; and that the Preſbyterian government is not only unlawful, but very dangerous for the ſtate of the realme.

We do likewiſe acknowledge, that it is ſeditious and ungodly to teach or mainteyne, that there be or ought to be any potentates, officers, magiſtrates, or any ſuch as aſſume or take upon them to be *or to make* a preſbytery or conſiſtory to excommunicate, remove, or deprive her Majeſty for any cauſe whatſoever, or to command her ſubjects to withdraw their obedience from her.

We acknowledge the church now eſtabliſhed by the

laws

next year 1591, Cartwright was brought before the Star-Chamber, and upon giving bail for his quiet behaviour, was diſcharged at the motion of the Archbiſhop‡, who this year was appointed, by common conſent, to be arbitrator between two men of eminent learning in a remarkable point of ſcripture chronology [ZZ]. The ſame year in the vacancy of the ſee of Sarum by the tranſlation of Dr Piers to the Archbiſhoprick of York, our Archbiſhop preſented and inſtituted Mr Hooker into the living of Boſcomb in Wiltſhire, and to the prebend of Nether-haven in the church of Sarum (xx). In 1592 he viſited All Souls College (yy), and the following year Dr Bancroft publiſhing his *Survey of Diſcipline*, wherein he cenſured Beza's conduct in intermeddling with the Engliſh affairs in reſpect of church-government, upon which that miniſter complained of this uſage in a letter to the Archbiſhop [*AAA*], who returned a long anſwer, wherein he not only ſhewed the juſtice of Dr Bancroft's complaint, but further alſo vindicated Saravia and Sutcliffe, two learned men of the Engliſh church, who had written in behalf of the order of Epiſcopacy againſt Beza's doctrine of the equality of miniſters of the goſpel, and a ruling Preſbytery. In 1594, freſh complaints being made in parliament of the corruption of the eccleſiaſtical courts, the Archbiſhop made a general ſurvey of thoſe courts and their officers; and the ſame year he put a ſtop to the paſſing of ſome new grants of concealed lands belonging to the cathedrals [*BBB*]. This year he likewiſe procured of the Queen for Mr Hooker the good rectory of Biſhops-bourne near Canterbury (zz). The ſame year he ſummoned the famous Hugh Broughton to give an account of ſome of his doctrines concerning the article of *Chriſt's deſcent into hell**. In 1595, when the tumults of the Diſciplinarians appeared to be in a good meaſure appeaſed (aaa), there ſprung up the *Prædeſtinarian controverſy*, which occaſioned the drawing up of the *Lambeth Articles*, wherein the Archbiſhop had the direction, and ſent a copy of them to Cambridge, with a letter and private directions to teach the doctrine contained in them in that Univerſity; and praying that nothing ſhould be publicly taught there againſt them, notwithſtanding he was ſenſible at the ſame time, that this ſtep was not agreeable to the Queen [*CCC*]. This year

‡ Idem, p. 70. He had been in priſon a year and a half.

(xx) Walton's life of Hooker, p. 209, 210, and Hooker's article in this work, vol. iv. p. 2667.

(yy) At this viſitation he made (*inter alia*) an ordinance to oblige the Fellows to dine in the Hall. See Strype, No. xvi. and xv. Appendix to B. iv.

(zz) This living was in his own dioceſe and patronage, but this turn was the Queen's, upon the promotion of the Rector, Dr Redman, to the biſhopric of Norwich.

(aaa) Cartwright was now at Geneva, whence he ſent to a friend a letter, with a form of prayer, in which he compared prayer to a bunch of keys, whereby to go to all the treaſures and ſtorehouſes of the Lord; his butteries, his pantries, his cellars, his wardrobe, &c. Strype, ch. xiv.

* But Broughton at laſt gained his Grace over to his opinion. See Broughton's article in the Supplement.

laws of England to be a true member of the true church of Chriſt, and that the ſacraments as they be ordained by the law to be miniſtered, are godly and rightly adminiſtered, and the whole order of publick ceremonies therein by law eſtabliſhed to be ſuch as no man ought therefore to make any ſchiſm, diviſion, or contention in the church, or to withdraw himſelf from the ſame. *(The words and letters in Italics are the Lord Treaſurer's inſertion)* (64).

[ZZ] *Arbitrator between two men in a point of ſcripture chronology.*] Theſe were Hugh Broughton of Chriſt's College in Cambridge, the greateſt ſcholar in Hebrew and Jewiſh learning in thoſe times, and Dr Reynolds of Corpus Chriſti in Oxford, Divinity Profeſſor there. The point in diſpute was, *Whether the chronology of the times from Adam to Chriſt could be aſcertained by the Holy Scriptures?* The firſt held the affirmative, which was denied by the latter. But for a further account of this diſpute ſee the article of Hugh Broughton in the Supplement.

[*AAA*] *That miniſter complained of his uſage to the Archbiſhop.*] In his *Survey of Diſcipline* Dr Bancroft had uſed theſe words concerning Beza, who had wrote a letter in 1566, in behalf of the Puritans in England to Archbiſhop Grindall: that he wiſhed a man would read the Epiſtles of Leo, ſome time Biſhop of Rome, and confer them with one of Beza's, to conſider whether took more upon him, Leo where he might command, or Beza where there was no reaſon he ſhould at all have interpoſed. And when theſe reformers had wrote to Beza the next year, and Beza had diſpatched another letter hither in their defence, Dr Bancroft made this remark upon both: that it was a fond part in them to write unto him, and a very inſolent part for him to take ſo much upon him. Beza being offended at this treatment, took notice of it ſoon after in a letter to the Archbiſhop, wherein he vindicates his former behaviour, eſpecially to Dr Saravia† and Dr Sutcliff. However, in words at leaſt he profeſſes to be concluded by the Archbiſhop's determination in theſe terms: *Hoc nunc abs te peto, ut potius quam quod ad nos quidem attinet, aliqua hinc ſimultas apertior inter ejuſdem fidei ſpiritu conjunctiſſimos exoriatur, huic ſaltem in ſcribendo intemperiei occurratur, quod ſi quid antea ſcriptum a me fuiſſe nonnulli exiſtiment, quo quiſquam iſthic merito fuerit offenſus (quod certe nunquam prudens ſcienſque fieri nec facile repertum iri ſpero) operam omnem dabo admonitus, ut jure de me nemo conqueratur. Etſi enim ex illis ſcriptis quædam mihi objecta animadverto de quibus facile jam mihi fuit rationem reddere æquis omnibus judicibus præbendam: tamen, ut ſpiritui diſcordiæ occurratur, & ſemel hac moleſtia defungar, vehementer abs te etiam atque etiam poto, Reverende mi Domine, ut quid hac tota de re tibi videatur ex teipſo intelligam, pacatius poſtea quod mihi hujus vitæ curriculi ſupereſt favente Deo confecturus.* The Archbiſhop in his anſwer told Beza, that he meddled beyond his meaſure. He had of late upon occaſion wrote two or three letters to the Archbiſhop, giving him his titles, and owning this church and the government thereof; and now the Archbiſhop in a very long letter declared plainly his mind to him, and gently blamed him for ſiding himſelf ſo much with ſuch as created no little diſquiet and diſturbance in this church and kingdom. (65)

[*BBB*] *Put a ſtop to the paſſing of ſome grants of concealed lands.*] Several perſons, as Jeffe, Typpe, Wymark, and Ballard, had got new books of concealed lands omitted in ſome former books, which took in the churches of Canterbury, Wincheſter, Glouceſter, and the reſt of Henry VIIIth's foundation, beſides diverſe other biſhopricks. The Archbiſhop, as ſoon as he got intelligence of it, wrote to Sir John Puckeridge, then Keeper of the Great Seal, praying him, if any ſuch grants were already paſſed from her Majeſty, but not paſſed the Seal, that he would not ſet the ſame, until her Majeſty were advertiſed thereof; and that if he might intreat him to ſignify to her Majeſty the contents of theſe letters, he would take it for a ſpecial fruit of his good will towards him, and towards the church alſo. He likewiſe let the Keeper underſtand, that he had written to Sir John Forteſcue, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter, to the ſame effect, but he doubted his being at court, and (ſays the Archbiſhop) *mora trahit periculum.* The Archbiſhop in this letter refers to a ſtatute in the reign of Henry VIII. and another act lately made, to explain which it is obſerved that the act of anno 1593 was to explain a ſtatute of the 34th of Henry VIII. whereby the grants of the honours, manors, lands, &c. of abbots, priors, &c. were confirmed, and that this erection and endowment of any Dean, Chapter, or College, ſhall be good and effectual in law (66).

[*CCC*] *It was not agreeable to the Queen.*] This diſpute (called ſince the Quinquarticular controverſy) was firſt occaſioned at this time by the preaching of one Barret, Fellow of Caius College in Cambridge, againſt predeſtination, reprobation, &c. upon which being called upon by the Vicechancellor to retract, he complied; but afterwards applied to the Archbiſhop, who interpoſing his authority, was rejected by the Heads. Several letters paſſed between them on this occaſion, the Archbiſhop claiming a juriſdiction both as their viſitor in the vacancy of the Biſhoprick of Ely, in whoſe dioceſe they are, and alſo as chief of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, from which there was no exemption,

(64) Strype, ch. 2. b. 4.

† He had wrote a book of the 3 degrees of the miniſtry, which being ſeverely cenſured in rude language by Beza, was repaid to him by Dr Saravia.

(65) Book 4. ch. 10.

(66) This letter is dated Auguſt 28, 1594.

year he obtained letters patent from her Majeſty, and began the foundation of his hoſpital at Croydon (*bbb*). The ſame year he protected the hoſpital of Harbledown in Kent againſt an invaſion of their rights and property: and the Queen having made a grant to him of all the revenues belonging to the hoſpital of Eaſtbridge in Canterbury, he found out and recovered the next year ſome lands wrongfully withheld from it [*DDD*]. In 1597 the foregate of his hoſpital at Croydon was finiſhed, and in 1599 the whole building being completed, it was conſecrated by Dr Bancroft, now Biſhop of London. The founding of this hoſpital (the largeſt then in the kingdom ‡) having given riſe to an invidious report of the Archbiſhop's immenſe wealth and large revenues, he drew up a particular account of all his purchaſes ſince he had been Biſhop, with the ſums given for the ſame, and the yearly value of the lands, and to what and whoſe uſes, together with the yearly value of the archbiſhopric [*EEE*]. The Mayor of Canterbury having

(*bbb*) It was for maintenance of 30 poor people, beſides a free ſchool, with a maſter and uſher. He laid 200 l. per ann. to it, beſides the charge of the building, ſuppoſed to have coſt 2000 l. See Dr Teniſon's article.

‡ Willet's Synopſis Papiſmi, p. 1223.

tion, at the ſame time ſhewing how unkindly they had dealt with him, who bore them ſuch a paternal affection as they had ſufficient experience of. One of the heads, Dr Soame †, preached a ſermon at St Mary's upon Acts iv. 5, 6, 7, which he turned againſt the Archbiſhop (who bore one of the names of the Jewiſh council there mentioned) and the reſt of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion. At laſt the heads applying to Lord Burleigh, he acquaints the Archbiſhop with it, who in his anſwer declares, that he did not infringe their privileges, and dealt with them only by perſuaſion. At length Dr Whitaker, in a *Clerum* defended Predeſtination, and ſoon after he and Dr Tyndal went to Lambeth, to confer with his grace and other learned men for the eſtabliſhing of theſe points, to be carried in that univerſity, which was done and finiſhed at Lambeth, November the 28th, in nine propoſitions, well known by the name of the *Lambeth Articles* (67). Upon the return of Tyndal and Whitaker to Cambridge, the Archbiſhop ſent a letter dated November 24th, to Cambridge, in which he ſignified, that his earneſt and hearty deſire was to have the peace of the church generally obſerved in all places, eſpecially in that univerſity, whereof he was a member; and that for the better obſervation and nouriſhing of the ſaid peace, he had with ſome care and diligence drawn up and ſet down certain propoſitions, which they were perſuaded to be true, a copy whereof he now ſent unto them in his letter incloſed; praying them to take care that nothing ſhould be publickly taught to the contrary, and that alſo in teaching them, diſcretion and moderation ſhould be uſed; that ſuch as ſhould be in ſome points differing in judgment, might not of purpoſe be ſtung, or juſtly grieved; and eſpecially that no bitterneſs, contention, reproof, or reproach ſhould be uſed by any towards any, and that the articles ſhould be ſo taken and uſed as their private judgment, thinking them to be true and correſpondent to the doctrine approved in the church of England, and eſtabliſhed by the laws of the land, and not as laws and decrees. Beſides this, he gave ſome private inſtructions, dated December the 8th, more ſecretly to be delivered to the Vice-chancellor by word of mouth from Dr Nevyl; the ſubſtance of which was, to let him underſtand that theſe propoſitions, as he had learned, were not well pleaſing to ſome at court, and that was even the Queen herſelf. That he had ſome intimations, that the Vice chancellor would perhaps receive ſome order, and that too perhaps from the Lord Burleigh their chancellor, to forbear urging them in the univerſity, but rather diſmiſs them; and therefore that in the mean time, before any ſuch order came, he ſhould uſe his diſcretion, and not to publiſh them any further than that he concurred with them. However ſecretly this conſultation at Lambeth was ſet on foot, and the articles as privately as could be there framed, ſuch a matter could not be hid. For in a ſhort time after, December 5th, her Majeſty commanded Sir Robert Cecyl, one of her ſecretaries, to ſignify her mind to the Archbiſhop in this tenor, that her Majeſty had heard, as of Mr Whitaker's death, ſo of ſome buſineſs he came about, and that ſhe had commanded him [the ſecretary] to ſend unto his grace, to acquaint him, that ſhe miſliked much, that any allowance had been given by his grace and the reſt of any ſuch points to be diſputed, being a matter tender and dangerous to weak ignorant minds, and thereupon that ſhe required his grace to ſuſpend them (68).

† He was joined by the Drs Goad, Tyndal, Whitaker, Barwel, Jegon, Preſton, and the Maſters Chadderton and Clayton, heads of houſes.

(67) Fuller's Church-hiſtory, p. 230.

(68) The extraordinary pains taken in this affair by the Archbiſhop furniſhes matter for chapters 14, 15, and 16 of Hooker in this life by Strype, who concludes with a recapitulation of the whole, drawn by his grace, wherein he declares, that ſome few things being added, he agreed with Barret's oppoſers, and they with him.

[*DDD*] *He recovered ſome lands belonging to Eaſtbridge.*] Theſe lands had been in the poſſeſſion of one G. Hayes, a letter from whom is in Mr Strype, giving an account of them. The Archbiſhop reviewed the former ordinances, and ſettled the government of the hoſpital as it is at this day, and procured an act of parliament to confirm the ſame, whereby 20 poor aged people are relieved, beſides two exhibitions for two ſcholars in Cambridge (69).

[*EEE*] *With the yearly value of the Archbiſhoprick.*] It had been given out, that the reſerved rent (beſides the fines) of the Archbiſhoprick amounted to 6000 l. per annum. The Archbiſhop's account is as follows:

(69) Strype's Appendix, No. xxxi. A. B. C. to chap. 21. Book iv.

‘ Lands purchaſed by me J. W. Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſince my firſt being Biſhop to this preſent November 99, which is 23 years at the leaſt.

	l.	s.	d.
‘ One farm called Chamberlaynes in Clavering in the county of Eſſex, for my brother William Whitgift, which coſt me ——— ———	470	0	0
‘ Towards purchaſing a piece of land in Kent for my brother George Whitgift, I gave to him ——	400	0	0
‘ One houſe in Shorne in Kent with two acres of ground, which coſt me 100 l. and the reverſion of a leaſe ——	100	0	0
‘ Two tenements in Shorne, and ſome 3 acres belonging, which coſt me	121	2	0
‘ Rent is	8	10	0
‘ One cottage and fifty acres of marſh land in Kent for my nephew John Whitgift, which coſt ——	432	0	0
‘ Rent is	24	0	0

‘ The following are for my hoſpital.

	l.	s.	d.
‘ The Chequer in Croydon coſt ——	200	0	0
‘ A Tenement joining to it coſt ——	30	0	0
‘ Another tenement called Stay Croſs, with one acre and a half, coſt ——	80	0	0

‘ Upon theſe I have built my hoſpital, ſchool and ſchooolmaſter's houſe, and therefore are not rented.

	l.	s.	d.
‘ One piece of land called Clotmead in Croydon coſt ———	14	0	0
‘ Rent	1	0	0
‘ The Swan in Croydon, *cum pertinentiis*	80	0	0
‘ Rent of theſe, with certain parcels belonging to the Chequer is ——	13	6	8
‘ One piece of wood-land, and ſome paſture, containing, in the whole, 77 acres, in Croydon, coſt ——	357	0	0
‘ Rent is	20	0	0
‘ One other piece of wood-land, and paſture in Croydon coſt ———	410	0	0
‘ Rent	23	0	0
‘ Three other ſeveral farms in Croydon coſt —— ———	1400	0	0
‘ Rent	48	0	0

‘ The Archbiſhopric is no better to me than it was to my late predeceſſors, who died not very wealthy, for any thing I can learn, and I hope I beſtow it as well as they did. But whoever ſays that this archbiſhoprick is yearly worth 6000 l. or worth any way in ordinaries and extraordinaries 3000 l. muſt anſwer to God at the laſt for vain ſpeeches, that I term them no worſe; and yet out of that which any way I receive, there goes in annuities, penſions, ſubſidies, and other duties to her Majeſty, 800 l. at the leaſt, and then what remains is ſoon known. Any other ways I receive not one penny. The land which I had before mine advancement, and which I have purchaſed ſince, my brethren have, thoſe exempted which I have beſtowed upon mine hoſpital. *Diſper-*

‘ *dat*

having this year ſummoned the choir of that church to muſter with the militia, he oppoſed it with great warmth [*FFF*]. In 1600 he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to give a check to the then growing practice of ſending prohibitions from the temporal to the ſpiritual courts, but without ſucceſs [*GGG*]. His authority was ſtrenuouſly withſtood alſo this

‘ *dat Dominus labia doloſa & linguam magniloquam.* Pſ. ‘ xi. *Cuſtodi me, Domine, a laqueo quem ſtatuerant mihi,* ‘ *& e ſcandalis operantium iniquitatem,* Pſal. cxl. *Do-* ‘ *mine libera animam meam a labiis iniquis & a lingua* ‘ *doloſa,* Pſ. cxix.’— What the revenues of the Archbiſhoprick were, was publickly declared in the next parliament, 43 Eliz. by Mr Bois, a member of the houſe of commons, and the Archbiſhop's ſteward, upon occaſion of a bill brought in for church leaſes to be made without fines. Bois ſhewed how prejudicial this taking away the fines would be to the Biſhops. That the maintenance of their ſtate was ſupported by continual fines, without which they could not maintain hoſpitality, or keep up that retinue which belonged to their places. And he bid them conſider the revenue of the greateſt biſhoprick in England, which was but 2200l. whereof were paid, for annual ſubſidies, (70) Chap. 25. anno 1599. 500l (70).

[*FFF*] *He oppoſed it with great warmth.*] Upon this occaſion he wrote a letter to Mr Bois his ſteward to the following tenor. That he could not but marvell, that Mr Mayor or any other ſhould do that in Canterbury, which he thought was not done in any part of the land beſides, that is, to muſter ſuch as were employed in the daily ſervice of God, ſuch as the ſinging men of the church of Canterbury were. That he had ſome little underſtanding thereof, before that ſuch a thing was intended by Mr Rogers; and that indeed he moved the Lord Cobham therein, who had aſſured him that there would be no ſuch thing attempted, and that thereupon he relied without proceeding any further. But if that notwithſtanding further attempts ſhould be made to that ſole church, he meant to uſe all the credit he had to withſtand it; adding, that if the miniſtry of that church, ſome of them, when there was doubt of invaſion, did offer themſelves to that ſervice, as all other men muſt do, ſhould that be drawn to example, that when no ſuch occaſion was, they muſt be moleſted? And then applying himſelf with ſome blame to Bois, ‘ I marvail,’ ſaid he, ‘ that you being ‘ the ſteward of the church, ſhould ſuffer ſuch a thing ‘ to be offered. I think the Lord's letters had no ſuch ‘ meaning; and I ſuppoſe your indiſcretion in the ‘ point will not be commended.’ Subjoining, that he wrote to him as to one with whom he might be bold: but bid him aſſure himſelf, that if he proceeded in this manner, he would complain to the beſt, and ſo he committed him to the tuition of Almighty God.

Your aſſured friend,

From Croydon, the
2d June, 1599. Jo. Cantuar (71).

(71) MSS. Whitg. penes Rev. T. Brett, Strype, p. 536. ch. 25.

Some time after he wrote another ſhort letter to this ſteward concerning ſome miſdemeanour of the Mayor of Canterbury in relation to his (the Archbiſhop's) privileges and liberties to this effect. That he might paradventure marvayl that being thus provoked by the contentious Mayor, he had not hitherto wrote to him [his ſteward] nor to others in this cauſe. To him, he ſaid, he wrote not, becauſe he took it to be needleſs, being ſteward of his liberties, and by virtue of his office bound to ſee the ſame obſerved, beſides that he had not heard from him of any particulars, nor yet any advice what were beſt for him to do. To others he wrote not, eſpecially to the mayor, becauſe he took himſelf ſo indignantly uſed by him, as he diſdained ſo far to grace him, purpoſing fully to uſe the benefit of the law in ſuch ſort, as paradventure that corporation would have cauſe to repent their choice and conſent to his froward dealings with him, who never gave any ſuch cauſe to him or any other member of that ſtate. That it ſeemed they were wealthy, whereof he ſaid he was glad, becauſe he hoped they would make full ſatisfaction of all ſuch ſums of money as had been committed unto them for the uſe of the poor, which hitherto they had not employed accordingly. *Vale in Chriſto.*

Your loving friend,

(72) Chap. 29. From Lambeth, 5th
April 1602. Jo. Cantuar (72).

[*GGG*] *To put a check to prohibitions, but without ſucceſs.*] There were about this time ſeveral queries prepared by the Biſhops, and preſented to the Lords of the council, bearing this title: *Certain points which the reverend fathers the Biſhops executing eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction partly by her Majeſty's immediate commiſſion, under the great ſeal of England, and partly by their own ordinary authority derived from the crown, do deſire the lords, and other the reverend judges of the realm to conſider of, touching the granting of prohibitions.* There are twelve of theſe queries. They were grounded upon a writing drawn up by ſome learned hand, entitled, *Certain collections and inferences concerning matter of prohibitions and conſultations, not unfit to be thought upon for the better preſervation of her Majeſty's juriſdiction eccleſiaſtical:* Several of them are drawn from the malpractice of the temporal courts at that time, either in ſending prohibitions from ſeveral courts, as King's-Bench and Common Pleas in the ſame cauſe; or in holding the cauſe of prohibitions a long time, as two or three years, in ſuſpenſe, without coming to any final determination; but the tenth is built upon the right which the court of chancery had to ſuch prohibitions or conſultations, as follows: It ſeemeth, by the ſcope and property of the moſt ancient ſtatutes in that behalf provided, that prohibitions and conſultations, as other ordinary rites, ought not to be granted but unto the courts of chancery by the Lord Chancellor of England; and however of later years the courſe hath been drawn another way, yet no doubt the power of the Chancellor is not any way thereby reſtrained, but that he lawfully may, and it were to be wiſhed he would reſume and put in execution his ancient right and authority. So would not her Majeſty's eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction be driven as it now is, to admit the cenſure and judgment of thoſe who indeed be principal parties as touching the queſtion of prohibitions. 11. What cauſe or grievance cannot be redreſſed by any writ of the chancery, there the ſtatute expreſsly forbids the King's prohibition to take place. But it is manifeſt and notorious, that moſt of the prohibitions now a days be rather all granted in ſtay of ſuch complaints as wherein neither by any writ out of chancery, nor by any other courſe of proceedings at the common law, the ſubject can receive ſound juſtice or final cenſure. 12. For as much as both the juriſdictions, eccleſiaſtical and temporal, be now united in the crown in this realme, which heretofore *de facto* were ſevered and divided from ſeveral heads and authorities, and for that the ground and true original cauſe of prohibitions was no other than the foreſaid ſeverance and partition of juriſdiction, may it not very probably be drawn into caſe, whether, as the caſe now ſtands, any prohibitions at all may in ſound conſtruction of law be warranted. At leaſt, why the form and manner of prohibitions, as heretofore uſed, may now without offence and derogation to the Queen's prerogative eccleſiaſtical be ordained and practiſed, as though the two juriſdictions remained now diſtinct and ſevered as before; and ſo that her Majeſty's juriſdiction eccleſiaſtical may not with as little prejudice to the crown encroach upon the temporal, as the temporal may upon the eccleſiaſtical. 13. But in caſe the prohibitions by force of ſo many years uſe and cuſtom may not now conveniently be diſcontinued either in matter or manner, yet in true ſenſe and meaning of law what reaſon can there be deviſed, why the prohibition ſhould be extended to the reſtraint of her Majeſty's high commiſſion or court of delegates, both of them being authorized under the great ſeal of England, and eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, and neither of them ſo much as thought upon for divers hundreds of years after the prohibition was granted in England, neither by any colour of argument or ſimilitude can be drawn to the caſe of ordinary juriſdiction as then it was or now it is uſed.

And for that her Majeſty's delegates have no general commiſſion ad univerſitatem cauſarum, but for every ſeveral cauſe of appeal certain ſpecial and particular commiſſions, it may ſeem ſomewhat ſtrange and extraordinary, that any ſubject ſhould preſume to countermand her Majeſty's expreſs commiſſion, and to this year at Cambridge *(ccc)*. Mr Hooker dying in Nov. before he had publiſhed his three laſt books of his *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, the Archbiſhop made the moſt diligent ſearch after the copy, and not being able to find any thing but ſome rough draughts of them, theſe, as 'tis ſaid, he put into the hands of a particular intimate friend of the author, who at the Archbiſhop's requeſt finiſhed the deſign *(ddd)*. Upon the revolt this year of the Earl of Eſſex, the Archbiſhop immediately got threeſcore men of his own houſhold, well armed and appointed, who entering before any others the gates of Eſſex Houſe into the court, made good the place till the Earl ſurrendered himſelf [*HHH*]. In 1601 the Queen entruſted him with the charge of procuring the clergy of Ireland to be prepared with a number of light-horſe upon the Spaniſh invaſion there *(eee)*. This year a bill being brought into the Houſe of Commons for diſabling the Archbiſhops and Biſhops from taking fines in letting leaſes, was rejected *(fff)* by the Archbiſhop's vigilance. Another bill alſo, againſt commiſſaries and archdeacons courts, which were much complained of, he likewiſe defeated; but did not neglect at the ſame time to take all ſuch meaſures as were in his power to redreſs the abuſes which gave occaſion to theſe attempts againſt the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction [*III*].

This

to forbid the judge's delegate to proceed any further in any one cauſe, which her Majeſty hath ſpecially and particularly commanded others to hear and determine ‡. By theſe motions and arguments the Archbiſhop and Biſhops endeavoured to remedy the contempts and injuries put upon their courts, nay and as it ſeems, upon the Queen herſelf, by evading her ſpecial commiſſion. This cauſed many other diſcourſes and arguments from year to year; and theſe prohibitions increaſed more and more (73).— The reader may perhaps recollect, that Dr Gibſon, the late Biſhop of London, grounds himſelf upon the ſame reaſoning as is here laid down, in his preface to the Codex Juris Eccleſiaſtici, which after it had paſſed uncenſured many years, at length fell under the animadverſion of the Recorder of Briſtol, now Judge Foſter, and was defended by Dr John Andrews, L. L. D. (74)

[*HHH*] *Till the Earl ſurrendered himſelf.*] Sir George Paul tells us (75), the Archbiſhop being that Sunday morning at court, haſtened home without any attendant, and commanded as many men as he then had in the houſe to be preſently armed, and ſent them over to the court, but not to go within the gates until Secretary Cecil, or ſome other by his inſtruction, ſhould appoint them a leader. After the Earl had ſurrendered, he was brought by the Lord Admiral to Lambeth-houſe, where he remained an hour or two, and was from thence conveyed to the Tower. The Archbiſhop, ſays the ſame author, had likewiſe in readineſs that afternoon forty horſemen well appointed, and expected directions from the court how to diſpoſe of them. The next morning he ſent a gentleman to know how the Queen did, and how ſhe reſted all night. To whom ſhe made anſwer, that ſhe reſted and ſlept the better for his care the day before; *but I beſhrew his heart*, ſays ſhe, *he would not believe this of Eſſex, though I had often told him it would one day thus come to paſs.* It ſeems the Archbiſhop had great confidence in the Earl's loyalty, and had been a continual interceſſor for him with the Queen, who had ſometimes rebuked him ſharply for it, and ſent him home much grieved and perplexed (76).

[*III*] *He defeated a bill againſt commiſſaries and archdeacons courts, but did not neglect to reform the abuſes in them.*] The convocation beginning to ſit at St Paul's October 18th, 1601, the Archbiſhop gave the Biſhops the following cautions, December 21, in purſuance to the ſeveral complaints that were made againſt the eccleſiaſtical courts. 1. Not to proceed in courts upon the promoting of apparitors without churchwardens preſentments, or other juſt way of inquiſition. 2. That eccleſiaſtical judges hold not frequenter courts than one in five weeks. 3. That chancellors and officials call not men to ſeveral courts for the ſame cauſe. 4. To have yearly, but once a quarter, bills of preſentments. 5. That the curates of non-reſidents be able perſons, and have good allowance for their pains. 6. That none but chancellors grant licences for marriage. He had endeavoured to redreſs theſe grievances by the conſtitutions paſſed in the convocation, anno 1597, and chiefly with reſpect to the frequency of courts; but theſe being not duly obſerved, in May this year he ſent circular letters to the biſhops of his province to this tenor: That there had been divers complaints made, and *that* to perſonages of great place, who had acquainted him therewith, that by reaſon of the often keeping of courts by commiſſaries and officials, and by the multitude of ſeveral apparitors ſerving under them, the ſubject was almoſt vexed weekly with attendance in their ſeveral courts, to their infinite charge and daily vexation; and further, that by a diſorder not long ſince crept into theſe courts, without warrant, of making quarterly bills of preſentment, whereas their viſitations were held but once, or at the moſt twice, in every year; ſo that what with churchwardens continual attendance in theſe courts, which in many places came to more than was by a whole pariſh for one ceſsment raiſed to her Majeſty, the poor churchwardens by their continual attendance were in their eſtates greatly hindered. Theſe and divers like complaints were daily brought unto him, with a general exclamation againſt commiſſaries and officials courts for ſuch like grievances of the ſubject, he had well hoped that the conſtitutions made the laſt convocation, and their Lordſhips promiſe to ſee them duly executed (knowing how their eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction was then ſpurned at) would have prevented theſe abovenamed and all other like complaints: but he feared the greedineſs of many inferior regiſters and apparitors, under their Lordſhips commiſſaries and archdeacons, was ſo rooted in them, as it would breed a greater blemiſh than hitherto had come upon their whole juriſdiction, unleſs their Lordſhips did with a more diligent care prevent that miſchief. Theſe were therefore to pray and require their Lordſhips, preſently upon the receipt of theſe letters, to call before them their chancellors, commiſſaries, and all their archdeacons and officials, to bring in to their Lordſhips the records of their courts kept for matter of office uſed about the 3d and 4th of her Majeſty's reign, and out of them to take a true extract ſigned with the judges and ſecretaries own hands, certifying theſe three particulars. 1. How often the churchwardens did bring in their bills of preſentments at that time, whether quarterly or no. 2. How often their commiſſaries and officials did keep their courts in every quarter, and how long time difference there was between their commiſſaries courts and thoſe of the archdeacons officials; and laſtly, what number of apparitors every commiſſary and archdeacon's official had at that time? And in the next place, he required the biſhops to inquire how theſe ſeveral particulars were ſtated at this time; for he was informed that every pariſh was quarterly charged with as great a charge for certifying recuſants, as they were for bills of preſentments: to inquire alſo what was paid either to apparitors or regiſters for making the exhibits of theſe ſeveral bills; for he did not hear that the judges had any fee due for the exhibits. To enquire what difference there was between the multiplicity of theſe courts and thoſe of former times, as alſo of the number of apparitors belonging to all theſe offices over thoſe which were of twenty years before the laſt parliament, and then he required them to reduce all to the former ſtandard. Concluding, that for that he himſelf deſired to be ſatisfied in his care, and purpoſed help in reforming theſe abuſes, he did hereby pray and require, that by the laſt day of July next, they would tranſmit unto him all the abovenamed particulars, with their orders taken for reforming them, and bringing them to their former courſe. From Lambeth, 22d of May, 1601.

This preventing care did in ſome meaſure mitigate the complaints in the laſt parliament, which might otherwiſe have endangered their whole authority; but,

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(ccc) The Heads ſuſpended one Butler, which the archbiſhop thought too rigorous, but they refuſed to own that they had acted unwarrantably, and brought Butler to make an acknowledgment, and to give them thanks for withdrawing the ſuſpenſion. Strype, p. 542.

(ddd) Walton's life of Hooker, p. 234. and his article in this work, ubi ſupra.

(eee) His letter to the clergy of that kingdom on this occaſion, is dated October the 9th, in Strype, ch. 2. b. iv.

(fff) Bois, the archbiſhop's ſteward, ſpoke ſo well againſt it, particularly ſhewing, that even the archbiſhopric without the fines was not worth more than 2200l. per ann. that it was rejected. Strype, ch. 25. b. iv. p. 535.

‡ Cotton Library, Cleopatra, F. 2.

(73) Chap. 26. book iv. anno 1600. p. 539, 540, 541.

(74) See Biſhop Gibſon's article in the Supplement.

(75) Ubi ſupra, p. 92, 93, 94.

(76) Idem ibid.

This year he ſuſpended a clergyman *(ggg)* for three years, for executing a clandeſtine marriage between Edward Earl of Hartford and Frances Pranel. Thomas Cartwright dying this year, the Archbiſhop had the ſatisfaction of finding the opinion, he had not long before given of his good inclinations towards the eſtabliſhed conſtitution of the Church, confirmed [*KKK*]. The next year he conſtantly attended the Queen in her laſt illneſs, and compoſed a prayer upon that occaſion [*LLL*]; he was principal mourner at her funeral, received the offering, and had the banners preſented to him *(hhh)*. King James being proclaimed March the 24th, 1602, the Archbiſhop ſent Dr Nevil, Dean of Canterbury, into Scotland to his Majeſty, in the name of the Biſhops and Clergy of England, to tender their allegiance, and to underſtand his Majeſty's pleaſure in regard to the government of the Church, and though the Dean brought a gracious meſſage to him from the King, aſſuring him that he would maintain the ſettlement as his predeceſſor had left it, yet the Archbiſhop paſſed this ſummer of the year 1603 *in ſome pain about its preſervation* [*MMM*]. The Puritans had immediately upon the death of Queen Elizabeth conceived freſh hopes of ſome countenance, if not eſtabliſhment of their new diſcipline, and began to talk loudly of challenging forth with all exemption from the cenſure of, and ſubjection to, the eccleſiaſtical authority *(iii)*. A book had been printed the year before by that party, entitled, *The Plea of the Innocents* *(kkk)*, and this year in April there came out *The humble Petition of the thouſand miniſters for redreſſing offences in the church*, at the end of which they required a conference; and in October a proclamation was iſſued touching a meeting for the hearing and determining things *pretended* to be amiſs in the church. The Archbiſhop's diligence in this affair is ſeen in a letter which he wrote to the Earl of Shrewſbury ſoon after [*NNN*], by which it appears alſo, that he was then (viz. in December) ſo much indiſpoſed with the jaundice (a diſorder incident to his conſtitution) as not to be able to wait upon the King and court abroad that ſummer. Before the conference

(ggg) His nam was Tho. Monford, S. T. P. but, by reaſon he did it through ignorance of the eccleſiaſtical laws, the archbiſhop ſoon after abſolved him. Strype, p. 551.

(hhh) Paul, p. 116.

(iii) Idem, p. 117, 118.

(kkk) The author was Joſ. Nicholls.

but, notwithſtanding, divers accuſations were made againſt theſe courts in that parliament. Whereupon in January, ſoon after the parliament was riſen, the Archbiſhop backed his former letter and ſpeech to the convocation, made in December, with this circular addreſs to them.

' *Salutem in Chriſto*,

' Your Lordſhip hath by experience now found how the not reforming of the inconveniences crept into eccleſiaſtical inferior courts, ſpecified in my letters ſent to you in April laſt, hath bred that effect which was then foreſeen, even the multitude of complaints made againſt them in the laſt parliament, which, had they not been prevented with great circumſpection, and hope propoſed of careful reformation hereafter of theſe abuſes and grievances of the ſubject in the inferior courts, there might perhaps have enſued the taking away of the whole or moſt of the courts, which cauſed me at our laſt aſſembly in convocation to admoniſh my brethren then preſent in the terms I did then, which had they been well obſerved, theſe enormities had been all redreſſed.' He then repeats the former abuſes in eight articles, and concludes to this effect. ' Theſe being the grievances moſt noted, and both in parliament and otherwiſe complained of to be heavy for the ſubject to undergo, as I did require at your Lordſhips hands a reformation of them at the end of the convocation, ſo I do hereby pray and require, that you will ſet down ſuch obſervations to your eccleſiaſtical officers, whereby all theſe abovenamed inconveniences may be avoided, as the grievances ſpringing of the not obſerving of the former conſtitutions; and if any officer under you ſhall impugn and not duly perform the redreſſing of all theſe diſorders in manner as I ſhall preſcribe them, he ſhall certainly know that I had rather with ſeverity reform him, than bear theſe ordinary complaints, which in the end may turn to the ſcandal of our juriſdiction eccleſiaſtical. And ſo not doubting but you will have due care of the premiſes, I commend your Lordſhip to God. From Lambeth, 7th January.

' Your Lordſhips loving brother in Chriſt (77).

(77) Strype, ch. 27. anno 1601.

[*KKK*] *Towards the eſtabliſhed conſtitution of the church.*] After Cartwright was admitted to bail at the Archbiſhop's motion, he always acknowledged the obligation, as appears by ſeveral letters of his to the Archbiſhop. In one, dated March 24th, 1601, he acknowledges *his bond of moſt humble duty ſo much the ſtricter, becauſe his Grace's favour proceeded from a frank diſpoſition, without any deſert of his own*; and the Archbiſhop, ſays Sir George Paul §, hath been heard to ſay, that if Maſter Cartwright had not ſo far engaged himſelf as he did in the beginning, he thought verily in his latter time he would have been drawn to conformity; for when he was freed from his troubles, he often repaired to the Archbiſhop, who uſed him kindly, and was contented to tolerate his preaching in Warwick divers years, upon his promiſe not to impugn the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, but perſuade and procure as much as in him lay the eſtimation thereof, which he performed; but when her Majeſty came to know of the Archbiſhop's connivency, ſhe was diſpleaſed with it (78). Sir Henry Yelverton (79) aſſures us, that his laſt words on his deathbed were, that he ſorely lamented the unneceſſary troubles he had cauſed in the church by the ſchiſm he had been the great fomenter of; and wiſhed he was to begin his life again, that he might teſtify to the world the diſlike he had of his former ways; and in this opinion he died.

§ p. 71, 72. where he relates, that Cartwright was ſaid to die rich, as was ſaid, by the benevolence and bounty of his followers.

(78) Strype, ch. 28.

(79) In his epiſtle to the reader before Biſhop Moreton's *Epiſcopacy Juſtified.*

[*LLL*] *He compoſed a prayer upon that occaſion.*] Theſe were the words of it; *O moſt heavenly Father, and God of all mercy, we moſt humbly beſeech thee to behold thy ſervant the Queen with the eyes of pity and compaſſion. Give unto her the comfort of thy holy Spirit; work in her a conſtant and lively faith, grant unto her true repentance, and reſtore unto her, if it be thy will, her former health and ſtrength both of body and ſoul; let not the enemy nor his wicked inſtruments have any power over her to do her harm. O Lord, puniſh her not for our offences, neither us in her. Deal not with us, O Lord, as we have deſerved; but for thy mercy's ſake, and for thy Chriſt's ſake, forgive us all our ſins, and prolong her days, that we may ſtill enjoy her, to the glory of thy holy name, and good of all ſuch as truly fear thee, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen* (80).

(80) Strype, ch. 29. from Regiſt. Whitg. Vol. III. p. 148.

[*MMM*] *He paſſed this ſummer in ſome pain about its preſervation.*] It will be no ſevere cenſure, if we ſuppoſe that a concern for himſelf was one great ingredient in this anxiety. He had been long in the higheſt favour with Queen Elizabeth. Sir George Paul obſerves, that he did all in all for the managing of the clergy affairs, and diſpoſing of biſhopricks and other eccleſiaſtical promotions; the Queen having declared that ſhe had laid the burthen of theſe cares upon his ſhoulders, in theſe words, That if any thing were amiſs, be it upon his ſoul and conſcience to anſwer it; for ſhe had rid her hands, and looked that he ſhould yield an account on her behalf unto almighty God (81).

(81) Sir George Paul, p. 78.

[*NNN*] *A letter which he wrote to the Earl of Shrewſbury ſoon after.*] ' My very honorable and eſpecial good Lord, I have wrote to the town of Grimſby, according to your deſire, and do very heartily thank you for ſo well affecting them, being a corporation which nature tendeth me to favour, and to wiſh well unto. I would to God your Lordſhip were ſeated there, if there were any ſeat fit for you. I did not diſcommend your purpoſe for the

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rence he ſent ſome queries to his old friend Dr Hutton, then Archbiſhop of York, of matters that ſhould be concerted at this conference for his judgment. The conference was held at Hampton-court, and laſted three days, June 14, 16, and 18. An account of it was afterwards written by Dr Barlow, then Dean of Cheſter, at the particular requeſt of the Archbiſhop: one principal deſign of which was thereby to wipe off an aſperſion that was thrown upon him, and ſome other Biſhops, at the cloſe of it [OOO]. The time of the parliament's meeting now drawing near, the Archbiſhop, that he might be the better prepared, appointed a meeting at the Biſhop of London's houſe at Fulham, to confer with ſome of the Biſhops and judges of his court concerning the affairs of the church, which were then to be treated on. As he was thus going in his barge on a very cold day, and having his barge-cloth tied up (as his cuſtom was) to the top of the bales, the wind blew ſo ſharp, that the young gentlemen in waiting deſired to have the cloth down, which he would by no means permit, becauſe the water was rough, and he would therefore ſee his way. At night he complained of having taken a great cold in his head. However, the next Sunday, being the firſt Sunday in Lent, he went to Whitehall, where the King held a long diſcourſe with him and the Biſhop of London, about the affairs of the Church. Going thence, after faſting till near one o'clock, to the Council Chamber to dinner, he was taken with a fit, which ended in the dead palſy on the right ſide, and his ſpeech taken away, whence he was carried to the Lord Treaſurer's chamber, and thence (after a while) conveyed home to Lambeth. On Tueſday he was viſited by the King, who told him, *he would pray to God for his life, and that if he could obtain it, he ſhould think it one of the greateſt temporal bleſſings that could be given him in this kingdom.* The Archbiſhop would have ſaid ſomething to the King, but his ſpeech failed him, ſo that he uttered only imperfect words. But ſo much of his ſpeech was heard, repeating it once or twice earneſtly (with his eyes and hands lifted up) *pro eccleſia Dei (lll)*: And as he would have ſpoken his mind to the King being preſent, ſo he made two or three attempts to write his mind to him, but could not, the pen falling out of his hand by reaſon of the prevailing of his diſeaſe, which put an end to his life the day following, being the 29th day of February 1603-4 *(mmm)*. Camden, notwithſtanding he aſſigns the palſy for the immediate apparent cauſe of his death, yet expreſly declares, that "he died with grief, as he found "the King began to contend about the liturgy, and judged ſome things therein fit to "be altered. *Dum de liturgia recepta Rex contendere cœpit, & nonnulla in ea mutanda cenſuit,* "*Johannes Whitgiftus Archiepiſc. ex mœrore obiit (nnn).*" This ſeems alſo to be the general opinion, by the account which another author *(ooo)* gives us, that upon his death-bed he ſhould uſe theſe words: "*Et nunc, Domine, exaltata eſt anima mea, quod in eo tempore ſuccubui* "*quando mallem epiſcopatus mei Deo reddere rationem, quam inter homines exercere*: And "now, O Lord, my ſoul is rejoiced that I die in a time wherein I had rather give up "to God an account of my biſhopric, than any longer to exerciſe it among men." He was interred the 27th of March in the pariſh-church of Croydon, where a monument is erected with an inſcription to his memory. His funeral was graced with the preſence of the Earl of Worceſter, and the Lord Zouch, who attended the hearſe carrying his banners; and Dr Babington *(ppp)*, Biſhop of Worceſter, preached his funeral-ſermon with great applauſe on 2 Chron. xxiv. 15, 16. In his perſon he was of a middle ſtature, a grave countenance, and brown complexion, black hair and eyes *(qqq)*. He wore his beard neither long nor thick. He was ſmall boned and of good agility, being ſtraight and well ſhaped in all his limbs to the light habit of his body, which begun ſomewhat to ſpread and fill out towards his latter years *(rrr)*. His learning ſeems to have been confined to the Latin language, as *Hugh Broughton* often objected to him; neither doth he ſeem to have been much ſkilled in deep points of theology. He was a popular and a diligent preacher, and took delight in exerciſing his talent that way *(sss)*, yet his ambi-

(lll) The King afterwards declared, as Sir George Paul relates, that by theſe words he conceived the archbiſhop continued the ſuit, which at ſundry times before, and at his laſt attendance on his highneſs, he had earneſtly recommended to his ſpecial care in behalf of the church.

(mmm) Idem, p. 118, 119, 120, 121.

(nnn) Annal. Reg. Jacob. ad ann. 1604.

(ooo) Saunders, in his Hiſtory of K. James.

(ppp) The Dr had been a pupil, as well as the other two Lords, of our archbiſhop. Strype, p. 579.

(qqq) Q. Elizabeth uſed to call him her black huſband. Paul's life, p. 104.

(rrr) Idem, p. 124.

(sss) It hath been often obſerved, that as a preacher he did honour to the reign of Q. Elizabeth.

'fiſh ponds; for it is a true proverb, *Things far fetched* '*and dear bought are good for ladies.*

'I have not been at court ſithence it removed from 'Hampton, the times and ways have been ſo dangerous, 'and my years ſo unapt to travel; but I have 'heard from thence and ſent thither according to my 'former manner; and although our humorous and 'contentious brethren have made many petitions and 'motions correſpondent to their natures, yet your 'Lordſhip may perceive by the proclamation publiſhed, 'and to my comfort I am aſſured by his Majeſty's 'letters writ to me, that they have not much 'prevailed. Your Lordſhip I am ſure doth imagine 'that I have not all this while been idle, nor greatly 'quiet in mind; *for who can promiſe himſelf reſt* '*among ſo many vipers?* I thank God I go on as I 'wont to do, although at preſent I am attended with 'my old diſeaſe the jaundice. I am ſorry to hear you 'mention any *ſuperſedeas* towards the parliament. You 'know my opinion of the goute, and thoſe that are 'infected therewith; I hope your Lordſhip will not 'confirm me therein, nay I perſuade myſelf of the 'contrary in you; but my reſolution is *quod Deus* '*vult, hoc faciet.* And ſo with my moſt heartieſt com'mendations to your Lordſhip and my very good 'Lady, I commit both to the unction of almighty 'God. From Croydon, December the 12th, 1603.

'Your Lordſhip's moſt aſſured,

'John Cantuare (82).'

[OOO] *An aſperſion thrown upon him and ſome other Biſhops at the cloſe of it.*] The meeting was ſcarce over, when it was reported, and copies thereof were diſperſed, that the Archbiſhop and Biſhops of London and Wincheſter fell down on their knees to the King, and deſired that all things might remain as they were, leſt the Papiſts might think they had been in an error hitherto, and might ſay they would perſuade them to come to a church having errors in it; and leſt the Puritans ſhould alledge they had been long perſecuted unjuſtly; and further, that at the end of this conference, the Archbiſhop had been intreated to be a means that the ceremonies might not be preſſed, and that he ſhould anſwer, that they had been urged as neceſſary, and would be ſo ſtill; and at laſt the Archbiſhop and Biſhop of London (as almoſt deſpairing of their cauſe) beſought his Majeſty to take their cauſe into his own hand, and to make ſome good end of it, as might ſtand with their credit.

(82) Appendix, No. 43, to chap. 31. from a MS. communicated to Mr Strype by White Kennet, then Dean of Peterborough.

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tion led him chiefly to ſway and government, in the adminiſtration of which he was both indefatigable and intrepid. After he left Trinity College, while he was Biſhop of Worceſter and Archbiſhop of Canterbury, he took for many years into his houſe a number of young gentlemen, ſeveral of quality, to inſtruct them, as their Tutor, reading to them thrice a day in mathematics and other arts, as well as in the languages, giving them good allowance and preferments as occaſion offered; beſides theſe, he kept ſeveral poor ſcholars in his houſe till he could provide for them, and prefer them (as he did ſeveral to good eſtates) he alſo maintained divers others at the univerſity. His charitable hoſpitality extended to foreigners. He relieved and entertained in his houſe for many years together ſeveral diſtreſſed miniſters (recommended by Beza and others) out of Germany and France, who were driven from their own homes, ſome by baniſhment, others by reaſon of wars and extremity, ſhewing no leſs bounty to them at their departure. Sir George Paul aſſures us, that he remitted large ſums out of his own purſe to *Beza*. He kept likewiſe for the exerciſe of military diſcipline a good armory, and a fair ſtable of great horſes, inſomuch as he was able to arm at all points both horſe and foot, and ſeveral times had an hundred foot and fifty horſe, of his own ſervants, muſtered and trained, entertaining captains for that purpoſe. He had alſo ſkilful riders, who taught them to manage their horſes, and inſtructed them in warlike exerciſes, all whom he rewarded in liberal manner. By this means ſeveral of his gentlemen afterwards proved good ſoldiers, many whereof became captains and commanders, and ſome for their valour and ſervice were knighted in the field: in this view his houſe was a perfect academy; and in ſome reſpects ſuperior and more profitable, viz. for martial affairs, and the experience that divines and other ſcholars had, being near and often at the court and chief ſeats of juſtice, from whence they continually had the paſſages and intelligences, both for matters of ſtate and government in cauſes eccleſiaſtical and civil. By this means many of his domeſtic chaplains, both before and after his death, attained to the chiefeſt honours and dignities, namely, Dr Bancroft, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; Dr Ravis, Biſhop of London; Dr Barlow, Biſhop of Lincoln; Dr Gouldeſbury, Biſhop of Glouceſter; Dr Parry, Biſhop of Worceſter; Dr Redman, Biſhop of Norwich; and Dr Buckeridge, Biſhop of Rocheſter. His houſekeeping was anſwerable to this; he often feaſted the clergy, nobility, and gentry of his dioceſe and neighbourhood, and at Chriſtmas eſpecially his gates were always open, and his hall ſet twice or thrice over with ſtrangers*: Upon ſome chief feſtival days he was ſerved with great ſolemnity, ſometimes upon the knee. Every year he entertained the Queen at one of his houſes, and ſome years twice or thrice. Every third year while he was Archbiſhop, he uſually went into Kent, when he was attended by a train of his own ſervants, conſiſting of two hundred perſons; theſe being joined by the gentlemen of the country, he ſometimes rode into Canterbury, and other towns, with eight hundred or a thouſand horſe. At his firſt journey into Kent, which was in July 1589, he rode to Dover, attended with not leſs than one hundred of his own ſervants in livery, whereof there were forty gentlemen in chains of gold. The train of gentlemen and clergy in the country and their followers was above five hundred horſe. This grand appearance proved of ſervice to the church at that time; at his entrance into the town, there happily landed an intelligencer from Rome, who wondered to ſee an Archbiſhop or clergyman in England ſo reverenced and attended; and being preſent alſo the Sunday following at ſervice at the cathedral in Canterbury, where ſeeing his Grace attended with his gentlemen and ſervants, as alſo the Dean, Prebendaries, and Preachers in their ſurplices and ſcarlet hoods, and hearing the ſolemn muſic with the voices and organs, cornets and ſackbuts, he was ſtruck with amazement and admiration, and declared, that *they were led in great blindneſs at Rome by our own nation, who made the people there believe, that there was not in England either Archbiſhop or Biſhop, or cathedral, or any church or eccleſiaſtical government, but that all was pulled down to the ground, and that the people heard their miniſters in woods and fields, among trees and brute beaſts: but for his own part he proteſted, that unleſs it were in the Pope's chapel, he never ſaw a more ſolemn ſight, or heard a more heavenly ſound.* In the execution of his charge in the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, every Thurſday in Term being a ſolemn court-day, the Archbiſhop had a ſermon in his chapel, and entertained the commiſſary and their attendants at great expence. That day was ſeen a ſenate of the greateſt counſellors of ſtate, with the aſſiſtance of the chief prelates, juſtices, judges, and ſufficient lawyers of both profeſſions that thoſe times afforded‡. He gave audience to ſuitors twice a day at ſet hours, entertaining them hoſpitably. His courage and reſolution in this court appears from what has been already related; but there is one remarkable inſtance, which ought not to be omitted. It happened before he was made privy-counſellor, when a gentleman of good account perceiving which way the court leaned in his cauſe (not according to his deſire) told the Archbiſhop, that upon another occaſion there grew ſome ſpeech of that cauſe before the Lords of the council, and their lordſhips were of another opinion than his Grace and the reſt of the commiſſioners ſeemed to be: *What telleſt thou me*, ſaid the Archbiſhop, *of the Lords of the council? I tell thee, they are in theſe caſes to be adviſed by us, and not we by them*§. Upon ſuch like occaſions he would oftentimes ſay to his private friends towards the latter part of his time, when in familiar diſcourſe they obſerved his courage and ſtoutneſs, *that two things did help much to make a man confident in good cauſes, namely*, Orbitas & Senectus†, *and*, ſaid he, *they ſteed me both.* He was naturally of a choleric diſpoſition, which however was ſo tem-

* As Druſius, Renicherus, Frigevill, and Mr Buſe, a French miniſter, who read weekly a Latin lecture in his chapel.

‡ This kept up the reputation of the court, thro' the neglect of which its credit ſunk afterwards, till at length by ſeveral great abuſes that crept into it, this court became ſo odious, as to be utterly aboliſhed.

§ Sir George Paul, p. 10.

† Being old and childleſs.

pered with his ambition and prudence, that his choler rather ſerved for a whetſtone of his courage in juſt cauſes, than any weapon whetted againſt the perſon, goods, or good name of any other. When Pickering was cenſured in the Star-chamber for libelling him after his death, it was obſerved by the Earl of Saliſbury [Cecil] who knew him well, that there was nothing more to be feared in his government, eſpecially towards his latter time, than his mildneſs and clemency. This part of his character is ſufficiently confirmed by the learned Mr Hooker, who with that majeſtic ſimplicity which diſtinguiſhes his pen, expreſſes it thus: " He" (the Archbiſhop) ſays he, " always governed with that " moderation, which uſeth by *patience* to ſuppreſs boldneſs, and *to make them conquer that* " *ſuffer* (*ttt*)." As the reducing both the Popiſh recuſants and Preſbyterian Puritans to conformity with the eſtabliſhed church was what lay neareſt to his heart, he plied both theſe kinds of delinquents as well with his power and authority, as with his lenity and perſuaſion; and was ſo aſſiduous in preaching, that even after he was Biſhop of Worceſter, unleſs extraordinary buſineſs of the Marches of Wales hindered him, he never failed to preach every Sunday, either in the city or in ſome neighbouring pariſh-church. The like he did alſo when he was Archbiſhop, and lay at Croydon, the Queen being in her progreſs. Neither did any Sunday eſcape him in Kent, and he often preached the morning-lecture both in Worceſter and Canterbury, early enough to be preſent afterwards at ſermon in the cathedral (*uuw*). Upon the whole, Mr Strype remarks (*www*), that he lived and died in great reputation, and particularly happy in being highly eſteemed for his wiſdom, learning, and piety, by both his ſovereigns, Queen Elizabeth and King James, who both conſulted with him in all matters of the church, and in making laws and orders for the well government thereof: And likewiſe in taking always his advice for proper men to be placed in the chief preferment of it; and who ſeeing the great danger of the overthrow of the religion as it was reformed at firſt, that is, of the doctrine of it by papiſts, and its diſcipline and conſtitution by the new reformers [*PPP*], devoted himſelf, his pains, his ſtudies, his learning, and his intereſt to the preſerving of it, wherein he

(*ttt*) Mr Hooker in theſe laſt words has tranſlated the archbiſhop's motto, *Vincit qui patitur*; which contains a very good memento for one of a choleric diſpoſition.

(*uuu*) Paul's life. &c. p. 83. 85. 87. 97, 98, 99. 101, 102, 103, 104, 105.

(*www*) Ubi ſupra, p. 579.

[*PPP*] *The new Reformers.*] Beſides Cartwright and Travers already mentioned, the chief ringleaders of theſe were Beal, Penry, Udal, Baro, and ſome others; a particular account of whom, and the pains our Archbiſhop took to ſuppreſs them, may be ſeen in the Life of his Grace by Mr Strype, to whom we owe ſome particulars of one principal ringleader, namely Robert Browne, who went at a further diſtance than any of the Puritans at firſt did, even to the breaking off wholly from the church eſtabliſhed, as holding it utterly unlawful to be a member thereof, or to communicate with it, as being antichriſtian and idolatrous. He wrote books to prove this charge, and drew away a great party, and ſet up a ſect, which from his name was called Browniſts. But in 1589 he returned to the communion of the church. He was the third ſon of Anthony Browne, of Tolthorp, in the county of Rutland, Eſq; and High Sheriff of that county in 37 Hen. VIII. 5 Mary, and 13 Eliz. and by his wife Dorothy, daughter of Sir Philip Boteler, of Woodhall in Hertfordſhire, had this ſon Robert, who became afterwards Rector of Achurch in Northamptonſhire, by the intereſt of the Lord Burleigh, who, when this his couſin had left his fancies, and became obedient to the church, wrote a letter to the Biſhop of Peterborough (in whoſe dioceſe he was) to ſhew him favour; and that as he had been deprived of ſome benefice which he had before, ſo now, if he found him duly conformable, to provide ſome eccleſiaſtical employment for him; urging that he was the more willing to do him good, and was not a little glad of his reclaiming of him, becauſe of kindred to him. His Lordſhip's letter is dated from his houſe near the Savoy, June 20, 1589. But it ſeems Mr Browne could not ſo leave his opinions, but he ſtill remained conceited and very fanciful; of which ſome *Tables* in Latin which he wrote, and hugely applauded himſelf for, are pregnant proofs. The intent of theſe Tables was to rectify the knowledge of arts and ſciences by the word, as appears from a letter which he wrote to the Lord Treaſurer in the following terms.

'With ſpecial reverence and dutiful ſubmiſſion I exhibit this treatiſe to your Honour: the Latin Tables, and definition thereof, I have beforetime written to your Lordſhip, which I underſtand have been ſhewed to ſome learned and reverend fathers the Biſhops, but are either neglected, or through greater buſineſs forgotten. Neverthèleſs I aſſure myſelf, and dare offer the challenge, that here in this treatiſe I have juſtly altered the arts, and the rules and terms of arts, by evidence of the *Word*, and have corrected many errors of all our profeſſors: yea, many falſified points of learning, both in the method and truth of the arts, and alſo of religion.

Alſo I am for to juſtify this treatiſe and the exact method and truth thereof, againſt the multitude of philoſophers, doctors, and writers heretofore. Farther, I offer to prove, that the word of God doth expreſsly ſet down al neceſſary and general rules of the arts, and al learning, as may appear by this book; but ſhould more appear, if examples were added, and the contrary errors more largely diſcovered.

Oh that our univerſities were herein better adviſed and reformed! I dare ſay no more. But I judge that *that* propecy was of God, touching Oxford and Stameforde, and that to the ſhame of Oxford, which then withſtood and prevailed againſt Stameforde, and ſuppreſſing it and the truth therewith. Oh! Right Honourable and Prudent, I ſpeak no toy, but even in this poor treatiſe of me a Stameforde man do ſe it partly verified: yea I dare by God's help, and your Lordſhip's favour, undertake this place or cauſe; That in one year ſcholars may wel learn together thoſe arts, which ſcarcely in ten years they untowardly learn in the univerſities; and that by divine wiſdom and prudence they ſhal confute their *Logic*; by right ſpeech and language diſprove their *Grammar*; by right uſe of proverbs and proverbial ſpeeches, or by words, diſprove their *Rhetoric*: Alſo their *Arithmetic*, by the right rules of numbring; their *Geometry*, by better meaſuring; their *Muſic*, by better meaſuring; their *Metaphyſics*, by the law of creation, covenant, and ſanctification; their *Ethics*, *Oeconomics*, *Politics*, by true religion and righteouſneſs.

Yet I condemn none of the arts, but only the falſeneſs of them. And if it were not that I am become odious to many for the Truth's ſake, I would not doubt by God's grace to bring many thouſands [to be] of my mind and judgment, and in very ſhort time perfect them in their former ſtudies, as is above ſpecified: I mean, if I were authorized to read public lectures, and make profeſſion accordingly. For as Plato, Ariſtotle, Socrates, and Pythagoras made many thouſand ſcholars, and that without any public maintenance, and in a very few years; ſo much rather the arts and points of religion more truly handled, and utterly differing from them al, I would hope, by your Lordſhip's good countenance, onely to perform much rather the like, and that in al quietneſs alſo; not meddling to condemne or controwl any learned man, or any kind of profeſſion. Thus being longer herein than I would, I ceaſe: praying for your Honour's health and eternal bliſs.

Your Honour's poor Orator,

Robert Browne (83).'

(83) Strype's Appendix to book iii. No.4

had ſucceſs to the end of his days, though through much oppoſition. Our metropolitan printed no books beſides thoſe above-mentioned againſt Cartwright's *Admonition.* His genius was turned not to a ſedentary, but an active life, which was handſomely intimated to the French ambaſſador *Boys Siſi*, to whom upon his enquiring what works the Archbiſhop had publiſhed, for that he would willingly read *his* books, who was reputed *The peerleſs Prelate for piety and learning in our days*, and whom in conference he found ſo grave, godly, and judicious, it was anſwered, that he only publiſhed certain books in the Engliſh tongue in defence of the eccleſiaſtical government; and being incidentally told, that he had founded an hoſpital and a ſchool, the ambaſſador immediately broke into this expreſſion: *Profecto hoſpitale ad ſublevandam paupertatem, & ſchola ad inſtruendam juventutem ſunt optimi libri quos Archiepiſcopus* [*aliquis*] *conſcribere potuit.* ‘ Truly an hoſpital to ſuſtain the poor, and a ſchool to train up youth, are the worthieſt books that an Archbiſhop could ſet forth (*xxx*).’

(*xxx*) Sir G. Paul, p. 111.

WICLIFF, de WYCLIF, or WICLEF [JOHN], a very learned Engliſh Divine in the fourteenth century, the firſt who had the courage and honeſty to oppoſe many of the errors and abſurd impoſitions of the church of Rome, was born about the year 1324, in Richmondſhire within the county of York [*A*], near the river Tees, and in the pariſh of Wycliff, from whence he took his ſurname (*a*). Being bred to learning, he was ſent to the univerſity of Oxford, and admitted Commoner of Queen's college; but ſoon after removed to Merton-college, of which he was probationer (*b*), but never fellow, as ſome have aſſerted [*B*]. This college was, and had been, the moſt famous ſeminary of great and learned men in the whole univerſity [*C*]. And John Wicliff quickly grew inferior to none of them, but came to be taken notice of, and diſtinguiſhed for his excellent parts, and wonderful diligence, which was ſuch, that he is ſaid to have gotten by heart all the moſt intricate parts of Ariſtotle; and, when he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of divinity, to have made himſelf maſter of all the niceties of the ſchoolmen. By theſe means he came to be accounted an excellent philoſopher, and incomparable in ſchool-exerciſes (*c*): a man of a profound wit, very acute, and powerful in diſputations, and to paſs with the common ſort of divines for little leſs than a God (*d*). To theſe acquiſitions of ſchool-learning, he added the ſtudy of the civil and canon law, and of our own municipal laws, in all which his writings ſhew him to have been very well verſed. But his favourite ſtudy and chief delight, were the holy ſcriptures. Of theſe he was a very diligent reader; on ſeveral parts of them he wrote notes, expoſitions, and homilies; and tranſlated them into Engliſh: for which reaſon he ſeems to have obtained the title of *Doctor Evangelicus*, the Evangelical or Goſpel Doctor. Next to the ſcriptures, he ſtudied moſt the chief Fathers of the Latin church (*e*), whom he often cites and refers to in his writings. He was likewiſe a great admirer of the writings of Robert Groſthead, made Biſhop of Lincoln in 1235, and of Richard Fitz-Ralph, Profeſſor of Divinity at Oxford, and Archbiſhop of Armagh in Ireland about the year 1347. Theſe he often quotes, and makes great uſe of them in his diſputes with the Friers, and againſt the papal encroachments in England. Such was Mr Wicliffe's character in the univerſity (*f*): and he appears, as early as the year 1356, to have declared publickly againſt ſome popiſh corruptions, in his treatiſe ‘ Of the laſt age of the Church [*D*].’ But what ſeems to have made him firſt taken notice

(*a*) Leland, Collectan. vol. I. p. 423. and Itinerary, vol. V. p. 112. Life of Dr. John Wicliffe by J. Lewis, p. 1.

(*b*) Tanner, Bibliotheca, p. 767. not. b.

(*c*) Hen. de Knyghton, de eventibus Angliæ, inter X ſcriptores, col. 2644. & Lewis, p. 2.

(*d*) Leland, de Scriptoribus, &c. in Tanneri Bibliotheca.

(*e*) St Auguſtin, Hierom, Ambroſe, Gregory.

(*f*) Lewis, p. 3.

[*A*] *In Richmondſhire within the county of York.*] Dr Thomas James informs us (1), that ‘ unto this day ‘ ſome of the name and family of Wicliff doe remaine ‘ in the North.’—It was in the reign of King James I. that Dr James wrote this; and we are told, that there is now a branch of the Wicliff's family in the neighbourhood of Richmond, who were formerly Lords of Wicliff, and had a conſiderable eſtate there; and that among them there goes a report, though they have no authentick evidence to ſupport it, that John Wicliff was of their family (2).

[*B*] *But never Fellow, as ſome have aſſerted.*] Moſt of our writers have called him Fellow of that college: However, that he never was actually Fellow, is quite plain from this memorandum, in Br. Twine's MS. extracted from an old regiſter of Merton College by the learned Tho. Allen, ‘ J. Wiclif, doctor in theologia, qui nimium in proprio ingenio confidebat, non ‘ fuit Socius iſtius domus, nec annum probationis habuit plenarium in eadem (3).’

[*C*] *The moſt famous ſeminary of great and learned men in the univerſity.*] Among whom are reckoned—Roger Bacon, the ornament of his age, an extraordinary mathematician.—Thomas Bradwardine, A. D. 1349. the Profound Doctor, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury.—Walter Burley, A. D. 1330. the Plain Doctor, preceptor to K. Edward III.—John Eſtwood, famous for his ſkill in aſtronomy, about 1360.—John of Gateſden, an eminent Phyſician, about 1320.——Simon Iſlip, Archbiſhop of Canterbury in 1349.——Simon Mepham and John Peckham, Archbiſhops of Canterbury.——William Occham, the Nominaliſt, or Singular Doctor.—William Rede, a noted mathematician, Biſhop of Chicheſter in 1369, &c (4). ‘ By ‘ example of theſe, as well as by the ſtrict diſcipline ‘ of that houſe,’ as Dr Tho. James obſerves (5), ‘ he ‘ became nothing inferiour to any of the former, either in quicknes of apprehenſion, ſharpnes of wit, ‘ ſhortnes of delivery, greatnes of induſtrie, ſtoutnes ‘ of courage, and variety of all kinde of good learning; and above them all in a full knowledge of the ‘ truth of the goſpel, and conſtant defenſe of the ſame ‘ unto the ende.’— The chief ſources from whence he drew his learning, beſides the Bible, were, Occham, Tho. Bradwardine, Marſilius of Padua, Guido de S. Amore, Ric. Armachanus, Abelard, Robert Groſthead Biſhop of Lincoln, &c.

[*D*] *Of the laſt age of the Church.*] In this very ſhort tract he ſhews from the Abbot Joachim's book Of the ſeed of profetis, and of the ſeyings of the Popes, &c. St Bernard, the verſes of the Sibyls, &c. that, as he expreſſes it, ‘ Seculer Power of the Hooly Gooſt ‘ eliſpired, and that bothe venjaunce of ſwerde, myſcheifs unknowne bifore, bi whiche men thes daies ‘ ſchulde be punyſchid ſchulen falle for ſynne of ‘ preſtis, men ſchal fall on them, and caſt them out of ‘ their fatte beneficis, and thei ſchal ſeie he came into ‘ his benefice by his kynrede, thes bi covenant maad ‘ bifore, he for his ſervyſe, and thes for moneye cam ‘ into Goddis Chirche. Thane ſchal eche ſuch preſt ‘ crye,

(1) John Wicliff's life, at the end of An Apologie for John Wicliff, &c. by Thomas James. Oxford 1608.

(2) Hiſtory of John Wicliff, by John Lewis. Lond. 1723. 8vo. p. 315.

(3) Tanner, Biblioth. p. 767. not. b.

(4) Leland, in Biſhop Tanner's Bibliothec. under thoſe articles.

(5) Life, as above.

notice of, was his joining with the univerſity in 1360, againſt the oppoſition and encroachments made by the begging Friers, the Methodiſt Preachers of thoſe times, who had, ever ſince their ſettlement in Oxford in 1230, been very troubleſome, and made it their buſineſs to diſturb the Chancellor and ſcholars, by breaking in upon their ſtatutes and privileges (*g*), and ſetting up an exempt juriſdiction [*E*]. He oppoſed thoſe Friers alſo, in their ill practice of enticing the youth from the colleges into their convents; inſomuch that people were afraid of ſending their children to the univerſity, leſt they ſhould be thus kidnapped. By which means the number of ſtudents was ſo far decreaſed, that whereas they had been thirty thouſand, they were not, in 1357, above ſix thouſand. Thoſe mendicant Monks having alſo invented this groundleſs and ſilly notion, on purpoſe to juſtify their begging trade, That the poverty of Chriſt was ſuch, that neither he nor any of his Apoſtles had any thing of their own, but poſſeſſed all things in common, and that Chriſt begged for a livelihood; Mr Wicliff, among others, ſolidly confuted them, with great applauſe (*h*) [*F*]. All which performances rendered him ſo conſiderable, that, on the 9th of April 1361, he was appointed Maſter of the hall, or college, of Balliol (*i*): and, the 14th of May following, preſented by the ſame college to the church of Filingham in the county of Lincoln; which he afterwards exchanged for that of Lotegarſhall (*k*). On the 14th of December 1365, he was conſtituted Warden of Canterbury college in Oxford, by Archbiſhop Simon de Iſlip, founder of that college; (*l*). [*G*] who, in the letters of inſtitution, ſtyles him a perſon in whoſe fidelity, circumſpection, and induſtry, he very much confided; and on whom he had fixed his eyes for that place, upon account of the honeſty of his life, of his laudable converſation, and his knowledge of letters, or learning (*m*). But an equal number of regular and ſecular prieſts having been placed in this college by the founder; after his deceaſe, the regulars who wanted at that time to engroſs all religious donations, got their Warden Mr Wicliff, and the three ſecular Fellows, ejected in April 1367. Theſe, refuſing to abide by ſo arbitrary a ſentence, appealed to the Pope. But at that prejudiced court, where the Monks, the Pope's ſtanding army, were entirely countenanced, John Wicliff could get neither favour nor juſtice; and therefore the ſentence againſt him was confirmed in 1370 (*n*). This unhandſome uſage, we may ſuppoſe, increaſed our Author's averſion for the court of Rome, augmented the ill opinion he had conceived of it, and infuſed ſome bitterneſs into his writings: but it was not owing to his being refuſed the biſhoprick of Wincheſter, (*o*) or Worceſter, as ſome fabulous writers have aſſerted; for, long before this, he had drawn his pen againſt the Pope's exactions, even as early as the year 1356 (*p*). However, it is certain that his character and reputation in the univerſity were no way leſſened by his

(*g*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 93. 96. 150. 154, 155

(*h*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. ut ſupra, p. 181.

(*i*) Idem, lib. ii. p. 73.

(*k*) Regiſt. Johan. Ginewell, Epiſc. Lincoln. See Lewis, Hiſt. of the Tranſlations of the Bible, 8vo. p. 17.

(*l*) Now incorporated into Chriſt's church.

(*m*) Regiſt. Iſlep, fol. 306. & Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Ox. l. i. p. 184. Lewis, p. 240.

(*n*) Lewis, p. 8—16.

(*o*) Varillas Hiſt. du Wicleſianiſme; Lyon 1696. p. 2. 5. &c. and Chriſtoferſon Exhortat. againſt Rebellion.

(*p*) See note [*E*], & Twyne MSS. p. 117.

'crye, Alas, alas, that no good Spiryt dwellid with 'me at my comynge into Goddis Chirche.'—— He goes on to cenſure the exactions and uſurpations of the Pope, under the names of Dymes, firſt-fruits, penſions, &c (6).

[E] *And ſetting up an exempt juriſdiction.*] By one of the ſtatutes of the univerſity it was ordered, 'That 'no one ſhould proceed Doctor in Divinity, unleſs he 'had been before a Regent in Arts, either in that or 'ſome other univerſity.' Of this the Dominicans, or Friers Preachers, who had no regular univerſity-education, complained, as bearing hard upon them, and being much to their prejudice. They laboured therefore very earneſtly to have this ſtatute repealed, and to be exempted themſelves from the performance of univerſity exerciſes. For which purpoſe they appealed to the Pope, petitioned the King, and inſulted the Chancellor, Proctors, and Regents of the univerſity; treating them with all imaginable contempt, and doing all they could to ſtir up the ſcholars to be ſeditious and troubleſome (7).

[F] *Solidly confuted them with great applauſe.*] He writ, upon that occaſion, the following tracts. 1. *Of Clerks poſſeſſioners*; wherein he has theſe words: 'Freres drawen children fro Chriſt's religion into 'their private order by hypocriſie, leſings and ſteling. 'For they tellen that their order is more holy than 'any other, and that they ſhullen have higher degree 'in the bliſs of heaven than other men that ben not 'therein, and ſeyn that men of their order ſhullen 'never come to hell, but ſhullen dome other men 'with Chriſt at doomſday. And ſo they ſtelen children fro fader and moder, ſometime ſuch as ben 'unable to the order, and ſometime ſuch as ſhullen 'ſuſteyn their fader and mother by the commandment 'of God; and thus they ben blaſphemers takin upon 'full counced in douty [doubtful] things that ben not 'expreſsly commanded ne forbidden in holy writ; 'ſith ſuch counſel is appropred to the Holy Ghoſt; 'and thus they ben therefore curſed of God, as the 'Phariſees were of Chriſt, Matt. xxiii. 14. . . . . And 'ſith he that ſteleth an ox or a cow is damnable by 'God's law, and man's law alſo, muckil more he that 'ſteleth a man's child, that is better than all earthly 'goods, and draweth him to the leſs perfitt order. 'And though this ſingular order were more perfect 'than Chriſt's, yet he wot never where it be to damnation of the child, for he wot not to what ſtate 'God hath ordained him; and ſo blindly they don 'ageinſt Chriſt's ordinance.'

Againſt the other pretence of the religious, that Chriſt himſelf was a *beggar*, Wicliff wrote tracts intituled. 2. *Of the Poverty of Chriſt.* 3. *Againſt able Beggary.* 4. *Of Idleneſs in Beggary*: wherein he ſhews (8), That Chriſt was entertained by Mary Magdalen, and other holy men and women, '*without axing* or 'conſtreyning. Chriſt bad his apoſtles and diſciples 'that they ſhould not bere a ſachell ne ſcrip' [as the begging friers did to carry to their convents what they got by begging] 'but look what man is able to hear 'the goſpel, and eat and drink therein, and paſs not 'thence, and not paſs fro houſe to houſe. St. Paul 'labored or travailed with his hands for him, and for 'men that weren with him; and coveted neither gold, 'ne ſilver, &c.— And he biddeth that men that wilen 'live in idleneſs and curioſity, and not traveile [labour] ſhullen not eat.'—From whence he concludes, that 'ſith open begging is thus ſharply damned in 'holy writ, it is a foule error to meynteyne it; but 'that it is more error to ſeie that Chriſt was ſuch a 'beggar, ſith then he muſt have been contrary to his 'own law.'— He further ſhews (9), that 'it is a leaving the commandment of Chriſt, of giving of alms to poor, feeble, crooked, blind, and bed-rid men, to give alms to ſuch hypocrites as the Begging Friers, that feigned themſelves holy and needy, when they were ſtrong in body, and had overmuch riches, both in vaſt houſes, precious cloths, great feaſts, and many jewels and treaſure.'

[G] *He was conſtituted Warden of Canterbury College in Oxford.*] Whilſt he was there, he is ſaid to have had under his tuition, or at leaſt as a ſtudent in that houſe, the moſt eminent Poet, *Geffrey Chaucer*; who might learn from his maſter to make free with the friers and monks (10). Chaucer had alſo part of his education in Merton College (11).

(6) Lewis, p. 315.

(7) Lewis, p. 3, 4.

(8) Objection of Freres, MS. c. 5.

(9) Ibid. c. 6.

(10) A. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 184.

(11) Leland, de Scriptorib. p. 420.

arbitrary

arbitrary ejectment; for having taken his Doctor in Divinity's degree in 1372, he read public lectures, as Profeſſor, with very great applauſe; and had ſuch an authority in the ſchools, that whatever he ſaid was received as an oracle. In thoſe lectures he at firſt reflected gently on the impoſitions of the mendicant Friers; and finding that a detection of their abuſes was acceptable to his hearers, he proceeded to handle them with the utmoſt ſeverity (*q*) [*H*]. About this time, the Pope threatening to cite King Edward III. to anſwer for his default, in not performing the homage which King John his predeceſſor had imprudently agreed to perform to the ſee of Rome, and refuſing to pay the tribute which that King had ſubmitted to, the Parliament unanimouſly reſolved to oppoſe that unjuſt claim (*r*). But a monk having the audaciouſneſs to defend and juſtify the Pope's unreaſonable demand, Dr Wicliff, ſtiling himſelf the King's own Clerk or Chaplain, replied (*s*), and publiſhed a determination, in which he ſhewed, That the reſignation of the crown, and promiſe of a tribute made heretofore by King John, ought not to prejudice the kingdom of England; and did not at all oblige the preſent King [*I*]. This ſeems to have made him better known at court, and ingratiated him with John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, third ſon of King Edward III. to whom our Author addreſſed ſome of his works, and who became his particular protector (*t*). Great complaints having alſo been made againſt the Pope's uſurpations, eſpecially his proviſions and collations, whereby he diſpoſed of the beſt preferments and dignities in this kingdom to aliens, ſome of them mere boys, ignorant not only of the Engliſh language, but even of the Latin; who never ſaw their churches, and had the revenues remitted to them at Rome, or elſewhere, to the great diſcouragement and impoveriſhing of the natives; a ſurvey of thoſe preferments, with their reſpective value, was taken by the order of King and Parliament. And to remedy ſo great and increaſing an evil, embaſſadors were ſent to the Pope, to obtain a redreſs of theſe and other abuſes; at the head of which embaſſy were John Biſhop of Bangor, John de Wiclif, S. T. P. &c. (*u*) Theſe embaſſadors were met at Bruges, about the beginning of Auguſt 1374, by the Pope's nuncios; commiſſioned, to treat concerning the liberties of the church of England, and the prelates and other eccleſiaſtical perſons of this realm. After the treaty between them had continued with interruptions near two years, it was at laſt agreed, That for the future the Pope ſhould deſiſt from making uſe of reſervations of benefices, and that the King ſhould no more confer preferments by his writ (*w*). But, as all conceſſions from the court of Rome are ſoon broke through unleſs they are manifeſtly to its advantage, the parliament found reaſon to complain the very next year, That the Pope did make reſervation of dignities elective contrary to the aforeſaid treaty; and a bill was brought in againſt the papal uſurpations (*x*) [*K*]. We have placed here together all theſe facts, relating to our Author's embaſſy. But we muſt look

[*H*] *He proceeded to handle them with the utmoſt ſeverity.*] In a tract intituled *Objections of Freres*, he charged them with holding 'Fifty hereſies and errors, and many moe, if men wole ſeke them well out.' The chief of which were, "Their ſaying, that their religion founded by ſinful men, was more perfect than that made by Jeſus Chriſt himſelf.—That if a man was once profeſſed to their religion, though never ſo unfit, he may never leave it and be ſaved.—Their maintaining, that begging is lawful, though it is condemned by God both in the Old Teſtament and the New.—That they called it a greater ſin, to break their own traditions than the commandments of God.—That out of pride and covetouſneſs, they drew from the ſecular clergy their offices and ſacraments, making a diſſenſion between them and their pariſhioners; and hindered them from preaching the goſpel, though Chriſt had joined Prieſthood and the teaching of the goſpel together; and ſo they parted what God had joined together.—That they ſhewed not to the people, eſpecially the rich, their great ſins, but flattered and nouriſhed them in ſin.—That they deceived the people in faith, and robbed them of temporal goods, making them truſt more to a piece of parchment [or indulgence] with vain prayers of hypocrites that perhaps are damned devils, than in the help of God, and in their own good living.--That they perverted the right faith of the ſacrament of the altar, and brought in a new hereſy. For whereas Chriſt ſaid, that the bread that he brake and bleſſed was his body, they ſay, that it is an accident without ſubject, or nothing.—That they praiſed more their rotten habit than the worſhipful body of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt; for they taught lords and ladies, that if they died in St Francis's [or a Franciſcan's] habit, they ſhould never come to hell by virtue thereof.—That they were irregular procurators of the fiend, to make and maintain wars of chriſtian men, and enemies of peace and charity.—That they maintained that holy writ is falſe.—That they were thieves, both night-thieves and day-thieves, entering into the church not by the door, that is Chriſt. For without auctority of God they make new religions of errors of ſinful men."—— And many more to the ſame purpoſe, which may be ſeen in his own words and ſpelling, in his life by Mr Lewis (12).

[*I*] *And did not at all oblige the preſent King.*] He declares in that paper, That the King may juſtly rule the kingdom, refuſing the tribute of 700 marks a year demanded by the Pope: And that the errors impoſed upon the kingdom are falſe, and without any evidence of reaſon or law. He ſays he had been told, That there were three reaſons why his opponent put him upon the preſent taſk. 1. That his perſon may be defamed at the court of Rome, and by aggravated cenſures he may be deprived of his eccleſiaſtical benefices. 2. That his adverſary may by this means obtain the favour of that court to himſelf and his order. 3. That the Lord Pope ruling the kingdom of England with leſs controul, and at his own pleaſure, civil dominions, or temporal lordſhips, may be heaped on the Abbies (13).

[*K*] *A bill was brought in againſt the Papal uſurpations.*] Theſe uſurpations were repreſented as the cauſe of all the plagues, injuries, famine, and poverty of the realm; ſo as thereby was not left the third perſon or other commodity within the realm, as lately was. And it was further remonſtrated, "That the tax paid to the Pope of Rome for eccleſiaſtical dignities, did amount to five-fold as much as the tax of all the profits as appertained to the King by the year, of this whole realm; and for ſome one biſhoprick, or other dignity, the Pope, by way of tranſlation and death, had three, four, or five ſeveral taxes: That the brokers of that ſinful city, for money, promoted many caitiffs, being altogether unlearned and unworthy, to a thouſand marks living yearly; whereas the learned and worthy could hardly obtain twenty marks; whereby learning decayed: That aliens, enemies to this land, who never ſaw, nor cared to ſee, their pariſhioners, had thoſe livings; whereby they deſpiſed God's ſervice, and conveyed away the treaſure of the realm; and were worſe than Jews or Saracens (14)."

(*q*) Leland, de Scriptorib.

(*r*) R. Bowyer's, or Sir Rob. Cotton's Abridgment of the Rolls of Parliament, p. 102.

(*s*) Peculiaris Regis Clericus.

(*t*) Lewis, p. 18. 316.

(*u*) Cotton's Abr. p. 119. Joſ. Barnes's Hiſt. of Ed. III. p. 864. J. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. I. p. 560. and Rymer's Act. Publ. tom. vii. p. 41.

(*w*) Quare Impedit.

(*x*) Cotton's Abridgment, p. 161. See alſo p. 128.

(12) p. 20—27.

(13) See the whole Determination at length, in Lewis, p. 363, &c.

(14) Cotton's Abridgment, p. 128.

back, and take notice of ſome things that happened to him in the mean time. On the 7th of April 1374, he was preſented by King Edward III. to the rectory of Lutterworth in Leiceſterſhire [*L*], a living of very good value (*y*). And, November 6, 1375, was confirmed in the prebend of Auſte in the collegiate church of Weſtbury, in the county of Glouceſter, and then in the dioceſe of Worceſter (*z*). We are further told, that he was ſent embaſſador, with ſome of the barons of this kingdom, to the Duke of Milan; but in what preciſe time, is not mentioned (*aa*). Dr Wicliff's embaſſies having made him more ſenſible than he was before of the pride, covetouſneſs, ambition, and tyranny of the court of Rome; he did all he could to expoſe the Pope, both in his public lectures, and in private. He not only ſtyled him Antichriſt, but beſtowed upon him ſeveral other hard names [*M*]: and ſhewed himſelf a ſtrenuous defender of the King's authority, and of the power of the temporal lords, in oppoſition to the papal uſurpations; freely reproving, at the ſame time, the manifold corruptions that prevailed among all ſorts and orders of men (*bb*). But this honeſt freedom ſoon expoſed him to repeated troubles and perſecutions. For the bigots of that age having extracted XIX articles out of his public lectures and ſermons [*N*], and ſent them to Pope Gregory XI. he, on the 21ſt of May 1377, diſpatched three letters, or bulls, to Simon Sudbury, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and to William Courtney, Biſhop of London: in the firſt of which, he ordered thoſe two prelates to cauſe John Wicliff to be apprehended by his authority, and to be impriſoned, and put in irons. In the ſecond, he injoined them, in caſe they could not find and impriſon him, to affix a citation in Oxford, and other public places, where it was moſt likely to come to his knowledge; ſummoning him to appear before the Pope, wherever he ſhould be, within three months from the date of the citation. In the third, he commanded them to inform King Edward III. the Princes his ſons, the Princeſs Dowager of Aquitain and Wales, the Nobles, and King's Counſellors, of the nature of Wicliff's errors; and ſtraitly to require them effectually to contribute their favor and aſſiſtance for the extirpation of ſuch great errors (*cc*). The Pope wrote, at the ſame time, to King Edward III. to require and pray him that he would afford the patronage of his favor and aſſiſtance to the aforeſaid Biſhops in the proſecution of Wicliff. And, by a particular meſſenger, he ſent a bull to the univerſity of Oxford of the ſame date; in which, after reproving them for their ſloth and lazineſs in permitting the tares to grow among the pure wheat, he ſtrictly charged and commanded them, to take, or cauſe to be taken, John Wicliff, and deliver him in ſafe cuſtody to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Biſhop of London, or one of them, under pain of being deprived of all graces, indulgences, and privileges granted them by the ſee of Rome. But the univerſity had ſo

(*y*) Pat. 48 Ed. III. p. 1.

(*z*) Pat. 49 Ed. III. p. 1. See Biſhop Tanner's Notit. Mon. p. 142.

(*aa*) MS. Twyne, 246.

(*bb*) Lewis, p. 34, &c.

(*cc*) Regiſt. Sudbury, fol. 45, 46. T. Walſingham, Hiſt. Angliæ, ed. 1603. p. 201. &c. Spelman, Concil. vol. II. p. 621, &c. Wilkins, Conc. vol. III. p. 116. 123. & Lewis, p. 46.

[*L*] *The rectory of Lutterworth in Leiceſterſhire.*] That church was beautified not long ago with a coſtly pavement of chequered ſtone, new pews, and every thing elſe new both in church and chancel, except the *Pulpit* made of thick oak planks ſix-ſquare, with a ſeam of carved work in the joints; which was preſerved and continued in memory of Wicliff, whoſe pulpit it was, if conſtant tradition may be credited (15).

[*M*] *But beſtowed upon him ſeveral other hard names.*] He called him the proud worldly Prieſt of Rome, the moſt curſed of clippers and purſe kervers; alluding to his manifold exactions, under pretence of ſacraments and ſpiritual things, whereby he drew out of this land poor mens livelihood, to the amount of many thouſand marks a year; which he ſays is the curſed hereſy of Simony. And adds, 'Certes though our rewme 'had an huge hill of gold, and never other man took 'thereof but only this proud worldly Prieſt's collector, 'by proceſs of time this hill muſt be ſpended (16).'

[*N*] *Having extracted XIX Articles out of his public Lectures and Sermons.*] They were as follows. 1. All mankind, ſince Chriſt, hath not power ſimply to ordain, that Peter and all his deſcendants ſhould have political and perpetual dominion over the world. 2. God cannot give to a man for himſelf and his heirs civil dominion for ever. 3. Charters of human invention, concerning a civil inheritance to be made perpetual, are impoſſible. 4. Every one that is finally juſtified hath not only a right to, but in fact enjoys, all the things of God. 5. Man can only miniſterially give to his natural child, or to a child of invitation [qu. initiation] in the ſchool of Chriſt, both temporal and eternal dominion. (Theſe five articles ſeem intended againſt the temporal dominion of the Popes.) 6. If God is, temporal lords may lawfully and meritoriouſly take away the goods of fortune from a delinquent [or erroneous] church. 7. Whether the church be in ſuch a ſtate or not, is not my buſineſs to examine, but it is the buſineſs of temporal lords; and if they find it in ſuch a ſtate, they are to act boldly, and on pain of eternal damnation take away its temporalities. 8. We know it to be impoſſible, that the Vicar of Chriſt ſhould purely by his bulls, or by them with the will and conſent of himſelf and his college of Cardinals, qualify or diſqualify any one. 9. It is not poſſible for a man to be excommunicated, unleſs he be firſt and principally excommunicated by himſelf. 10. No body is excommunicated, ſuſpended, or tormented with other cenſures, to his own damage or prejudice, unleſs it be in the cauſe of God. 11. Curſing, or excommunication, does not bind ſimply, but only ſo far as it is denounced againſt an adverſary of the law of Chriſt. 12. There is no example of a power given by Chriſt or his diſciples, to excommunicate ſubjects, principally for denying them temporal things; but the contrary. 13. The diſciples of Chriſt have no power forcibly to exact temporal things by cenſures. 14. It is not poſſible from the abſolute power of God, that if the Pope or any other pretends that he any way looſes or binds, that he does therefore actually looſe or bind. 15. We ought to believe that then only he doth looſe or bind, when he conforms himſelf to the law of Chriſt. 16. This ought to be univerſally believed, that every prieſt rightly ordained hath power ſufficiently to adminiſter any of the ſacraments, and by conſequence of abſolving every contrite perſon from any ſin. 17. It is lawful for kings to take away the temporalities from eccleſiaſticks who habitually abuſe them. 18. Whether temporal lords, or holy popes, or ſaints, or the head of the church, which is Chriſt, have endowed the church with the goods of fortune or of grace, and have excommunicated thoſe who take away its temporalities, it is notwithſtanding lawful, on account of the condition implied in the endowment, to deprive it of the temporalities for a proportionable offence. 19. An eccleſiaſtick, yea even the Pope of Rome, may lawfully be corrected by ſubjects, and even by the laity, and may alſo be accuſed or impeached by them. (17)—— He is alſo ſaid by T. Walden (18) to have held theſe opinions about baptiſm: 'That baptiſm 'doth not confer, but only ſignifies grace, which was 'given before. And that thoſe are fools and preſumptuous, which affirm ſuch infants not to be ſaved, as die without baptiſm;' alſo, that 'he denied, 'that all ſins are aboliſhed in baptiſm.'

(15) Biſhop Gibſon's Addit. to Camden's Britannia, in Leiceſterſhire, p. 531.

(16) See Lewis, p. 34.

(17) The original Latin of theſe articles is in T. Walſingham, p. 204, 205. in Wilkins, as above, and in Lewis, p. 266.

(18) Walden, tom. ii. c. 98. 108.

great

great a value for Wicliff, that they demurred a long time, whether they ſhould receive the bull with honor, or entirely reject it with diſgrace. And when they had received it, they obeyed the contents with very little reſpect *(dd)*. Before theſe bulls reached England, which ſeems not to have been till November 1377, King Edward III. was dead *(ee)*. However the Archbiſhop and Biſhop proceeded to execute the Pope's commands; and not being able to get Dr Wicliff delivered up to them by the univerſity, which plainly favored and protected him, they iſſued out their mandate to Adam de Toneworth, Chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford, then in Lincoln dioceſe, within which dioceſe Lutterworth was; injoining him to inform himſelf privately of Wicliff's opinions: and to cite, or cauſe him to be cited peremptorily, to appear perſonally in the church of St Paul before the ſaid Archbiſhop and Biſhop, the thirtieth court-day after the date of this citation, which was December 18 *(ff)* [*O*]. The univerſity not being able to ſecure Wicliff againſt ſuch violent attacks, he thought it neceſſary to provide for his own ſafety, by putting himſelf under the protection of John Duke of Lancaſter, uncle to King Richard II *(gg)*, to whom he had been long known, and who had conceived a very good opinion of him for his learning and integrity; and beſides was no very great admirer of the Monks. On the day fixed for his appearance, Wicliff repaired to St Paul's, having the honor of being accompanied by the foreſaid Duke, and the Lord Henry Piercy, Earl Marſhall. As there was a vaſt concourſe of people, the Earl Marſhall uſed his authority to diſperſe them, and make way to the place where the court ſat. This occaſioning a violent noiſe and hurry, and Biſhop Courtney not being pleaſed to ſee Dr Wicliff ſo honorably attended, ſome ſharp words paſſed between him and the two Lords [*P*]: which cauſed the aſſembly to grow very tumultuous and diſorderly, ſo that the court was forced to break up without any thing done *(hh)*. Some time after, Archbiſhop Sudbury and Biſhop Courtney, in further execution of the Pope's bull, ſat in the archiepiſcopal chapel at Lambeth. Wicliff appeared there, and delivered an Explanation of the Concluſions, or Articles of his, that had been objected againſt as erroneous and heretical *(ii)*. But great numbers of the Londoners, who held him in the utmoſt veneration, afraid of his being ill uſed, got into Lambeth-chapel, and ſpoke in his behalf. Moreover, the Queen-mother *(kk)* ſent Sir Lewis Clifford to the two delegates, forbidding them to proceed to any definitive ſentence: which meſſage they complied with out of fear, having acted in the whole affair, according to T. Walſingham *(ll)*, with remarkable timidity and indolence. Thus Wicliff eſcaped better than could have been expected; and Pope Gregory XI. dying March 1378, his commiſſion to the Archbiſhop and Biſhop expired with him. But the great fatigue, hurry, vexation, and trouble Wicliff underwent in the proſecution, occaſioned his having a dangerous fit of ſickneſs, that brought him almoſt to the point of death. During which, the mendicant friers, whom he had ſo ſeverely handled, ſent four doctors to exhort him, as a true penitent, to *revoke* whatever he had ſaid to their diſparagement. So far from it, he ordered himſelf to be raiſed on his pillows, and ſaid

(dd) T. Walſingham, p. 201—204.

(ee) He died June 21, 1377.

(ff) Spelman, Conc. vol. II. p. 625. Wilkins, vol. III. p. 123.

(gg) Whoſe authority was very little inferior to the King's.

(hh) Foxe, vol. I.

(ii) Walſingham, Hiſt. Angl. p. 206—208. J. Foxe, ed. 1610. vol. I. p. 398.

(kk) Joanna, widow of Edward the Black Prince, and mother of K. Richard II. then reigning.

(ll) p. 205. Qui quam indevote, quam ſegniter commiſſa ſibi mandata compleverint, melius eſt ſilere quam loqui.

[O] *Which was December* 18.] Between the day of his citation and appearance, the firſt parliament of K. Richard II. met at Weſtminſter; in which it was debated, 'Whether the kingdom of England, on imminent neceſſity of its own defence, may lawfully detain the treaſure of the kingdom, that it be not carried out of the land, although the Lord Pope requires its being carried out on the pain of cenſures, and by vertue of the obedience due to him?' The reſolution of this doubt was referred by the King and parliament to Dr Wicliff, who anſwered that it was lawful, and undertook to prove it ſo by the principles of the law of Chriſt (19).

[P] *Some ſharp words paſſed between him and the two Lords.*] They are ſaid to have been to this effect.—— Biſhop of London, addreſſing himſelf to the Lord Percy, . . . 'If I had known before, what maiſteries you would have kept in the church, I would have ſtopped you out from coming here.' . . . The Duke of Lancaſter thereupon replied, 'That he would keep ſuch maſtery there, though he ſaid nay.'——John Wicliff ſtanding before the court, Lord Percy bid him ſit down, ſaying, 'That he had many things to anſwer to, and therefore had need of ſome ſofter ſeat.' But the Biſhop of London ſaid, 'He ſhould not ſit there: neither was it according to law or reaſon that he who was cited there to appear to anſwer before his ordinary, ſhould ſit down during the time of his anſwer, but ſhould ſtand.'— Upon which a very great quarrel aroſe between the two Lords and the Biſhop; and the Duke being out-talked by the Biſhop, fell into a rage, and threatened,— 'That he would bring down the pride, not only of him, but alſo of all the Prelacy of England.' Adding, 'Thou beareſt thyſelf ſo brag upon thy parents (20), which ſhall not be able to help thee: they ſhall have enough to do to help themſelves.'—— To whom the Biſhop again anſwered, That, 'to be ſo bold as to tell the truth, his confidence was not in his parents, nor in any man elſe, but only in God, in whom he truſted.' Whereupon the Duke whiſpering in the ear of the perſon next to him, ſaid, that, 'he would rather pluck out the Biſhop by the hair of his head out of the church, than he would take this at his hand.'—— This was not ſo ſecretly ſpoken, but the Londoners overheard him: whereupon being ſet in a rage, they cried out, 'That they would not ſuffer their Biſhop to be ſo contemptuouſly abuſed: But would rather loſe their lives, than that he ſhould be drawn out by the hair.'—— Thus that council being interrupted with ſcolding and brawling for that day, was diſſolved before nine o'clock. After which the Duke and the Lord Percy went to the parliament, where the ſame day, before dinner, a bill was put up, in the name of the King, by the Lord Thomas of Woodſtock, and Lord Henry Percy, that the city of London ſhould no more be governed by a Mayor, but by a Captain, as in times before; and that the Marſhal of England ſhould have the power of making arreſts within the ſaid city, as in other cities; with other petitions, tending to the like derogation of the liberties of London (21).—— This imprudent attempt to alter the government of that great city, occaſioned the tumult or inſurrection, related by our hiſtorians, when the Duke of Lancaſter's houſe was broke open, and much damaged: but it was not in reality occaſioned by his conteſt with the Biſhop. Though there appeared in this conteſt the extremity of paſſion in the Duke, ſince it is certain, that the Biſhop's laſt words were not ſo inſolent, as that they ought to have put the Duke in ſo great a rage. But it may be the Biſhop uſed harſher expreſſions, which the Monk of St Alban's, who related theſe facts, took care to ſoften, that the Duke might appear to be in the wrong, as Mr Rapin hath obſerved (22).

(19) Cotton's Abr. p. 154. and J. Foxe's Acts and Monuments.

(20) His father was Hugh de Courtney, Earl of Devonſhire.

(21) J. Foxe, vol. I. ed. 1610. p. 393.

(22) Hiſtory; in State of the Church from 1272 to 1399.

with

with a loud voice, ‘ I ſhall not die, but live and declare the evil deeds of the friers (*mm*).’ And, inſtead of being daunted and convinced, he went on expoſing the errors of Popery. Moreover, he preſented to the parliament, in 1379, a ſevere paper againſt the tyranny and uſurpations of the court of Rome: and wrote ſmartly againſt the Papal Supremacy and Infallibility (*nn*) [*Q*]. What vexed his enemies moſt, was the great work he had undertaken, to tranſlate the Bible into Engliſh [*R*]. Some have affirmed, that he began it about four or five years before his deceaſe (*oo*). But it is more probable, that it was his chief employment for the laſt ten years at leaſt of his life. And he had the aſſiſtance of ſome of his followers. To make way for this tranſlation, he publiſhed his book, ‘ Of the Truth of the Scripture;’ wherein he affirms, That the ſcripture is the law of Chriſt, and the faith of the church; that all truth is contained in the holy ſcripture, and every diſputation which hath not its origin from thence is profane, &c (*pp*). But what made the bigots in that time loſe all patience, was his attacking with great vigor, in his lectures, in ſummer 1381, the very gainful and favorite (*qq*), though the moſt abſurd and impudent, doctrine of tranſubſtantiation: profeſſing, to bring back the church of Chriſt from the error they had been many years in, and from idolatry to the true worſhip of God. He therefore publiſhed ſixteen concluſions, the firſt of which was, That the conſecrated hoſt which we ſee upon the altar, is neither Chriſt, nor any part of him, but only an efficacious ſign of him: and upon thoſe points he offered to diſpute with any one (*rr*). Being

(*mm*) J. Bale, Cent. vi. p. 469. Lewis, p. 64, 65.

(*nn*) Lewis, p. 318—329.

(*oo*) Lewis, p. 64, 66. J. Lenfant, Hiſt. of the Council of Conſtance, Engl. ed. 1728. vol. I. p. 212.

(*pp*) De Verit. Script.

(*qq*) It tended to exalt the myſtical and wonder-working power of the Popiſh prieſts, and to make them thought ſomething more than men, when they could make God.

(*rr*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Ox. l. i. p. 188. T. Walſingham, p. 246. 266.

[*Q*] *He preſented to the Parliament a ſevere paper againſt the tyranny and uſurpations of the court of Rome: And wrote ſmartly againſt the Papal Supremacy and Infallibility.*] That paper againſt the uſurpations of the court of Rome, is inſerted at length in Mr Lewis's Life of our author (23). It is much the ſame as the contents of note [A], only there are explanations added to each article; and the title of it is, *A ſort of Anſwer to the Pope's Bull.*

As for his ſmart reflections on the papal ſupremacy and infallibility, they were comprized in a Latin anſwer he wrote to a certain Doctor, whom he calls a medley divine, that had laid it down for a rule, That ‘ if any one be Pope, he is then incapable of ſinning, at leaſt mortally; and therefore if he wills or ordains any thing, it is therefore juſt.’—— The monſtrous conſequences of which falſe and groundleſs doctrine, Mr Wicliff ſhews to be ſuch as theſe (24), that ‘ The Pope may take away any book from the canon of ſcripture, and add any new one, and alter the whole Bible, and ſo make all the Scripture hereſy, and eſtabliſh as catholick a ſcripture that is oppoſite to the faith.—If the Pope's pretenſions, that when he looſes or binds upon any occaſion, he does really looſe or bind, were once eſtabliſhed, how would the world ſtand? For then, if the Pope pretends that he binds with the pain of eternal damnation every perſon that oppoſes him in his acquiſition of temporal things, whether moveable or immoveable, or in whatever he does, he is actually bound; by conſequence, it would be the eaſieſt thing imaginable for him to obtain all the kingdoms of the world, and deſtroy or ſubvert the whole ordinance of Chriſt.’—He concludes therefore, ‘ that chriſtians ought not to ſuffer ſo noted a heretick and blaſphemer to live upon the earth, and eſpecially not to maintain ſuch an one as their captain, ſince he will lead his company with their conſent over a precipice;’ *He declares*, ‘ that ſecular Lords ought to reſiſt him, not only on account of the hereſy he impoſes on them with reſpect to the exerciſe of a power which they have, to withdraw their alms from a delinquent church; nor only becauſe he condemns it as heretical to aſſert, that *he only* can miniſterially *diſtribute the goods of the church*; but becauſe he impoſes an Egyptian bondage on them, and takes from them the liberty of the law of Chriſt.’ And he exhorts ‘ the ſoldiers of Chriſt, as well laity as clergy, to ſtand for the law of God even unto blood, and not to ſuffer themſelves to be overpowered with the fear of pain, or the love of company, and worldly profit.’

[*R*] *To tranſlate the Bible into Engliſh.*] The Latin Vulgate was at this time looked upon as the only authentic copy of the Bible; but as it was either locked up in libraries, or in very few hands before the invention of printing, what was of univerſal concernment, namely, for all Chriſtians freely to have the peruſal of the rule of their faith and practice, could be the happineſs but of very few perſons. This all well-wiſhers to true Chriſtianity ſaw with the utmoſt uneaſineſs, and our zealous and moſt induſtrious author Dr Wicliff ſet himſelf earneſtly about ſupplying ſo great a defect, by tranſlating the holy ſcriptures into Engliſh. He was undoubtedly ſeveral years about it, as we have obſerved in the body of this article. However he went through this great work, rendering from Latin into the vulgar tongue the twenty five canonical books of the Bible. Theſe he reckoned in the following order. ‘ 1. Geneſis. 2. Exodus. 3. Levitici. 4. Numeri. 5. Deuteronomi. 6. Joſue. 7. Judicum, that encloſeth the ſtory of Ruth. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, ben the 4 Bokes of Kyng and tweie Bokes of Paralipomenon. 14. Is Eſdre, that comprehendeth Neemy. 15. Is Heſter. 16. Job. 17. Pſalter. 18, 19, 20. ben the 3 Bokes of Solomon. 21, 22, 23, 24, ben the four great Prophets. 25. Is a Boke of 12 ſmall Prophets, Oſee, Joel, Amos, Abdie, Jonas, Michee, Nahum, Abacuc, Sophonie, Aggei, Zacharie, and Malachie.’ He adds, ‘ that whatever boke is in the Olde Teſtament without theſe 25 aforeſaide, ſhal be ſet among *Apocrypha*, that is withouten autoritie of belive. Therefore as holie church redith *Judith* and *Tobit*, and the Bokes of *Machabeis*, but receiveth not tho' amonge holi Scriptures; ſo the chirche readith theſe 2 Bokes *Eccleſiaſtici* and *Sapience* to edifying of the people, not to confirme the autoritie of techyng of holy chirch. And that therefore he tranſlated not the 3 ne 4 Boke of Eſdree that ben Apocrypha.’

The Books of the New Teſtament he reckons in this order. ‘ The 4 Goſpellers, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. 12 Epiſtles of Poule, 7 Small Epiſtles, the Dedes of Apoſtles, and the Apocalyps, which ben fulli of autoriti of byleve.’—— So that we find, he reckoned and allowed of the canonical books of ſcripture, in the ſame manner as they are by the reformed churches.

As to the method he took in making his tranſlation, he tells us (25), ‘ That he, with ſeveral others who aſſiſted him, got together all the old Latin Bibles they could procure; theſe they diligently collated, and corrected what errors had crept therein, in order to make one Latin Bible ſome deal true; ſince many bibles in Latin were falſe, eſpecially thoſe that were newe. Then they collected the Doctors and common gloſſes, eſpecially Nicolas de Lyra [or Harper], and with them ſtudied the text anew, in order to make themſelves maſters of the ſenſe and meaning of it. Next they conſulted old grammarians and ancient divines, as to the hard words and ſentences, how they might beſt be underſtood and tranſlated. And they reſolved, that the tranſlation ſhould not be a verbal one, but as clearly as they could to expreſs the ſenſe and meaning of the text.’— However, as Mr Lewis obſerves (26), Dr Wicliffe tranſlated word for word, without always obſerving the idioms or proprieties of the ſeveral languages; by which means this tranſlation in ſome places is not very intelligible to thoſe who do not underſtand Latin. The reaſon why he made his verſion from the Vulgate, was not that he thought it the original, or of the ſame authority with the Hebrew and Greek text, but becauſe he did not underſtand thoſe languages well enough to tranſlate from them.

Of this tranſlation ſeveral manuſcript copies are extant in the libraries of our univerſities, the Britiſh Muſæum,

(23) p. 318—329.

(24) MS. in Biblioth. Bodl. [illegible] b. 10.

(25) Prologue to this Tranſlation.

(26) Hiſtory of the Engliſh Tranſlations, 8vo. p. 19.

Being forbidden, he publiſhed his opinions about the Eucharist [*S*]. This frank and honeſt declaration of his ſentiments, ſhewed an uncommon integrity and penetration in our Author, conſidering the darkneſs of the age he lived in; and great numbers in Oxford chearfully embraced them (*ss*), much to the honor of that learned body. But it brought Mr Wicliff into ſeveral troubles. For William de Berton, Chancellor of the univerſity, condemned his concluſions; ſtrictly admoniſhing all perſons, not to teach or defend them; or to hearken to any who ſhould teach or defend them: aſſerting in oppoſition thereto, That by the ſacramental words duly pronounced by the prieſt, the bread

Muſæum, and other public and private collections. The New Teſtament was publiſhed in 1731, fol. by Mr John Lewis, Miniſter of Mergate; with a hiſtory of the Engliſh tranſlations of the Bible; which hiſtory was reprinted in 1739, 8vo. with large additions. We ſhall give a ſpecimen of the tranſlation in theſe three verſes of Romans viii. 28, 29, 30. 'And we witen, that to men that louen God alle thing is worchen togidre into good to hem that aftir purpoſe ben clepid ſeyntis. For thilk that he knew bifore he bifore ordeynyde bi grace to be maad lyk to the ymage of his Sone, that he be the firſte bigeten among manye britheren. And thilke that he bifore ordeynyde *to bliſſe* hem he clepide, and whiche he clepide hem he juſtifiede, and whiche he juſtifiede, and hem he glorifiede.'

This glorious deſign, of making the Word of God [the rule of our faith and practice] known and familiar to all Chriſtians, expoſed Dr Wicliff to the cenſures and revilings of the bigots of his age (27), who loved to keep people in darkneſs and ignorance, that their frauds and impoſitions might not be diſcovered, nor the vanity of their ill-grounded pretences laid open, But it will redound to his immortal honour.

[*S*] *Publiſhed his opinions about the Euchariſt.*] They are thus repreſented by his adverſaries. 'In ſacramento altaris ſubſtantiam panis materialis & vini, quæ prius fuerunt ante conſecrationem, poſt conſecrationem realiter remanere: In illo ſacramento non eſſe corpus Chriſti & ſanguinem eſſentialiter, nec ſubſtantialiter, nec etiam corporaliter, ſed figurativè, ſeu tropicè, ſic quod Chriſtus non eſt ibi veraciter in ſua propria perſona corporali (28).— Quod euchariſtia in altari poſt ſacramentum non eſt verum corpus Chriſti, ſed ejus figura (29).' Or, according to T. Walden, tranſlated into Engliſh, 'That the ſubſtance of bread and wine ſtill remain in the ſacrament: That God could not, though he would, make his body to be at the ſame time in ſeveral places: That in the ſacrament of the altar the hoſt is not to be worſhipped, and ſuch as adore it are idolaters.' (30).

But let us hear Dr Wicliff's own words. 'The euchariſt is the body of Chriſt in the form of bread. The right faith of Chriſten men is this, that this worſhipful ſacrament is bread and Chriſt's body, as Jeſu Chriſt is very God and very man; and this faith is grounded in Chriſt's own word in the goſpel of St Matthew, Mark, Luke, and by St Paul, and plainly in holy writ, and thereto accordeth reſon and witt at the full.'.... After which he cites the words of the inſtitution from the goſpels, and from St Paul: to which he ſubjoins ſeveral paſſages out of the fathers; and then concludes in theſe words... 'Then ſith theſe auctorities of Chriſt and his Apoſtles ben algates ſoth *, and alſo auctorities of theſe ſaints and clerks, ſith they accorden with holy writ and reaſon, ſeye we that this ſacrament is very bread, and alſo very Chriſt's body: And teche we this true belief to Chriſten men openly, and lett Lords meyntenen this truth as they are bounden upon pain of damnation, ſith it is openly taught in holy writ, and by reaſon and witt. And damnen we this curſed hereſie of Antichriſt and his hypocrites, and worldly Prieſts, ſeying that this ſacrament is neither bread ne Chriſt's body, but accidents withouten ſujet, and there under is Chriſt's body. For this is not taught in holy writ, but is fully agenſt St Auſtin, and holy ſeints, and reaſon and witt (31).'

He ſpeaks yet more fully upon that point, in his treatiſe entitled 'Wickliffe's Wicket (32),' as appears by theſe ſpecimens........ 'Thou that art an earthly man, by what reaſon maieſt thou ſay that thou makeſt thy maker? Whether may the made thing ſay to the maker, Why haſt thou made me thus? or may it turn againe, and make him that made it? (God forbid) now anſwereſt thou and ſaieſt, that every day thou makeſt of bread the body of the Lord, the fleſh and bloud of Jeſu Chriſt, God and man. Forſoth thou anſwereſt greatly againſt reaſon by thoſe words that Chriſt ſpeke at his ſupper on Serethurſdaie (33) at night, that "Chriſt tooke bread, and bleſſed it, and brake it, and gave it to his diſciples and apoſtles, and ſaid, Take ye, and eate ye, this is my body which ſhall be given for you. Alſo he taking the cuppe gave thankes, and gave to them, ſaying, Drinke ye all hereof: this is my bloude of the Newe Teſtament, which ſhal be ſhed out for many into the remiſſion of ſinnes." As ſaith Luke, "When Jeſus had taken bread, he gave thankes, and brake it to them, and ſaid, Take ye, eate ye, this is my body that ſhall be given for you; doe this in remembrance of me." Nowe underſtand ye the words of our Saviour Chriſt, as he ſpake them one after another. For he tooke bread, and bleſſed; and yet what bleſſed he? The ſcripture ſayeth not, that Chriſt tooke bread and bleſſed it, or that he bleſſed the bread which he had taken. Therfore it ſeemeth more that he bleſſed his diſciples and apoſtles, whome hee had ordained witneſſes of his paſſion, and in them he lifte his bleſſed word, which is is the bread of life, as it is written, "not only in the bread liveth man, but in every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." Alſo Chriſt ſaith, "I am the bread of life that came down from heaven:" and Chriſt ſaieth alſo in John, "the wordes that I have ſpoken to you be ſpirit of life." Therefore it ſemeth more that he bleſſed his diſciples, in whom the bread of life was left moore then in materiall bread; for the materiall bread hath an ende, as it is written Math. xv. 17, 18. and it hath an end of rotting, but the bleſſing of Chriſt kept his diſciples and apoſtles both bodily and goſtly, as it is written, "that none of them periſhed, but the ſonne of perdition." And the ſcripture ſaith, that Jeſus tooke bread, and brake it, and gave it to his diſciples, and ſaid, "Take yee, eate yee; this is my body that ſhal be given for you." But he ſaid not, this bread is my bodie, or that the bread ſhould be gived for the life of the world.'... A little lower, after citing 1 Corinth. xv. 22, 23. 41—44, he argues thus... 'Then if Chriſt ſhal change thus our deadly bodies by death, and God the Father ſpared not his own Sonne, as it is written, but that death ſhould reigne in him as in us, and that he ſhould be tranſlated into a ſpirituall body, the firſt again riſing of dead men; then how ſaie the hypocrites that take on them to make our Lord's body? Loo whether make they the *glorified* body; either make they againe the *ſpiritual* body, which is riſen from death to life; either make they the *fleſhly* bodie as it was before he ſuffered death. And if they ſay alſo that they make the *ſpiritual* body of Chriſt, it may not be ſo, for that thing that Chriſt ſaid and did, he did as he was at ſupper before he ſuffered his paſſion; and it is written that the ſpirituall body of Chriſt roſe againe from death to life; alſo he aſcended unto heaven, and that he will abide there till he come to judge the quicke and the dead. And if they ſaie that they make Chriſt's body *as it was before he had ſuffered his paſſion*, then muſt they needes grant that Chriſt is to die yet (for by all holy Scriptures he was promiſed to die, and that he ſhould give Lordſhip of everlaſting life).'... And lower, 'But now I ſhall aſke ye a worde; aunſwer ye me. Whether is the body of the Lord made at once or at twice? Is both the fleſh and the blood in the hooſte of the breade? Or elſe is the fleſh made at one time, and the blood made at another time? that is to ſay, the wine in the chalice? If thou wilt ſay, it is full and whole the manhood of Chriſt in the hooſte of bread, both fleſh and bloude, ſkin, heare *, and bones, then makeſt us to worſhip a falſe God in the chalice, which is conjured when we worſhip the bread (37).'

(*ss*) Wood. Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. p. 186. Crevit in dies Sectatorum ejus numerus. Idem, p. 189. Vide Knyghton, col. 2661, &c.

(27) H. de Knyghton, L. V. col. 2644.

(28) Diffinitio Univerſitatis, Oxon. Vide Lewis, p. 268.

(29) Walſingham, p. 191.

(30) Doctrinale Operum, tom. II. c. 26. 55.

* Always truth.

(31) See Lewis, p. 78—80.

(32) Edit. Oxf. 1612. 4to. p. 6, 7, 8.

(33) Thurſday before Eaſter.

Mark 15. Luke 23.

Mat. 18.

* Hair.

(37) Ibid. p. 11.

and wine upon the altar are tranſubſtantiated, or ſubſtantially converted, into the very body and blood of Chriſt. Which decree being publiſhed in the ſchools, whilſt Mr Wicliff was in the chair, and determining the contrary, though it ſtartled him a little, yet he declared that neither the Chancellor nor any of his aſſiſtants were able to confute his opinion (*tt*). Afterwards he appealed from this condemnation to the King; and accordingly exhibited his complaint to the King and Parliament, about May 1382 (*uu*). But his protector, the Duke of Lancaſter, forſook him upon this occaſion. He had countenanced him as long as he purſued what ſuited his views and inclinations, in oppoſing the papal uſurpations on the kingdom, and encroachments upon the royal prerogative and authority. When he meddled with matters that were of a religious nature, and accounted points of mere doctrine and ſpeculation, the unſteady Duke withdrew from him his protection. So that, to ſave himſelf from imminent danger, he was forced to make a confeſſion at Oxford, before Archbiſhop Courtney, ſix Biſhops, and many others, wherein he ſeemed to admit of the real preſence [*T*]; but in ſuch a manner, as was far from giving a general ſatisfaction to his adverſaries, as many of them publicly declared in their writings (*ww*). On the 17th of May, and before this confeſſion, Archbiſhop Courtney had called a meeting of Biſhops, and other conſiderable men, at the Black-Friers in London; wherein ſeveral concluſions or tenets of Wicliff were condemned, ſome as heretical [*V*], and others as erroneous (*xx*). He was cited to make his appearance here, but receiving advice that a plot was laid to ſeize him on the road, he kept out of the way (*yy*). In purſuance of this meeting, the Archbiſhop procured a letter from the King, dated July 13, and directed to the Chancellor and Proctors, wherein they were appointed Inquiſitors-general; and directed, to expel from the univerſity and town of Oxford, any perſons who ſhould receive into their houſes or lodgings John Wicliff, and his followers, or have any communication with them (zz). By this means our learned Author being entirely diſlodged, he was forced to leave the univerſity, and retire to his living of Lutterworth. Here he continued his ſtudies, and endeavours to promote the reformation of the errors and corruptions which had been brought into religion; and went on with his tranſlation of the holy ſcriptures. In 1383, he was ſeized with a fit of the palſy, from which however he ſo well recovered, as to be able to attend the duties of his function. He ſeems to have received this advantage from the illneſs, that by it he was ſecured from any further proſecution. Undoubtedly he would not have been ſuffered to go quietly to his grave, had he not laboured under a diſtemper which his enemies hoped would ſoon put an end to his life. For Pope Urban VI. had cited him to appear before him, but his inability to travel was a juſt and ſufficient excuſe [*W*]; and the many years ſchiſm that ſubſiſted between the Popes, did alſo contribute to his

(*tt*) Regiſt. Sudbury, fol. 75. Lewis, p. 68. Vide Wood, l. i. p. 188. Knyghton, col. 2654, 2655.

(*uu*) Cotton's Abridgment of Records, p. 193; Lewis, p. 83. T. Walſingham, p. 283.

(*ww*) Wood Hiſt. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 189. Lewis, p. 85. 88. 272. Ita tamen tranſubſtantiationis dogmati revera uſq; adeo non favet, ut contrariam ſententiam haud obſcure doceat. H. Wharton App. ad Cave.

(*xx*) Reg. Courtney, fol. 25. Spelman, Conc. vol. II. p. 629, &c. Wilkins, vol. III. p. 339, &c. Knyghton, col. 2647, &c.

(*yy*) Lewis, p. 91. note, and Knyghton, col. 2647. and Life by Dr T. James, p. 3.

(zz) Lewis, p. 93. 379.

[*T*] *A confeſſion ..... wherein he ſeemed to admit of the real preſence.*] This confeſſion is in Latin, and was publiſhed at length by Mr Lewis (35). Among other things, he ſays in it, that the body of Chriſt is in the conſecrated hoſt in a three-fold manner, viz. virtual, ſpiritual, and ſacramental: but it is in heaven ſubſtantially, corporally, and dimenſionally.—— Upon the whole, he ſpeaks in this piece very confuſedly, and plainly without ideas: and, indeed, a perſon that talks of abſurdities and nonſenſe, eannot but ſpeak abſurdly.

Another confeſſion of Dr Wicliff, in Engliſh, is inſerted in Knyghton (36), being as follows:

‘ We beleve as Criſt and his apoſtolus han taught ‘ us, that the ſacrament of the auter white and ronde ‘ and lyk tyl oure brede or oſt unſacrede is verray ‘ Goddus body in fourme of brede, and if it be broken ‘ in thre parties as the Kirke uſes, or elles in a thouſand, everylk one of theſe parties is the ſame Godus ‘ body, and right ſo as the perſone of Criſt is verray ‘ God and verray man, verray Godhede and verray ‘ manhede, ryth ſo as holy kyrke many hundrith wynterk as trowyde, the ſame ſacrament is verray Godus ‘ body aud verray brede: as it is forme of Goddus ‘ body and forme of brede, as techeth Criſt and his apoſtolus. And therefore Seynt Poule nemyth it never but when he callus it brede, and he be our beleve tok his wit of God in this: and the argument ‘ of heretykus againe this ſentens, lyth to a criſtene ‘ man for to aſſolve. And right as it is hereſie for to ‘ trowe that this ſacrament is Goddus body and no ‘ brede, for it is bothe togedur. But the moſt hereſie ‘ that God ſufferide come tyl his kyrke, is to trowe ‘ that this ſacrament is an accident with a ſubſtance, ‘ and may on no wyſe be Goddus body. And howe ‘ grete diverſite is betwene us that trowes that this ſacrament that in his kynde is verray brede and ſacramentally Goddus body, and betwe heretykes that ‘ trowes and telles, that this ſacrament may on none ‘ wyſe be Goddus body....’ A ſhorter confeſſion of his is inſerted alſo in Knyghton (37).

[*V*] *Some as heretical*] One of them is, *Quod Deus debet obedire diabolo*; that God ought to obey the devil. This ſeems to be a downright calumny, or a falſe and forced inference drawn from ſome part of his writings; for no ſuch crude aſſertion appears in any of them. On the contrary, it is manifeſt from his works, that he entertained very different ſentiments. Thus he obſerves (38), that ‘ the good angels do reſiſt the evil ‘ ſpirits ſo far as they ſee their doing ſo is acceptable to ‘ the Lord; and that the devil is juſtly and fairly puniſhed by God.’ In another tract (39), he ſays, ‘ God ‘ ſetteth the fend a term what he ſhal do and no more, ‘ but he ſuffreth his power to laſt to profit of good ‘ men, and juſt puniſhing of miſdoers.’— In a defence which he wrote after the condemnation of his opinions in this aſſembly, he takes notice of this imputation, and obſerves (40), ‘ Such things do they invent of catholick men, that they may blacken their reputation, ‘ as if they held this hereſy, That God is the devil; ‘ or any other open hereſy; being conſequently prepared by falſe witneſſes to impoſe ſuch hereſies on ‘ true men, as if they were the falſe inventers of them.’ But though never ſo falſe, they were again condemned in the council of Conſtance: upon which occaſion Oſiander makes this pertinent remark (41); ‘ Non ‘ dubium eſt quin aliquos Wickleffi articulos hi patres ‘ per calumniam depravaverint, qualis eſt ſextus articulus, *Deus debet obedire diabolo.*’ Of which he ſays, ‘ Hæc eſt haud dubiè craſſiſſima calumnia, de qua ‘ Wickleff nunquam vel per febrim ſomniavit aut cogitavit.’—During this meeting, or ſynod, an earthquake happened, which frightened ſome of the members, but however they continued their ſitting.

[*W*] *A ſufficient excuſe*] In that letter of excuſe to the Pope he has theſe words. ‘ If I might traveile in ‘ my own perſoun, I wolde with God's will go to the ‘ Pope. Bot [Chriſt] has nedid me to the contrary, ‘ and taught me more obeiſhe to God than to Mon. ‘ And I ſuppoſe of our Pope, that he will not be ‘ Antichriſt, and reverſe Chriſt in this wirking to the ‘ contrary of Chriſt's wille. For if he ſummons ageyns ‘ reſoun by him or any of his, and purſue this unſkilful ſummoning, he is an open Antichriſt (42).’

(35) Page 272—281.

(36) De Eventibus Angliæ, fol. 2649. See alſo Lewis, p. 86.

(37) Col. 2647.

(38) Trialog. l. iii. c. 4.

(39) Great Sentence of Curſe, MS. c. 11.

(40) MS. in Hyperoo Bib. Bodl. 163.

(41) Epit. Hiſt. Eccleſ. cent. 7. p. 340.

(42) Lewis, p. 284, 285.

quiet. He had a return of his palſy, December 28, 1384, which attacked him as he was hearing maſs in his church of Lutterworth, at the time of the elevation of the ſacrament. It ſeized him eſpecially in the tongue, ſo that he remained ſpeechleſs till his death, which happened the third day after, December 31 (*aaa*). His body was depoſited in his church of Lutterworth, where it remained undiſturbed many years. But, in 1415, the Council of Conſtance, having condemned 45 propoſitions of his, and declared that he died an obſtinate heretic, ordered his bones to be dug up, and thrown on a dunghill (*bbb*). This ſentence was not executed till 1428, when orders were ſent by the Pope to Rich. Flemming, then Biſhop of Lincoln, to remove his bones: whoſe officers accordingly took them out of the grave, where they had lain four-and-forty years, burnt them, and caſt the aſhes into a brook adjoining, called Swift (*ccc*). A mean inſtance of revenge; which did him no harm, only ſerved to ſhew in the ſtrongeſt colours the inveterate though impotent malice of his enemies. His writings were extremely numerous [*X*], though undoubtedly ſeveral pieces have been falſely aſcribed to him. The ſeveral points wherein he differed from the then eſtabliſhed Popery, were theſe: his being very earneſt for having the holy ſcriptures in the vulgar tongue, and making them the ſole rule of a Chriſtian's faith and practice, without neceſſity of recurring to tradition, or any human authority: his oppoſing the Pope's ſupremacy and infallibility: his rejecting and condemning tranſubſtantiation, indulgences, confeſſion, and abſolution, extreme unction; the celibacy of the clergy; forced vows of chaſtity; prayers to, and worſhip of, Saints, ſhrines, &c. and pilgrimages. For a more particular illuſtration of which, ſee Dr Tho. James's "Apologie for John Wickliffe, ſhewing his Conformitie with the now Church "of England:" collected chiefly out of his manuſcript works in the Bodleian library (*ddd*). The ſum of his character cannot be better drawn, than it hath been by the late learned Mr H. Wharton, being as follows (*eee*). "He was a man, than whom the Chriſtian world in theſe laſt ages has not produced a greater; and who ſeems to have been placed as much above praiſe as he is above envy. He had well ſtudied all the parts of theological learning, was well ſkilled in the canon, civil, and our own municipal laws, and was endowed with an uncommon gravity of manners; above all things, he burnt with an immenſe zeal for God, and love for his neighbour. Hence aroſe his earneſt and vehement deſire of reſtoring the primitive purity of the church, in that ignorant and degenerate age wherein he lived. Which deſire he was notwithſtanding ſo far from ſuffering to go beyond its bounds, that he made it a matter of conſcience to preſerve all the rights of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline untouched, and often blames the religious, as they were called, for breaking in upon them [by getting themſelves exempted from the epiſcopal juriſdiction]. His eminent piety, and unblemiſhed life, even the worſt and moſt ſpiteful of

(*aaa*) T. Gaſcoigne, in Cotton Libr. Otho A. 14.

(*bbb*) Lenfant, as above, vol. I. p. 217—231.

(*ccc*) Lewis, p. 110.

(*ddd*) Printed at Oxford, 1608, 4to. but now very ſcarce. See alſo Mr Lewis, p. 113, &c.

(*eee*) Append. ad Cave Hiſt. Literar. anno 1360.

[*X*] *His writings were extremely numerous.*] Many of them he firſt publiſhed in Latin, and afterwards in Engliſh. Biſhop John Bale hath given a catalogue of them in his centuries (43). Mr Lewis gives a fuller liſt of them, making them amount to near three hundred (44). But the fulleſt and moſt accurate account of them, is that of Biſhop Tanner, in his Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica (45). We cannot pretend to ſet down the particulars of them here, becauſe they would not only ſwell this article too much, but alſo would appear to moſt readers very tedious and uncouth. Some of them are in the Britiſh Muſæum; ſome in the Bodleian, and other libraries in Oxford; ſome in the public library at Cambridge, and other libraries there, moſt particularly in that of Bennet College; ſome in Trinity College, Dublin, and ſome in private hands. Mr T. Oſborne, in his catalogue for 1760, had an old folio MS. on vellum, in the hand-writing of Edward IIId. or Richard IId's reign, intituled, 'A ſchort 'glooſe on Matheu for leuid* men, for to underſtonde 'the text, and onely holi writ and holy doctouris;' which is aſcribed to our author, and reference made to Fox's book of martyrs, vol. I. p. 661.

Such works and pieces of Dr Wicliff, as have at any time been printed and publiſhed, are as follow. 1. 'Trialogus (46). IO. WICLEFI viri undequaque piiſ. Dialogorum libri quatuor, quorum primus 'divinitatem, & ideas tractat. Secundus univerſarum 'creationem complectitur. Tertius de virtutibus, vitiiſque ipſis contrariis copioſiſſimè loquitur. Quartus Romanæ eccleſiæ ſacramenta, ejus peſtiferam 'dotationem, Antichriſti regnum, fratrum fraudulentam originem atque eorum hypocriſim, variaque noſtro ævo ſcitu digniſſima graphicè perſtringit.'—— Printed neatly ſomewhere in Germany, 1525, without name of place or of printer, 4to. containing 175 leaves. It is very ſcarce, having been moſtly deſtroyed by the Romaniſts. A new edition of it was printed at Francfort in 1753, 4to. 2. 'Wickliffe's Wicket. 'Or, a learned and godly treatiſe of the Sacrament.' At Norimberg 1546, 8vo. Oxford 1612, 4to. 3. 'The Path-way to perfect Knowledge, or Wickliffe's 'Prologue to the Bible;' publiſhed by Robert Crowles. 1550. 12mo. 4. 'The dore of the holy Scripture.' 5. 'De Chriſtianorum villicatione,' in Engliſh, publiſhed in 1582, under the name of R. Wimbledon. 6. 'A Complaint of John Wickliffe, exhibited to the 'King and Parliament.' 7. 'A Treatiſe of John 'Wickliffe againſt the orders of Friars.' Theſe two were publiſhed together at Oxford in 1608, 4to. by Dr James, from two manuſcript copies, one in Bennet College in Cambridge, the other in the Bodleian Library. 8. 'Why poor Prieſts have no Benefice.' Publiſhed by Mr Lewis in his life of our author (47): who hath alſo publiſhed (there), his Determination, Confeſſions, and large extracts from his works remaining in manuſcript. 9. And, his New Teſtament, as mentioned above, was likewiſe publiſhed by him.

In theſe ſeveral works, his ſentiments are not always exactly conſiſtent and uniform, which was owing to his gradual diſcovery of truth, that did not dart nor even dawn upon him at once; but, to diſcover it, he was forced to grope in the dark. And indeed it is a wonder he could diſcover ſo much through that veil of ignorance and ſuperſtition, wherewith the world was then overſpread. And, as to his miſtakes, let the following words of Dr Fuller be his apology (48). 'He 'was a man, and ſo ſubject to error, living in a dark 'age, more obnoxious to ſtumble; vexed with oppoſition, which makes men reel into violence; and 'therefore it is unreaſonable, that the conſtitution and 'temper of his poſitive opinions ſhould be gueſſed by 'his polemical heat, when he was chafed in diſputation. But beſides all theſe, envy hath falſely fathered many foul aſperſions upon him.'— A. Wood ſays (49), that being with Dr Fell in his lodgings at Chriſt Church in June 1672, where they were then looking over and correcting the ſtory of Joh. Wycleve in Hiſt. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon. before it was to be wrought off from the preſs, Dr Fell told him, that Jo. Wycleve was a grand diſſembler, a man of little conſcience, and what he did as to religion, was more out of vain-glory, and to obtain unto him a name, than out of honeſty, &c. or to that effect.

(43) Centur. vi. p. 451, &c.

(44) Life of Wickliffe, p. 145——174. 356, &c.

(45) P. 768, &c.

* The meaner ſort of people.

(46) He calls it Trialogus, becauſe it is a Dialogue between theſe three, *Alithia*, *Pſeuſtis*, and *Phroneſis*: Truth, Falſhood, Wiſdom.

(47) P. 287.

(48) Church-hiſtory, b. iv, p. 129, 130.

(49) *Hiſtory* his life written by himſelf, p. 603. publiſhed by Th. Hearne, at the end of Caii Vindic. Antiq. Acad. Cantab. Vol. edit. Oxon. 1730.

all his adverſaries never dared to call in queſtion: and his exquiſite learning, and uncommon abilities, very many of them have ſufficiently owned. And indeed in thoſe writings of his which are yet remaining, Dr Wicliffe ſhews an extraordinary knowledge of the ſcriptures for the time he lived in; diſcovers a very good judgment, argues cloſely and ſharply, and breathes a ſpirit of excellent piety. Nothing is to be found in him that is either childiſh or trifling, a fault very common in the writers of that age; but every thing he ſays is grave, judicious, and exact. In fine, he was a man who wanted nothing to render his learning conſummate, but living in happier times." As for the hard names given him by T. Walden, T. Walſingham *(fff)*, N. Harpsfield, &c. they are the revilings of bigots, and prejudiced enemies. The devoted ſlaves to the court of Rome that could burn his bones, will not ſpare his memory.

WILKINS [John], Biſhop of Cheſter, was grandſon to Mr John Dod, the famous Decalogiſt *(a)*, of Fawſley, near Daventry, in Northamptonſhire; where his mother, being with her parents, was delivered of this ſon in the year 1614. He ſeems to have ſtaid with his grandfather till he was arrived to a proper age to be put to the grammar ſchool; when his father, Mr Walter Wilkins, citizen and goldſmith of Oxford, placed him under the care of that eminent ſchoolmaſter Mr Edward Sylveſter [*A*], who then kept a private ſchool in the pariſh of All-Saints in that city. Our Author made ſo quick a progreſs in grammar learning, that at thirteen years of age he was thought ſufficiently qualified for academical ſtudies, and became member of the univerſity in Eaſter term 1627, being admitted firſt a ſtudent of New Inn; but, after a ſhort ſtay there, he was removed to Magdalen Hall, and placed under the tuition of Mr John Tombes *(b)*, the celebrated Anabaptiſt diſputant [*B*]. His tutor leaving the univerſity in 1630, while our Author was yet Undergraduate, he did not proceed to his firſt degree at the regular time, not going out Bachelor of Arts till Michaelmas term, October the 20th, 1631 *(c)*; from which time he commenced Maſter duly, on the 11th of July, in Act term, 1634. He was now 21 years of age; and entering into Holy Orders, William Lord Viſcount Say and Seal appointed him his Chaplain; in which quality he afterwards ſerved George Lord Berkeley: he likewiſe lived in the ſame relation with Charles Count Palatine of the Rhine, during the reſidence of that Prince in England. It was our Author's ſkill in the mathematicks that chiefly recommended him to this laſt poſt; his Electoral Highneſs being a great lover and favourer of thoſe ſciences *(d)*, in which view he muſt needs have been very agreeable to his Chaplain, who was entirely of the ſame turn and temper. This indeed was the moſt diſtinguiſhing part of his character, and he did not neglect the opportunity given him by his preſent ſituation of indulging it in the ſervice of his acquaintance in theſe ſtudies [*C*]. While Mr Wilkins continued in the ſtation of a Chaplain, he wrote ſeveral

(fff) Walſingham gives him theſe ſeveral bad names. Pſeudo-Propheta; vetus, & verus, hypocrita; verſipellis; angelus Sathanæ; Antichriſti præambulus, Wyclif vel potius Wickel eleve hæreticus, mala beſtia quæ aſcendit de abyſſo, adverſarius fidei Chriſtianæ, hæreſiarcha recordationis execrabilis, &c. Hiſt. Angl. p. 205. 208. 246. 283.

(a) So Mr Wood ſtiles him, Ath. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 505. And our author himſelf has ſet him in this liſt of the moſt eminent writers upon the decalogue. Eccleſiaſtes, p. 91. 6th edit. 1679.

(b) Wood's Ath. ubi ſupra.

(c) Ibid. p. 557. His tutor came to Oxford in 1731, and was admitted to the reading of the ſentences.

(d) The Lives of Matthew Wren, Biſhop of Ely, Chriſtopher Wren, Dean of Windſor, and Sir Chriſtopher Wren, p. 180. Lond. 1750. fol.

[*A*] *That eminent ſchoolmaſter, Mr Edward Sylveſter.*] Mr Wood tells us (1), that this Sylveſter (an excellent Grecian) was bred at Baliol College, and took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, 1642; and that he lived to ſee ſeveral of his ſcholars to be heads of houſes in the univerſity; among whom, beſides our author, were Dr John Owen, Dean of Chriſt Church, Henry Wilkinſon, Principal of Magdalen Hall, &c. who, with other ſcholars of his that were Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity, Law, and Phyſic, and Maſters of Arts had an annual feaſt together, to which their Maſter was always invited; and that being ſet at the upper end of the table, he would feed their minds with learned diſcourſes and criticiſms in grammar. This it was thought not amiſs to mention here, not only as it is a proper part of Dr Wilkins's hiſtory, but chiefly becauſe it is a remarkable proof of his natural diſpoſition to any kind of ſocieties for the promoting of learning, which appears in the ſequel of theſe memoirs to be an illuſtrious part of his character.

[*B*] *Mr John Tombes, the celebrated Anabaptiſt diſputant.*] He was pupil to the famous William Pemble at Magdalen-Hall, whom he ſucceeded as catechetical lecturer in 1623 there, and became a noted tutor in 1624. Being choſen lecturer of St Martin's, commonly called Carfax, in Oxford, he was much followed by the puritanical party. In 1630, he left the univerſity, became firſt a preacher at Worceſter, and then Vicar of Leominſter in Herefordſhire. At the breaking out of the rebellion in 1641, he ſided with the Preſbyterians. In the following year, when Nathaniel Fiennes (2) managed Briſtol for the parliament, Tombes having been thrown out of his vicarage by the royal party, was appointed Miniſter of All Saints there. Upon the ſurrendry of that city to the King in 1642, he went to London, and was made Maſter of the Temple; but being ſupplanted of that poſt in 1647, he went to Bewdley in Worceſterſhire (the place of his birth) at the time that Mr Richard Baxter preached at Kidderminſter (3). And it is verily thought (ſays Mr Wood) that he was put upon the project of going there purpoſely to tame Baxter and his party, who then carried all the country before them. They preached againſt one another's doctrines. Tombes was the *Coryphæus* of the Anabaptiſts, and Baxter of the Preſbyterians. Both had a very great company of auditors, who came far about to admire them. Once (if not oftner) they diſputed face to face, when their followers were like two armies: at laſt they fell together by the ears, and the civil magiſtrate had much ado to quiet them. But all ſcholars there and then preſent, who knew the way of diſputing and managing arguments, did conclude that Tombes got the better of Baxter by far. In 1653, Tombes was, by ordinance, appointed one of the *Triers* for the approbation of public miniſters. At the reſtoration he ſided with the royal party, but yet would never accept of either benefice or dignity which was offered to him (4). Set aſide his anabaptiſtical poſitions, he was conformable enough to the church of England, would frequently go to common prayers and receive the ſacrament at Saliſbury, and often viſited Dr Seth Ward, Biſhop of that place, who greatly reſpected him for his learning; as did alſo the Biſhops Sanderſon and Barlow. In 1664, he was preſent at the Oxford Act, and there, in the Veſpers, he did modeſtly challenge to maintain againſt any perſon certain anabaptiſtical tenets; but none there did then think it convenient to grapple with him, and the rather for this reaſon, that he had made thoſe matters his ſtudy for more than thirty years, and that none ever before went beyond him. He ſeemed to many to be a very pious and zealous Chriſtian, and would never be violent, eſpecially in his latter days, againſt any party that was oppoſite to his opinion, but be charitable and complaiſant (5). He wrote books particularly againſt Pædobaptiſm, and has the firſt place in that diſpute given him by Dr Wilkins, in his *Eccleſiaſtes*, p. 103. ſixth edition.

[*C*] *In the ſervice of his acquaintance in theſe ſtudies.*]
It

(1) In his Faſti, vol 2. p. 21.

(2) Second ſon to William Lord Viſcount Say and Seal, whoſe chaplainſhip was Dr Wilkins's firſt preferment.

(3) Another market-town, about 3 miles diſtant from Bewdly.

(4) He had married two years before a widow, by whom he enjoyed an eſtate at Saliſbury.

(5) Wood's Ath. vol. 2. col. 556, 7, 8.

ſeveral ingenious pieces in mechanical philoſophy. The firſt of theſe was publiſhed in 1638, under the title of *A Diſcovery of a new World; or a Diſcourſe tending to prove, that it is probable there may be another habitable World in the Moon: with a Diſcourſe concerning the Poſſibility of a Paſſage thither* [D]. Two years after this, came out his *Diſcourſe concerning a new Planet; tending to prove that it is probable our Earth is one of the Panets* [E]; which

It was by his means that Mr (afterwards Sir Chriſtopher) Wren was introduced to the favour and acquaintance of that Prince. The ſame author who gives us this information, has likewiſe inſerted the following rough draught of a letter to his Royal Highneſs's Under-ſecretary, to be ſent with a preſent to him of ſome mechanical contrivances, wherein Sir Chriſtopher expreſſes his ſenſe of this favour from Dr Wilkins in a very genteel manner.

‘ Moſt Illuſtrious Prince,

‘ When of old a votive table was hung up to ſome deity or hero, a few ſmall characters modeſtly obſcuring themſelves in ſome ſhady corner of the peece (as yet the modern cuſtom is) were never prohibited from revealing the pious artiſt, and rendring him ſomewhat a ſharer in the devotion: indeed I was almoſt prompted to ſuch a preſumption out of my zeal to a Prince ſo much *Mercurialium Cuſtos Virorum.* But the learned votary, who conſecrates theſe tables to your Highneſs, being one who ſuffers me to be a moſt devoted client of his, civilly obſtructs my affection to your Highneſs, by adding his commands to me to tender this oblation (6).’

[D] *Diſcovery of a new world, and the poſſibility of a paſſage thither.*] In the firſt diſcourſe, which contains fourteen propoſitions, our author proves very clearly the poſſibility of a world in the moon, as not contradicting any principle of reaſon or faith, and being likewiſe the direct opinion of many ancient and ſome then modern mathematicians. But the reaſons he makes uſe of to evince the probability of that notion, diſcover nothing ſo much as the little progreſs that had been made at that time in the aſtronomy of this planet. Since, in his ſeventh propoſition, he maintains, that thoſe ſpots and brighter parts, which by our ſight may be diſtinguiſhed in the moon, do ſhew the difference between the ſea and land therein; and, propoſition the eighth, (which indeed would be a a conſequence of the former) that the ſpots repreſent the ſea, and the brighter parts the land. In the tenth propoſition he likewiſe aſſerts, that there is an atmoſphere, or an orb of groſs vaporous air immediately incompaſſing the body of the moon; and in the 12th, that it is probable there may be ſuch meteors belonging to that world in the moon as there are with us: all which poſitions have, it is well known, been ſince diſcovered to be doubtful, if not erroneous. It was apparently by theſe ill grounded opinions that he was led into the belief of what he advances in the thirteenth propoſition, That it is probable there may be inhabitants in this other world. What he advances in the laſt propoſition, which is the ſubject of the ſecond diſcourſe, concerning the poſſibility there is for ſome of our poſterity to find out a conveyance to that world, and if there be inhabitants there, to have commerce with them, took its riſe from his having fallen into the notion that the art of flying might and would, ſooner or later, be actually compaſſed and brought to perfection. To this purpoſe he obſerves, that if it be inquired what means there may be conjectured for our aſcending beyond the earth's magnetical vigour (7)? I anſwer, ſays he, 1. It is not perhaps impoſſible, that a man may be able to fly by the application of wings to his own body, as angels are pictured, and as Mercury and Dædalus are feigned, and has been attempted by divers, particularly by a Turk in Conſtantinople, as Buſbequius relates. 2. If there be ſuch a great *Ruck* in Madagaſcar, as Marcus Polus, the Venetian (8), mentions, the feathers in whoſe wings are twelve foot long, which can ſcoop up a horſe and his rider, or an elephant, as our kites do a mouſe, why then it is but teaching one of theſe to carry a man, and he may ride up thither, as Ganymede does upon an eagle. 3. Or if neither of theſe ways will ſerve, yet I do ſeriouſly and upon good grounds affirm it poſſible to make a flying chariot, in which a man may ſit, and give ſuch a motion to it, as ſhall convey him through the air. And this perhaps might be made large enough to carry divers men at the ſame time, together with food for their viaticum, and commodities for traffick. It is not the bigneſs of any thing in this kind that can hinder its motion, if the motive faculty be anſwerable thereunto. We ſee a great ſhip ſwimme as well as a ſmall cork, and an eagle flyes in the air as well as a little gnat. This engine may be contrived from the ſame principles by which Archytus made a wooden dove, and Regiomontanus a wooden eagle. I conceive it were no difficult matter, if a man were at leiſure, to ſhew the means of compoſing it. The perfecting of ſuch an invention would be of ſuch excellent uſe, that it were enough not only to make a man, but the age alſo where he lives; for beſides the ſtrange diſcoveries that it might occaſion in this other world, it would be alſo of inconceivable advantage for travelling, above any other convenience that is now in uſe. So that notwithſtanding all theſe ſeeming impoſſibilities, it is likely enough that there may be a means invented of journeying to the moon. And how happy ſhall they be that are firſt ſucceſsful in this attempt!

Fœliceſq; animæ, quas nubila ſupra
Et turpes fumos, plenumq; vaporibus orbem
Inſeruit cœlo, ſancti ſcintilla Promethei (9).

From this ſketch of the piece the reader will be more inclined to believe our author, when he tells him in the preface, that he is not to look to find any exact accurate trreatiſe, ſince this diſcourſe was but the fruit of ſome lighter ſtudies, and thoſe too huddled up in a ſhort time, being firſt thought of and finiſhed in the ſpace of a few weeks—He concludes his treatiſe in the following words: Having thus finiſhed this diſcourſe, I chanced upon a late fancy to this purpoſe, under the feigned name of *Domingo Gonzales*, written by a late reverend and learned Biſhop (10), in which, beſides ſundry particulars which this chapter did unwittingly agree with, there is delivered a very pleaſant and well contrived fancy concerning a voyage to this other world. The piece here referred to, is intitled, *The Man in the Moon; or a Diſcourſe of a Voyage thither, by Domingo Gonzales.* It was written by Dr Francis Godwin, Biſhop of Hereford, while he was a ſtudent at Chriſt-church, but not publiſhed till this year, 1638. The editor (11) juſtly obſerves of it, that it is an eſſay of fancy where invention is ſhewed with judgment; and it was not the author's intention to diſcourſe thee into a belief of each particular circumſtance. It is fit thou allow him a liberty of conceit, where thou takeſt to thyſelf a liberty of judgment. In ſubſtance thou haſt here a new diſcovery of a new world, which perchance may find little better entertainment than that of Columbus at firſt in the eſteem of all men; yet his then but poor eſpial of America betrayed unto knowledge ſo much as hath ſince encreaſed into a vaſt plantation, and the then unknown to be now of as large extent as all the other known world. That there ſhould be antipodes was once thought as great a paradox as now that the moon ſhould be habitable. But the knowledge of this may ſeem more proper for this our diſcovering age, in which our Galilæus's can, by advantage of their ſpectacles, gaze the ſun into ſpots, and deſcry mountains in the moon. But this, and more in the enſuing diſcourſe, I leave to the candid cenſure and the faithful relation of the *little* eye-witneſs, our *great* diſcoverer. Thus we ſee theſe two brats, though ſprung from the brains of their reſpective fathers independently of each other, yet both equally derived their extraction from the diſcoveries then lately made in the moon by Galilæo with the teleſcope. But the latter being dreſſed up in the air of a novel, or philoſophical romance (where the teleſcope is perſonalized under the name of Don Diego, in the character of a ſervant to Don Gonzales) in that light affords a good ſhare of entertainment, without ſhocking our good ſenſe; a ſort of ridicule which by treating his ſubject in a more ſerious manner as a philoſopher, the former has unwittingly fallen into. For can there be a more idle project than to aim (as Mr Wilkins does) at flying above the height of of the atmoſphere, where there is no air ſufficient for any wings to beat againſt?

[E] *It is probable our earth is one of the planets.*] In 1632, Galilæo publiſhed at Florence his *Dialogi*

(6) Life of Matthew Wren, Biſhop of Ely, Chriſtopher Wren, Dean of Windſor, and principally of Sir Chriſtopher Wren, compiled by his ſon Chriſtopher, and publiſhed by his grandſon. Stepton, fol. p. 183.

(7) The Theory of the Attraction was then called Magnetiſm; and Dr Gilbert about this time endeavoured to explain that of the earth by this virtue which Kepler had borrowed and applied to the heavens.

(8) Burton on Melancholy, part ii. ſect. 2 num. 3.

(9) Lucretius.

(10) Dr Francis Godwin, Biſhop of Hereford.

(11) E. M. Student of Chriſt Church, in the epiſtle to the reader.

which was followed the next year, 1641, by a third piece, intitled *Mercury*; *or the Secret and Swift Meſſenger: ſhewing how a Man may with Privacy and Speed communicate his thoughts to a Friend at any Diſtance* [*F*]. When the civil war broke out, our Author

della due maſſima Syſteme del' Mondo, Tolemaico & Copernicano; that is, *Dialogues concerning the two grand Syſtems of the World, the Ptolemaic and Copernican.* In the ſecond and third of theſe dialogues he had aſſerted the diurnal and annual motion of the earth. For theſe aſſertions he was cited before the holy office, and by an order from thence was committed to the priſon of that office at Rome. He had been cited there before in 1615, and charged with hereſy for maintaining the Copernican ſyſtem, for which he was impriſoned, and obliged to renounce theſe opinions, as contrary to ſcripture and erroneous in point of faith (12), and promiſe not to defend them either by word or writing, or inſinuate them into the minds of any perſon. Upon the publication of this doctrine again, there paſſed againſt him and his book another ſentence, by which he was forced in the moſt ſolemn manner to renounce his errors, committed to the priſon of the Inquiſition during pleaſure, and commanded, as a ſaving penance, for three years to come to repeat one of the ſeven penitential Pſalms. However, as they reſerved to themſelves the power of moderating, changing, or taking away altogether or in part, the abovementioned puniſhment and penance, he was diſcharged from his confinement in 1634; but the impreſſion of his *Dialogues of the Syſtem of the World* was burnt at Rome (13). Our author's treatiſe upon this ſubject now under conſideration, was apparently wrote in defence of Galilæo (14), againſt the proceedings of the Inquiſition; in which he undertakes to evince, 1. That the ſeeming novelty and irregularity of this opinion can be no ſufficient reaſon to prove it erroneous. 2. That the places of ſcripture which ſeem to intimate the diurnal motion of the ſun or heavens, are fairly capable of another interpretation. 3. That the Holy Ghoſt in many places of ſcripture does plainly conform his expreſſions to the error of our conceits, and does not ſpeak of ſundry things as they are in themſelves, but as they appear unto us. 4. That diverſe learned men have fallen into great abſurdities, whilſt they have looked for the grounds of philoſophy from the Holy Scriptures. 5. That the words of ſcripture, in their proper and ſtrict conſtruction, do not any where affirm the immobility of the earth. 6. That there is not any argument from the words of ſcripture, principles of nature, or obſervations in aſtronomy, which can ſufficiently evidence the earth to be in the center of the univerſe. 7. It is probable that the ſun is the center of the world. 8. That there is not any ſufficient reaſon to prove the earth incapable of thoſe motions, which Copernicus aſcribes unto it. 9. That it is more probable the earth does move than the heavens. 10. Laſtly, that this hypotheſis is exactly agreeable to common appearances. In the four laſt propoſitions of this treatiſe, our author has kept cloſe to the deductions which neceſſarily follow from the then late aſtronomical diſcoveries of Kepler, without falling into any of his philoſophical chimæras, or expoſing any crude conceits of his own (about the cauſes of the earth's motion) into which the forwardneſs of his apprehenſion was but too apt to betray him at other times on philoſophical ſubjects. In this he has given us an eminent proof of his judgment: his religion was here concerned; and the leaſt indulgence of his natural genius in this point would have ſerved the Romaniſts for a handle to diſcredit all the unanſwerable reaſonings in the reſt of the performance. It was the firſt juſt treatiſe of this kind, and more effectually expoſed the folly and abſurdity as well as cruelty of the proceedings in the Inquiſition, by taking no direct notice of them. Des Cartes indeed finiſhed his treatiſe of the World in 1634, which he reviſed, in order to ſend it to Father Merſenne to be printed at Paris, with the King's privilege, juſt at the time when he heard of the proceedings of the holy office againſt Galilæo. But this alarmed him; he had built the greateſt part of his ſyſtem of the world on Galilæo's hypotheſis of the earth's motion; ſo that not being able to retrench it, without rendering all the reſt defective, he thought it more adviſeable to ſuppreſs the treatiſe, than to publiſh it imperfect, or expoſe himſelf to the cenſure of the Inquiſitors at Rome. However, he reſolved to review this work, and to new-model his explication of the earth's motion, in order to ſhew how it may be denied in oppoſition to Galilæo, though in reality it be carried about, and the hypotheſis of Copernicus remain in full force. This, however, (as the ſame author (15) informs us) he did not attempt ſo much out of regard to the Inquiſition, as to explain thoſe paſſages of ſcripture, which are commonly alledged againſt this opinion. But it was not publiſhed before the year 1644 (16), four years after this tract by Mr Wilkins.

[*F*] *Communicate his thoughts to a friend at a diſtance.*] After reading with ſo much pleaſure Biſhop Godwin's *Man in the Moon*, our author was naturally led to peruſe his *Nuntius Inanimatus*, which it was equally in the courſe of nature to produce *Mercury*; and Mr Wilkins aſſures us (17) this was actually the fruit. The bare talking by the former of certain ways to diſcourſe with a friend, though he were in a cloſe dungeon, in a beſieged city, or a hundred miles off, firſt raiſed the wonder, and then the reputation of the aſſerter gained the belief, of the latter. This put him upon collecting all ſuch notes to this purpoſe, as he had met with in the courſe of his other ſtudies; from whence, when he had received full ſatisfaction, he did, for his own further delight, compoſe them into this method. In reality the *Mercury*, which contains nine ſheets and a half, is little more than an explication at large of the *Nuntius Inanimatus* (18), which is diſpatched in two. It was even promiſed, as muſt needs have been obſerved by Mr Wilkins (19), by the author, in his *Man in the Moon*, where, pag. 19. & ſeqq; he tells us, that "Domingo Gonzales and his negro Diego, being obliged to live in different parts of the iſland of St Helena, on account of procuring proviſions, whenever the maſter had any occaſion to confer with his ſlave, whoſe habitation was upon a promontory or cape on the northweſt part of the iſland, about a league off, though within ſight of Domingo's chapel, they could at all times by ſignals declare their minds to each other in an inſtant. But as his art containeth more myſteries than are to be ſet down in few words, hereafter, ſays he, I will perhaps afford a diſcourſe for it of purpoſe, aſſuring myſelf that it may prove exceedingly profitable unto mankind; for that which a meſſenger cannot perform in many days, this way may diſpatch in a piece of an hour." In the ſame place, p. 21. the Biſhop deſcribes more particularly the method of theſe ſignals. "If in the night-ſeaſon, ſays Domingo, I would ſignify any thing to him, I uſed to ſet up a light in the tower, or place where our bell hung. It is a pretty large room, having a fair window well glazed, and the walls within being plaiſtered, were exceeding white; by reaſon whereof tho' the light were but ſmall, it gave a great ſhew, as alſo it would have done much further off, if need had been. This light after I had let ſtand for ſome half hour, I uſed to cover; and then if I ſaw any ſignal of light again from my companion at the cape, I knew that he waited for my notice; which perceiving, by hiding and ſhewing my light, according to a rule and agreement between us, I certified him at pleaſure what I liſt. The like courſe I took in the day to advertiſe him of my pleaſure, ſometimes by ſmoke, ſometimes by a more refined and more effectual way." By the help of this declaration, Mr Wilkins explains the particular method of making theſe ſignals by examples, which is the ſubject of his twentieth chapter. In like manner, it being hinted in the *Nuntius Inanimatus*, towards the end, that many things [in this way] were done by the help of arithmetic, geometry, and muſic, ſeveral examples are given of performing it by points and lines, and geometrical or even other figures, in the eleventh and twelfth and ſucceeding chapters. From hence he has likewiſe taken his thought of forming an univerſal character. The poſſibility of perfecting ſuch an invention he grounds upon theſe two general obſervations. 1. That ſuch a manner of writing is already uſed in ſome parts of the world (20); and that for ſome particulars it is already attained amongſt us. As, 1. Many nations agree in the characters of the common numbers, deſcribing them either the Roman way, by letters, as I. II. V. X. C. D. M. or elſe the Barbarian way by figures, as 1. 2. 3. 10. &c. So likewiſe,

(12) The two propoſitions cenſured, were, 1. Solem eſſe in centro mundi eſt propoſitio abſurda & falſa in philoſophia & formaliter hæretica, quia eſt expreſſe contraria ſacræ ſcripturæ. 2. Terram non eſſe centrum mundi, nec immobilem, ſed moveri motus etiam diurno eſt item propoſitio abſurda & falſa in philoſophia, & theologice conſiderata ad minus erronea in fide.

(13) Life of Galilæo, by Tho. Saliſbury, Eſq; publiſhed in the ſecond volume of his Collectious and Tranſlations, 1665. lib. ii. c 3. & lib. iii. c. 2. ſect. 1.

(14) He was living at this time, but died January the 8th in the following year.

(15) La Vie de M. Des Cartes reduite en abregé par Monſ. Baillet, lib. iii.

(16) In the edition of his Principia in 4to, by Elzevir, at Amſterdam, of that year, it makes the third book.

(17) In the Preface to Mercury.

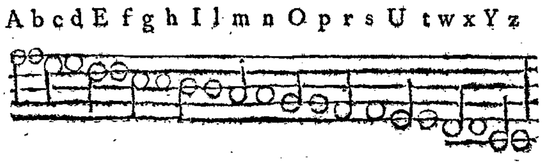
(18) It was publiſhed in 1629.

(19) In Mercury, p. 168. the 2d edition, 1694, this paſſage of the Man in the Moon is cited.

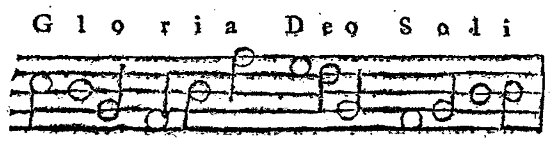
(20) For this he quotes Trigaltius's Hiſtoria. Pinæus, l. i. c. 5. Bacon Augm. ſcient. l. vi. c. 13. & Voſſius, Gram. l. i. c. 41. & Herm. Hugo de Orig. ſcribend. c. 4.

nor having been bred from his infancy in puritanical principles [*G*], adhered to the Parliament; and, in conſequence of his chaplainſhip, complied with the ordinance of that party for taking the Solemn League and Covenant (*e*). But theſe times not being favourable to the univerſities, where academical ſtudies were much interrupted (*f*), he was aſſiduous in promoting that philoſophical meeting in London (*g*), which gave birth afterwards to the Royal Society [*H*]. However, this did not hinder him from purſuing the proper

wiſe for that which we call philoſophical number (21); as for example, the apothecaries marks for weight, the aſtronomers for the planets and their aſpects, the chymiſts for minerals and ſalts (22); and laſtly (23), muſical notes, which in moſt countries are the ſame. Theſe he prefers to others, ſince they will not only ſerve for an univerſal character, but an univerſal language alſo. " For if the muſical inſtrument, ſays he, that is uſed for this purpoſe be able to expreſs the ordinary notes, not only according to their different tones, but their tunes alſo, then may each letter of the alphabet be rendered by a ſingle ſound. Whence it will follow, that a man may frame a language, conſiſting only of tunes and ſuch inarticulate ſounds as no letters can expreſs; which kind of ſpeech is fancied to be uſual amongſt the lunary inhabitants, who (as Domingo Gonzales (24) hath diſcovered) have contrived the letters of the alphabet upon the notes, in ſome ſuch order as this.



Where the five vowels are repreſented by the minims on each of the five lines, being moſt of them placed according to their right order and conſequence; only the letters K and Q are left out, becauſe they may be otherwiſe expreſſed. According to this alphabet of notes, theſe words *Gloria Deo ſoli* muſt be thus contrived.



By this you may eaſily diſcern how two muſicians may diſcourſe with one another by playing upon their inſtruments of muſic, as well as by talking with their inſtruments of ſpeech; and, which is a ſingular curioſity, how the words of a ſong may be contrived in the tune of it." He ſuppoſes that theſe letters and notes might be diſpoſed to anſwer one another with better advantage than here they are expreſſed; and this perhaps would be eaſy enough for thoſe that are thoroughly verſed in the grounds of muſic, to whoſe further enquiry he here only propoſes this invention. *But now*, ſays he, *if theſe inarticulate ſounds be contrived for the expreſſion not of words and letters, but of things and notions (as was before explained concerning the univerſal character) then might there be ſuch a general language as ſhould be equally ſpeakable by all people and nations; and ſo we might be reſtored from the ſecond general curſe which is yet manifeſted, not only in the confuſion of writing, but alſo of ſpeech. The utterance of theſe muſical tunes may ſerve for the univerſal language, and the writing of them for the univerſal character. As all nations do agree in the ſame conceit of things, ſo likewiſe in the ſame conceit of harmonies.* " This curioſity, " for ought I know," (ſo he concludes) " has not yet " been mentioned by any author, but it may be (if " well conſidered) of ſuch excellent uſe, as to de- " ſerve a more full and particular enlargement in a " treatiſe by itſelf." In this treatiſe we find our author ſtill fond of his conceit of flying. In chapter 4th, after he has related ſeveral ways of conveying meſſages by birds, &c. through the air, he concludes thus: " But amongſt all other poſſible conveyances through " the air, imagination itſelf cannot conceive any one " more uſeful than the invention of a flying chariot, " which I have mentioned elſewhere, ſince by this means " a man may have as free a paſſage as a bird, which " is not hindered either by the higheſt walls or the " deepeſt rivers and trenches, or the moſt watchful " centinels.' But of this perhaps I may have occaſion " to treat more largely in ſome other diſcourſe." In this as well as his other inventions he was ſucceeded by Mr Robert Hooke (25), who we are told (26), while he was yet a ſchool-boy under Dr Buſby, invented no leſs than thirty ſeveral ways of flying.

[*G*] *Having been bred up in puritanical principles, &c.*] We have already (27), with this view, given an account of his tutor at Magdalen-hall, Mr Tombes; but we are told expreſsly (28), that he was inclined this way by his education under his grandfather, Mr *Dod*, who though a truly pious and learned man, yet in ſome things was a diſſenter. The ſame author proceeds to give us the following character of his grandfather, as the juſt exemplar of his grandſon with regard to this part of his character. ' Mr Dod,' ſays he, ' had no delight in contradiction, nor could find in ' his heart to diſturb the peace of the church for thoſe ' matters. He was ſo far from it, that, as I have fre- ' quently heard from this his grandchild and others, ' when ſome thought their diſſents ground enough for ' a war, he declared himſelf againſt it, and confirmed ' others in their allegiance: he profeſſed to the laſt ' a juſt hatred of that horrid rebellion. Now, his re- ' lation to this man, and converſation with thoſe of ' his principles, might incline him to hope the like ' of others of that way. And when he found them ' further off from the unity of the church, he might ' poſſibly *overdo*, through the vehemence of his deſire ' to bring them off of their prejudices, and to reduce ' them to the unity of the church, in which his grand- ' father lived and died.' Though it is certain that he took the covenant, yet this author aſſures us, he was ſo far from approving the ways of the [covenanting] diſſenters, that in the worſt of times, when one here preſent (viz. at his funeral) bewailed to him the calamities of the church, and declared his obedience even then to the laws of it, he encouraged him in it, he deſired his friendſhip, and protected both him and many others, by an intereſt that he had gained, and made uſe of chiefly for ſuch purpoſes.

[*H*] *Thoſe philoſophical meetings which gave birth to the Royal Society.*] Biſhop Sprat (29) inſinuates, that our author was the principal promoter of theſe meetings; and the ſame thing ſeems to be inſinuated by Dr Wallis (30), who, in naming ſeveral of the members, ſets Dr John Wilkins at their head; after whom he mentions Dr Jonathan Goddard, Dr George Ent, Dr Gliſſon, Dr Merrit, Doctor of Phyſic; Mr Samuel Foſter, then Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Greſham college; and Mr Theodore Haak (31), a German of the Palatinate, who (if his memory did not deceive him) gave the firſt occaſion, and firſt ſuggeſted thoſe meetings, and many others. They met ſometimes at Dr Goddard's lodgings in Wood-ſtreet, or ſome convenient place near, on occaſion of his keeping an operator in his houſe for grinding glaſſes for teleſcopes and microſcopes, and ſometimes at a convenient place in Cheapſide, ſometimes at Greſham college, or ſome place near adjoining. Their buſineſs precluding matters of theology and ſtate affairs, was to diſcourſe and conſider of philoſophical enquiries, and ſuch as related thereunto; as phyſic, anatomy, geometry, aſtronomy, navigation, ſtatics, magnetics, chymics, mechanics, and natural experiments; with the ſtate of theſe ſtudies as then cultivated at home and abroad. In particular, they diſcourſed of the circulation of the blood, the valves, the venæ lacteæ, the lymphatic veſſels; the Copernican hypotheſis, the nature of comets and new ſtars, the ſatellites of Jupiter, the oval ſhape, as it then appeared, of Saturn, the ſpots in the ſun, and its turning on its own axis; the inequalities and ſelenography of the moon; the ſeveral phaſes of Venus and Mercury; the improvement of teleſcopes, and grinding of glaſſes for that purpoſe; the weight of the air; the poſſibility or impoſſibility of vacuities, and nature's abhorrence thereof; the Torricellian experiment in quickſilver; the deſcent of heavy bodies, and the degrees of acceleration therein, and divers other things of like nature, ſome of which were then but new

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(*e*) Wood's Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Dr Wallis's letter to Dr Tho. Smith, in Tho. Hearne's Appendix to Peter Langtoft's Chronicle, No. I. vol. 1. Lond. 1725.

(*g*) Sprat's Hiſt. of the R. S. p. 2.

(21) The meaſure by which we judge the differences betwixt ſeveral ſubſtances in weight, length, or capacity.

(22) In the contrivance of this he obſerves there will be as many ſeveral characters as there are primitive words, and each of theſe primitives muſt have ſome particular marks to diſtinguiſh the caſes, conjugations, or other particular variations.

(23) In chap. 18.

(24) Hence it appears that our author fetched this conceit too from a hint in *the Man in the Moon*.

(25) It was by the advice of Dr Wilkins that Mr Hooke compoſed his Micrography. See Preface to that book.

(26) By Mr Wood, in Athen. Ox. vol. II. col. 1039. where he alſo obſerves that this was reported both by Mr Hooke himſelf and Dr Wilkins, warden of Wadham college.

(27) In note [*B*].

(28) By Dr W. Lloyd, in our author's funeral ſermon, p. 46. printed in 1694.

(29) In his Hiſt. of the R. S. p. 53.

(30) In his letter to Dr Tho. Smith, cited above in the text.

(31) See an account of him in Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. II. col. 845.

proper and more immediate buſineſs of his function. For, in 1746, he publiſhed his *Eccleſiaſtes; or a Diſcourſe of the Gift of Preaching, as it falls under the Rules of Art* [*I*]. In 1648, he was pitched upon by the Parliament Committee for the Reformation of the Univerſity, to be Warden of Wadham-college; and being created Bachelor of Divity April the 12th the ſame year, he was next day put into poſſeſſion of the wardenſhip, in the place of Mr John Pitt, B. D. who was ejected thence by the Parliament Viſitors (*b*). This year he publiſhed his treatiſe intitled *Mathematical Magic; or the Wonders that may be performed by mechanical Geometry. In two Books, concerning mechanical Powers and Motions; being one of the moſt eaſy, pleaſant, uſeful, and yet moſt neglected Part of Mathematicks, not before treated of in this Language* [*K*]. December the 18th the following year, he

(*b*) Wood's Ath. ubi ſupra.

new diſcoveries, and others not ſo generally known as now they are; with other things appertaining to what has been called the *new philoſophy*, which from the times of Galileo at Florence, and Sir Francis Bacon Lord Verulam in England, hath been cultivated in Italy, France, Germany, and other parts abroad, as well as with us in England (32).

(32) Dr Wallis letter, ubi ſupra.

[*I*] *The gift of preaching, as far as it falls under the rules of art.*] In the preface, he tells us, this diſcourſe was firſt drawn up for his own private uſe, as a ſummary of ſuch preparatory rules and directions as he was willing to be guided by in his entrance upon his miniſterial employment. In the body of the book, this art is comprized under three general heads, method, matter, and expreſſion. In the firſt, he gives (33) this excellent precept to his young preachers: “Beware,” ſays he, “of that vain affectation of finding ſomething new and ſtrange in every text, though never ſo plain; it will not ſo much ſhew our parts which ſuch men aim at, as our pride and wantonneſs of wit. Theſe new projectors in divinity are the fitteſt matter out of which to ſhape firſt a ſceptic, after that an heretic, and then an atheiſt.” I need not take notice, how much an eminent writer as well as preacher of our time has been led away by this vanity; and he himſelf is very ſenſible that he has not eſcaped the cenſure of ſcepticiſm by a very candid judge. Under the ſecond head of matter, our author ſpeaking of ſermons and diſcourſes upon particular texts, obſerves, that amongſt all ſuch kind of works, our Engliſh ſermons and treatiſes are moſt elaborate and uſeful. It was the judgment of a very learned man (34), ſays he, That *if the choice and beſt obſervations which have been made diſperſedly in our Engliſh ſermons (leaving out the largeneſs of exhortations and applications thereupon) had been ſet down in a continuance, it would be the beſt work in divinity that has been written ſince the apoſtles times.* And certainly, continues our author, there is either ſome ſpecial eminency in their writings, or elſe there is ſome peculiar genius in men of the ſame country, which makes their notions ſeem unto one another more proper and acceptable. (35) It is well known to what a good purpoſe the late Mr Stackhouſe employed this hint in compiling his Body of Divinity. Under the third head, of expreſſion, the following counſel is ſo extremely uſeful, and yet ſo univerſally neglected, or rather thrown aſide amongſt the Engliſh preachers, as will ſufficiently juſtify our inſerting it in this place. It is in theſe words: ‘As for the manner of compoſing ſermons, it will not be convenient for one that is a conſtant preacher to pen all his diſcourſes, or to tie himſelf unto phraſes; when we have the matter and notion well digeſted, the expreſſions of it will eaſily follow; whereas to be confined unto particular words, beſides the great oppreſſion of the memory, much prejudices the operations of the underſtanding and affections; the judgment will be much weakened, and the affections dulled, when the memory is overmuch burthened and vexed. A man cannot ordinarily be ſo much affected himſelf, and conſequently he cannot ſo eaſily affect others with things that he ſpeaks by rote, as when he takes ſome liberty to proſecute a matter according to his more *immediate* apprehenſions of it, by which many particulars may be ſuggeſted, that were not before thought of, when he doth expatiate upon any ſubject, according to the workings of his own affections, and the various alterations that may appear in the auditory. And then beſides this liberty will breed a παῤῥησία, ſuch a fitting confidence as ſhould be in that orator who is to have a power over the affections of others, which ſuch an one is ſcarce capable, who ſhall ſo ſervilely tie himſelf to particular words and expreſſions, from which he dares not vary for fear of being out. *But a man cannot expect a good habit of preaching thus without much ſtudy and experience.* Young beginners ſhould uſe themſelves to a more exact and elaborate way; when a good ſtyle and expreſſion is firſt learned by penning, it will afterwards be more eaſily retained in diſcourſing (36).’

(33) p. 16. edition the 6th, printed in 1679.

(34) L. Verulam, in his Advancement of Learning.

(35) p. 82.

(36) p. 202, 203. ſixth edition. The ſeventh edition of this treatiſe, with many additions to it, by Dr John Moore, Biſhop of Norwich, and Dr John Williams, was printed in 1694, in 8vo; and there was alſo a 9th edition, corrected and much enlarged, publiſhed in 1718, 8vo.

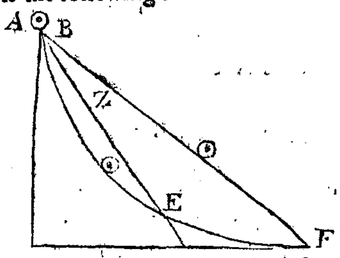
[*K*] *Mathematical magic, not before treated of in this language.*] Our author acquaints us in the preface with a cuſtom of his that gave birth to this offspring. He had been uſed in the courſe of his other ſtudies to propoſe divers mathematical or philoſophical enquiries for the recreation of his leiſure hours; and, as he could gather ſatisfaction, to compoſe them into ſome form and method. Some of theſe he takes notice had been formerly publiſhed, and now ventured forth in diſcourſe. He then proceeds to ſhew the uſe and advantage of this deſign, wherein, beſides the great delight and pleaſure (which every national reader muſt needs find in ſuch notions as carry with them their own evidence and demonſtration) there is alſo much real benefit to be learned, particularly for ſuch gentlemen as employ their eſtates in thoſe chargeable adventures of draining mines, coal-pits, &c. who may from hence learn the chief grounds and nature of engines, and thereby more eaſily avoid the deluſions of any cheating impoſtor; and alſo for ſuch common artificers as are well ſkilled in the practice of thoſe arts, who may be much advantaged by the right underſtanding of their grounds and theories. Ramus hath obſerved, that the reaſon why Germany hath been ſo eminent for mechanical inventions is, becauſe there has been public lectures of this kind inſtituted amongſt them; and thoſe not only in the learned languages, but alſo in the vulgar tongue, for the capacity of every ingenious unlettered artificer. He next proceeds to tell us why he calls this diſcourſe *Mathematical Magic*, which is, as well becauſe the art of ſuch mechanical inventions, as are therein chiefly inſiſted on, has been formerly ſo ſtiled, as alſo in alluſion to vulgar opinion, which commonly attributes all ſuch ſtrange operations to the power of magic. For which reaſon, ſays he, the ancients did make this art Θαυματοποιητικὴ, or *mirandorum effectrix*. The firſt book is called *Archimedes*, becauſe he was the chiefeſt in diſcovering of mechanical powers. The ſecond is ſtiled by the name of *Dædalus*, who is related to be one of the firſt and moſt famous among the ancients for his ſkill in making *automata*, or ſelf-moving engines: both theſe being two of the firſt authors that did reduce mathematical principles into mechanical experiments. Other diſcourſes of this kind are for the moſt part large and voluminous, of great price, and hardly gotten; and beſides, ſays he, there are not any of them that I know of in our vulgar tongue, for which theſe mechanical arts of all other are the moſt proper. Theſe inconveniences are here in ſome meaſure remedied, together with the addition (if I miſtake not) of divers things very conſiderable, and not inſiſted upon by others. In the body of the book, amongſt other inventions, he gives us the conſtruction of a windmill, with a vertical axis, wherein the fans, bent into a ſpiral curve, being inſerted, move horizontally *. By the advantage of this conſtruction the engine is equally turned by the wind blowing from any point of the compaſs, without changing its ſituation (as is neceſſary in the common windmills, whoſe axis lies nearly horizontal). One of theſe inſtruments with ſome ſmall alteration (the fans particularly are not curved, but *even* plains) was ſet up by Archibald the laſt Duke of Argyll at his houſe upon Hounſlow Heath. The deſign of it was to turn an engine for ſupplying the houſe with water from a canal which ſurrounds the gardens. But the fans being too ſmall, the power was not ſufficient to be of any advantage. For

* A model of it was made by the late Mr John Clarke (the inventor of the ſpirit poiſer) which I ſaw, and it ſuceeded very well. P. N.

he was created Doctor of Divinity; and about the ſame time took the Engagement (i), that is, “ To be faithful to the commonwealth of England as it was then eſtabliſhed, “ without a King or Houſe of Lords.” The ſame year, in alluſion to the very extraordinary events that had happened in the nation, as well as to his own conduct under them, he publiſhed a ſmall tract, in 12mo, intitled, *A Diſcourſe concerning the Beauty of Providence in all the rugged Paſſages of it.* Upon our Author's removal from London, as he could no longer attend the philoſophical meetings there already mentioned, he propoſed the ſettling of another of the like nature at Oxford (k). Accordingly a ſociety of ſeveral learned perſons of that univerſity agreed to meet firſt at Dr Petty's lodgings this year, 1649. But after his removal to Ireland in 1652, Dr Wilkins inviting them to Wadham college, theſe meetings were had there afterwards as long as he continued in the wardenſhip [L]. In the mean time, being indefatigable in his ſtudies, and ſtill mindful of his duty as a clergyman, he publiſhed at London, in 1653, in 8vo, *A Diſcourſe concerning the Gift of Prayer; ſhewing what it is, wherein it conſiſts, and how far it is attainable by induſtry, with divers uſeful and proper Directions for that purpoſe, both in reſpect of Matter, Method, and Expreſſion* [M]. The following year he wrote an Epiſtle to Dr Seth Ward (l), Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Oxford, which was prefixed by that author

For as one perſon was obliged to attend it, he could by the hand work the pump eaſily, ſo as to raiſe more water in the ſame time.

In this treatiſe likewiſe our author (who was as much perſuaded of the poſſibility of a perpetual motion as he was of the art of flying) has given ſeveral ingenious contrivances for that purpoſe. The moſt promiſing of which is the following:



A loadſtone at A is ſuppoſed to have a ſufficient force to bring up a heavy body along the plane F A from F to B, when the body is ſuppoſed to deſcend by its gravitation along the curve BEF till it returns to its firſt place F; and thus to riſe along the plane FA, and deſcend along the curve BEF continually (37).— The paralogiſm of which reaſoning is no leſs ingeniouſly demonſtrated by Mr McLaurin as follows. Suppoſe BZE to be the ſurface, upon which if a body is placed, the attraction of the load-ſtone and the gravitation of the body would balance each other. This ſurface will meet BEF at ſome point E, betwixt A and F, and the body muſt ſtop in deſcending along AEF at the point E (38).

[L] *At Wadham College, where theſe meetings were held, as long as he continued in the wardenſhip.*] Dr Wallis and Dr Goddard being removed ſoon after our author to Oxford, gave the firſt occaſion to theſe meetings there. To them were added Dr Seth Ward, Dr Ralph Bathurſt, afterwards Preſident of Trinity College in Oxford, Dr (afterwards Sir) William Petty, Dr Willis the phyſician, and others. Their meeting at Dr Petty's lodgings was becauſe being in an apothecary's houſe, they had the convenience of inſpecting drugs and the like, as there was occaſion. By this means they brought the ſtudy of natural and experimental philoſophy to Oxford. After the removal of Dr Wilkins to Cambridge, the reſt met at the lodgings of the honourable Mr Robert Boyle, then reſident for divers years in Oxford (40).

[M] *A diſcourſe on the gift of prayer,* &c.] In the preface he tells us, that this diſcourſe was at firſt intended only for private uſe and direction. That it was for the ſubſtance of it drawn up ſeveral years before, when he did not know ſo much as any one author, who had formerly attempted this ſubject. ‘ Since that, I have,’ ſays he, ‘ met with and peruſed the profitable labours ‘ of ſome others in this kind. M. Elnath Parre (41), ‘ Mr Clark (42), and Scultetus (43). I have likewiſe ‘ conſulted ſuch other treatiſes (44), as ſeemed moſt ‘ nearly to border upon it. Not neglecting the diſ‘ courſes of thoſe who are ſtiled *Magiſtri rerum ſpiritualium,* concerning the rules they preſcribe for men‘ tal prayer.’ He concludes with obſerving that the kind reception his *Eccleſiaſtes* had met with encouraged him to have ſome hope that this might likewiſe be acceptable. In the firſt chapter, where he defines this gift to be *a readineſs and faculty proceeding from the Spirit of God, whereby a man is enabled upon all occaſions in a fitting manner to expreſs and enlarge the deſires of his heart in this duty,* he takes notice, that in the primitive times indeed, when the church was in its infancy, then the text was put into their mouths, they were extraordinarily inſpired with theſe gifts by immediate infuſions, without the uſual means of ſtudy and labour; but that *manna* was only for the wilderneſs, when other common ways could not be made uſe of; whereas when the church is grown up to the ſtate of manhood, and is poſſeſſed of the land, God does now expect that we ſhould plow and ſow, and eat the fruit of the earth in the ſweat of our brows; that we ſhould ſerve his providence, and depend upon him only in the uſe of means; and as children do not learn to ſpeak diſtinctly but after many trials, ſo neither can a Chriſtian be able (as he ſhould) to cry *Abba Father,* till he has beſtowed ſome time and experience in the learning of it. In the ſecond chapter, where he treats of the two extremes of confining ourſelves wholly to ſet forms, or depending wholly upon ſudden ſuggeſtions, he examines all the arguments that have been offered in defence and in diſparagement of either way, and concludes, that a man ſhould ſo prepare himſelf as if he expected no aſſiſtance; and that he ſhould ſo depend upon divine aſſiſtance, as if he had made no preparation. In chapter 5, where he ſets down rules to furniſh the judgment in reſpect of matter, method, and expreſſion, he gives the following remarkable brief paraphraſe upon the Lord's prayer. ‘ For the ‘ chief heads of petition,’ ſays he, ‘ we are directed in ‘ the Lord's prayer, that being given as a ſummary ‘ or brief model, wherein are contained the moſt prin‘ cipal and neceſſary materials of all our deſires. That ‘ which is accounted the firſt petition, *Hallowed be* ‘ *thy name,* doth more eſpecially concern the chief ‘ end of all our deſires, namely the glory of God, and ‘ is there ſet down to teach us what we are princi‘ pally to intend and aim at in all thoſe prayers that ‘ we make either for ourſelves or others. The three ‘ next clauſes do concern the obtaining of good. The ‘ firſt of them for the ſanctifying of our hearts and ‘ natures, into which we wiſh that his *kingdom may* ‘ *come.* The ſecond for the obedience of our lives, ‘ *Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven.* The ‘ third for the neceſſities of this preſent life, *Give us* ‘ *this day our daily bread.* The three laſt petitions ‘ do concern the removal of evil. The firſt of them ‘ being againſt the evil of ſin. *Forgive us our treſpaſ*‘ *ſes.* The ſecond againſt the evil of temptation, ‘ *Lead us not into temptation.* The laſt againſt the ‘ evil of puniſhment, *Deliver us from evil.* All of ‘ them being in the plural number, Give us, and for‘ give us, &c, which ſhews our duty to petition for ‘ others, as well as ourſelves; and then the whole ‘ prayer is ſealed up with this argument, *For thine is* ‘ *the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and* ‘ *ever. Amen.* Wherein we acknowledge that it is he ‘ alone who is able to grant our requeſts, thereby ‘ teaching us to back our petitions with ſuch argu‘ ments as may ſerve to ſtrengthen our belief concern‘ ing the ſucceſs of them.’ He then gives an analyſis of this, wherein is ſhewn how it comprehends all the ſpecies of precation; and having drawn out another analyſis for thankſgiving, he proceeds to ſupply the materials for each in the ſucceeding chapters, which are taken (moſt properly in his judgment) from ſeveral paſſages throughout the ſcripture. The 7th edition of this book was printed in 1694.

(i) Idem ibid.

(k) Sprat's Hiſt. of R. S. ubi ſupra.

(l) Dr Ward, when he was choſen profeſſor of aſtronomy, had entered himſelf of Wadham College, for the ſake of Dr Wilkins. Dr Pope's life of Dr Ward, p. 27. and Wood ubi ſupra, col. 827.

(37) Mathem. Magic, book ii. chap. 13.

(38) Maclaurin's Fluxions, vol. i. chap. 11. art. 463. Under the head of gravitation towards ſeveral centers.

(40) Dr Wallis's Letter to Dr Tho. Smith, ubi ſupra.

(41) In his Abba Father.

(42) In his Holy Incenſe.

(43) De precatione.

(44) Gul. Pariſienſis de Rhetorica divina, Walæus Groningenſis de Oratione, Alfonſus Rodericus Exerc. Perfectionis, Tract. de Oratione.

to his *Vindiciæ Academiarum* [*N*]. About two years after this, our Warden intermarried with Robina, widow of Peter French, ſome time Canon of Chriſt-church. This lady was ſiſter to Oliver Cromwell, who was then Protector of England; and notwithſtanding this marriage was contrary to the ſtatutes of Wadham-college, which prohibit the Warden from marrying, yet Dr Wilkins did not ſcruple to retain the wardenſhip, by virtue of a diſpenſation granted by the Protector. After the death of Oliver, our Author continued in the like favour with his ſon and ſucceſſor Richard Cromwell; and was appointed by him, upon the death of Dr Arrowſmith, in the beginning of the year 1659, Maſter of Trinity-college in Cambridge, where he made it particularly his buſineſs to promote, as he had done at Oxford, experimental philoſophy (*m*); we are told alſo, that he ſtudied to propagate univerſal benevolence, diſcouraging narrow party principles, and a fierceneſs for opinions. But he was ejected thence at the Reſtoration, and continued upon that change out of favour for ſome ſmall time at Whitehall, and longer at Lambeth, on account of his marriage †. The Archbiſhop, Dr Sheldon, who had the diſpoſal at that time of all eccleſiaſtical preferments, entertained a ſtrong prejudice againſt him; ſo that he was now not only without any place, but alſo without probability of obtaining one. In effect, his fortune was as low as it could be [*O*]. However, he did not remain long in this condition; for this ſame year, 1660, the honourable Society of Gray's Inn choſe him to be their Preacher (*n*). By this appointment our Author being now again fixed in London, had an opportunity (which he could not neglect) of ſhewing the continuance of his zeal to promote the abovementioned philoſophical meeting. Hitherto this had been no more than a ſimple voluntary aſſembly; but having agreed now to form themſelves into a ſociety [*P*], they came, December the 25th this year, to a reſolution that Dr Wilkins, to whom as many of the Profeſſors of Greſham-college ſhould be joined as were of the ſociety, or any three of them, ſhould be a committee, to receive experiments (*o*). In 1662, the church of St Laurence Jewry becoming void, by the promotion of Dr Seth Ward to the biſhoprick of Exeter, our Author was preſented by the crown to that rectory; and upon the eſtabliſhment of the Royal Society the following year, 1663, he was appointed one of their Council ‡, and was a great benefactor to it [*Q*]. He began now to grow into great favour at court; the happy effects of which were firſt ſeen in his promotion to the deanery of Rippon (*p*), and afterwards by his advancement to the ſee of Cheſter [*R*], upon the death of Dr George Hill, in 1668 (*q*). He was conſecrated to this biſhoprick November the 15th at Ely-Houſe, by the three Biſhops, Dr Coſin of Durham, Dr Laney of Ely, and his particular friend, Dr Seth Ward of Saliſbury; on which occaſion an excellent ſermon was preached by Dr Tillotſon. Our Author, the ſame year, publiſhed his *Eſſay towards a Real Character and a Philoſophical Language* [*S*]. In March 1669, he likewiſe publiſhed a ſermon preached before the King, on

(*m*) Wood ubi ſupra.

† Burnet's Hiſt. of his own time, vol. I. p. 187. folio.

(*n*) Dr Pope's Life of S. Ward, with a brief account of Biſhop Wilkins, p. 53. Lond. 1697, 8vo.

(*o*) Regiſter of the Royal Society, No. I.

‡ See the charter in Sprat Hiſt. ubi ſupra. Their ſtatutes were drawn by this firſt council.

(*p*) Mr Wood thinks he ſucceeded Thomas Dod, D.D. Rector of Malpaſs in Cheſhire, who died 1647. Ubi ſupra.

(*q*) The ſame author, Wood, ſays this was procured for him by the intereſt of George Duke of Buckingham, ibid. which Bp Burnett obſerves was no ſmall prejudice againſt him. *Hiſtory of* his own Times, Vol. I. p. 258, fol.

[*N*] *An epiſtle prefixed to the Vindiciæ Academiarum, againſt Webſter's examen of academies.*] This was wrote in defence of learning, and academical education in particular, which was always greatly promoted by our author, notwithſtanding his puritanical inclinations. This ſurely, ſays Dr Tillotſon, cannot be denied him, it is ſo well known to many worthy perſons yet living, and hath been ſo often acknowledged even by his enemies, that in the late times of confuſion almoſt all that was preſerved and kept up of ingenuity and good learning, of good order and government in the univerſity of Oxford, was chiefly owing to his prudent conduct and encouragement (45). Biſhop Burnet alſo obſerves, that though Wilkins married Cromwell's ſiſter, yet he made no other uſe of that alliance but to procure good offices, and to cover the Univerſity of Oxford from the ſourneſs of Owen and Goodwin *.

[*O*] *In reality his fortune was as low as it could be.*] His half-brother by the mother's ſide, Dr Walter Pope, ſays (46), 'I remember Biſhop Ward told me at that 'time, I am much concerned for your brother, and 'write to him oftener than I otherwiſe ſhould, to keep 'up his ſpirits, and aſſure him of my utmoſt aſſiſtance 'for the bettering of his condition, leſt he ſhould ima'gine that I in my proſperity ſhould be unmindful of 'him in adverſity.'

[*P*] *Agreed to form themſelves into a ſociety.*] It was done November the 28th that year, in Mr Rooke's apartment at Greſham College, where Dr Wilkins; among others, being preſent, they choſe Lord Brouncker for Preſident, and Mr Crowne for their Regiſter, by balloting. But they afterwards appointed two Secretaries, who were to reply to all addreſſes both at home and from abroad, and to publiſh whatever ſhould be agreed upon by the ſociety. Theſe, ſays Dr Sprat, are at preſent Dr Wilkins and Mr Oldenburgh (47), from whom I have not uſurped this firſt employment of that kind, for it is only my hand that goes, the ſubſtance and direction came from one of them.

[*Q*] *And was a great benefactor to it.*] So we are told in general by Mr Wood (48). Dr Sprat, ſpeaking of their repoſitory, ſays; This he [Mr Hooke, who was appointed firſt curator] has begun to reduce under its ſeveral heads, according to the exact method of all the ſpecies of nature, which has been compoſed by Dr Wilkins. This repoſitory is a general collection of all the effects of art, and the common or monſtrous works of nature. It was firſt begun by caſual preſents, either of ſtrangers, or their own members: amongſt theſe laſt Dr Wilkins, beſides other curioſities, enriched it with a *Way Wiſer* for a coach, and the *Catoptric point*, both invented by Mr (afterwards Sir Chriſtopher) Wren (49).

[*R*] *Nominated him to the ſee of Cheſter.*] This was done, as Dr Pope tells us (50), not only without, but againſt the conſent of the Abp of Canterbury. After which Biſhop Ward introduced him into the Archbiſhop's preſence and favour, who entertained him very obligingly, declaring that the prejudice he had againſt him was very unjuſt, and that if he had known him ſooner, he would have been ſooner preferred. Before Biſhop Wilkins was ſettled in his biſhoprick, a certain perſon addreſſed himſelf to the Archbiſhop, deſiring his Grace's recommendation to him for a place in his gift; 'No,' replied the Archbiſhop, 'that I can by 'no means do: It would be a very unreaſonable 'thing in me to deſire a favour from one whoſe pro'motion I oppoſed.' And they ever afterwards kept a fair correſpondence. If we may believe Mr Wood, Dr Wilkins owed this promotion to the intereſt of George Duke of Buckingham (51).

[*S*] *His eſſay towards a real character.*] Mr Wood obſerves (52), that our author took the hint of this treatiſe from a book intitled, *Ars ſignorum vulgo character univerſalis, & lingua philoſophica*, publiſhed in 1661, by one George Dulgarno a Scotſman, born at Old Aberdeen, and educated in the Univerſity of New Aberdeen, who taught a private grammar-ſchool at Oxford, and died there Auguſt 28, 1687. But that he communicated this book, before it went to the preſs, to Dr Wilkins, who thence conceiving a great notion of the matter, carried it on and brought it up

to

(45) Preface to Dr Wilkins's ſermons, printed in 1682.

* Burnet's Hiſt. of his own time, p. 187. vol. I. fol. Let it be obſerved, in juſtice to Dr Owen, that though his obligations and attachment to Cromwell carried him to ſome exceſſes committed againſt the Loyaliſts, yet in general ſourneſs was not inherent in his nature; and nobody kept up the diſcipline of the univerſity better than himſelf. See his article.

(46) At the end of his life of Bp Ward, where there is ſome account of our author.

(47) They were both appointed firſt ſecretaries by the royal charter. See Sprat's hiſtory, p. 140.

(48) Ath. Ox. Vol. 2. p. 507.

(49) See Dr Grew's Muſæum of the R. S. p. 260.

(50) In his life of Seth Ward, Biſhop of Saliſbury, p. 53, 54.

(51) Ath. Ox. vol. 2. col. 505. 2d edit.

(52) Ubi ſupra, col. 507.

on Proverbs iii. 16. and another in February 1670, upon Eccleſ. xii. 13. as alſo a third on Eccleſ. xii. 14. 14 March 1671 *(r)*. While Dr Wilkins was in the government of the church, he promoted (as before) the deſign that was on foot *(s)* towards bringing about a comprehenſion with the Diſſenters, of whom he always entertained favourable hopes. This, as might be expected, procured him ſome enemies *(t)* amongſt ſuch as were zealous in oppoſing that unſucceſsful project. Notwithſtanding, he conſtantly ſtood up in defence of the eſtabliſhed order and liturgy with ſo much ſteady zeal, as exceeded the expectations of all who did not very well know him. He filled his epiſcopal office with a goodneſs anſwerable to the reſt of his life, but with a prudence above it, conſidering the two extremes of Popery and Fanaticiſm, which were no where then ſo much as in his dioceſe. Though he was, as before, very tender to thoſe that differed from him, yet as he was conformable himſelf, ſo he brought others to conformity, ſome eminent men in his own dioceſe *(u)*. He was in perfect health in all other reſpects, when a known infirmity (a ſuppreſſion of urine) from an unknown cauſe [*T*], (that, we are told, it had been eaſier to cure than it was to diſcover) ſtole upon him, and ſoon became incurable. He continued for ſeveral days in a proſpect of death, which he ſaw as it approached, and felt it come on by degrees. Some few days before he died, he found within himſelf, as he often ſaid, a ſentence of death. During his illneſs, he never appeared diſmayed or ſurprized either with the pains of his diſtemper, or the apprehenſions of death, nor ever uttered a word unbecoming a wiſe man and a true Chriſtian. On the contrary, there was great cauſe to admire his faith towards God, his zeal for his church, his conſtancy of mind, his contempt of the world, and his chearful hopes of eternity. At length he gave way to

(r) Idem ibid.

(s) See the article TILLOTSON [JOHN].

(t) Particularly the two Archbiſhops, Sheldon, and Dolben, and Biſhop Fell, &c. Wood ubi ſupra, col. 506.

(u) See his funeral ſermon by Dr Lloyd.

to that which, ſays he, ‘ you now ſee extant (53) ;’ which is a moderate folio. However that be, it is evident from the 13th and 18th chapters of his Mercury, that our author had employed ſome thoughts upon this ſubject long before, though it does not appear that he had then formed any determinate ſcheme for it. The firſt occaſion of it had its riſe from Dr Seth Ward, Bp of Saliſbury, who reſiding then at Wadham College, for the ſake of our author's learned converſation, mentioned this as one of the *deſiderata* in literature. — However, it was a conſiderable time after this that Dr Wilkins attempted it, and he was firſt put upon it by the deſire he had to aſſiſt another perſon in forming a *real character* from the natural notions of things. In order to promote that perſon's deſign, he drew up the tables of ſubſtances, reduced under their ſeveral heads, much the ſame as they are publiſhed in his *Eſſay*: but the perſon thinking this method of too great a compaſs, and that he could provide for all the chief articles in a much ſhorter and eaſier way, he did not make uſe of the Doctor's tables. However, the Doctor being convinced, that this was the only way to effect ſuch a work, and unwilling to loſe ſo much pains, went on with the other table of accidents, and then attempted the reduction of all other Engliſh words into a dictionary, wherein they are either referred to their places in the philoſophical tables, or explained by ſuch words as are in theſe tables. And for the further completing of this work, he formed alſo a natural grammar. In the prefatory epiſtle he mentions ſeveral perſons who aſſiſted him in the work, particularly Willoughby, Ray, and Dr Will. Lloyd, and others; but it is remarkable that he does not mention Dulgarno, and the more, becauſe Dr Wilkins's own name is printed in the margin of King Charles IId's letter prefixed to Dulgarno's book as one of thoſe who informed his Majeſty of Dulgarno's deſign, and approved it as a thing that might be of ſingular uſe to facilitate an intercourſe between people of different languages (53), and conſequently a proper means for advancing all the parts of natural and civil knowledge; which prevailed with his Majeſty to grant his ſaid letters of recommendation to ſo many of his ſubjects, eſpecially of the clergy, as were ſenſible of the defectuouſneſs of art in this particular.

We have ſeen from Mr Wood, and the ſame is declared in our author's epiſtle, that he had formed his tables for the aſſiſtance of another perſon, who did not make uſe of thoſe tables; and by Dulgarno's book it appears, that he was in his judgment againſt thoſe tables, as being too tedious, and ſuch as philoſophers were not agreed in, and therefore others of different languages and nations could not have the ſame ideas about them. Which cenſure might perhaps give the Biſhop ſome diſguſt, and be the reaſon why he did not mention Dulgarno among the reſt of his aſſiſtants (54). He did not think he had finiſhed it with all the advantages of which it is capable; yet he thought it ſufficient for what it pretended to, viz. the diſtinct expreſſion of all things and notions that fall under diſcourſe (55). Accordingly he preſented the MS. to the Royal Society, who appointed a committee, May 18, 1668, to conſider and make their obſervations upon it. Upon whoſe report it was printed by order of the ſaid Society. In 1673, Mr Leibnitz being then in England, told both Mr Boyle and Mr Oldenburgh, that he did not think either Dr Wilkins or Dulgarno had come to the point. They might indeed enable nations who did not underſtand each other to correſpond eaſily together; but they had not obtained the true real character, which would be the beſt inſtrument of the human mind, and extremely aſſiſt both the reaſon and memory, and the invention of things. Theſe characters ought to reſemble as much as poſſible thoſe of algebra, which are very ſimple and expreſſive, and are never ſuperfluous or equivocal, but whoſe varieties are grounded on reaſon. Mr Leibnitz ſpeaks ſomewhere of an alphabet which he was contriving of human thoughts. Probably this alphabet had ſome relation to his univerſal language (56).

[*T*] *A ſuppreſſion of urine from an unknown cauſe.*] Mr Wood tells us (57), that he died of the ſtone: but in this he had been miſinformed, though it had been ſo reported. In truth his caſe was miſtaken, as appears from the following remark upon it by Dr Baynard (58). ‘ I was always of opinion,’ ſays he, ‘ that ‘ the pains in a rheumatiſm where not cauſed by any ‘ ſaline or acid particles in the blood, &c. but rather ‘ from its clammineſs and denſity, diſtending the veſſels ‘ thro' which it paſſes, which diſtenſion produces thoſe ‘ ſharp and pungent pains, which rheumatic patients ‘ ſo generally complain of. For although the proper ‘ coats of the veins and arteries ſeem to be inſenſible in themſelves, yet thoſe thin membranes which ‘ beſet them are of a moſt exquiſite ſenſe, and full of ‘ lymphæducts, which being dilated and ſtretched, cauſe ‘ an inflammatory ſymptomatic fever with continual ‘ ſweating, the blood being glutinous and ſizy, as in ‘ quinſies, pleuriſies, and all other inflammatory diſtempers, the fever is increaſed by the great quantity ‘ of alkalious corroſive ſalts, lodging in the blood, ‘ cauſing thirſt, &c. and not diluted and waſhed off by ‘ urine, which is always thick, turbid, and high-coloured, and almoſt, if not wholly, devoid of any ſaline impregnation. To prove this, he ſent 6 quarts ‘ of a ſtrong man's urine in the height of a rheumatiſm, to that ingenious artiſt George Moult, who ‘ chymically analyſed it, and found not above the ‘ thirtieth part of theſe ſalts uſually found in ſuch ‘ quantities in the urine of a ſound perſon.’ A patient had laboured for ſeven or eight days under a total ſuppreſſion of urine; by trying with the catheter there was not the leaſt appearance of a ſtone, nor a drop of water in his bladder; hereupon Dr Baynard *ſuppoſing it might be the ſame caſe of which the learned* Dr Wilkins *died*, cauſed the patient to take a quantity of acids, in a convenient vehicle, by which ſecretion being preſently made, there was a great diſcharge of urine, and he was thereby reſtored to his health: and ſo it was found to be of the other patients that laboured under ſuppreſſion of urine.

(53) Our author obſerves, that the number of different languages, according to the moſt received opinion, amounts to 70 or 72.

(54) Account and abſtract of this eſſay at the end of his mathematical works, the 5th edition of which was printed in 1706, 8vo.

(55) In part iv. ch. 2. he gives an inſtance of the real character in the Lord's Prayer and the Creed.

(56) Fontenelle Hiſtoire de Renouellement de l'Academie Royale des Sciences, 1699, & des Eloges Hiſtoriques de feux les Acadamiciens. Tome II. p. 321. Edit. Amſterd. 1720.

(57) Ath. Oxon. vol. II. col. 505. 2d edit.

(58) Phil. Tran. No. 215. p. 19.

ſate, November the 19th, 1672, in the houſe of Dr John Tillotſon, in Chancery-lane, and was interred under the north wall of the chancel of the church of St Laurence Jewry, on the 12th of December following (*w*); his funeral ſermon being preached by Dr William Lloyd, then Dean of Bangor (*x*), who aſſures us, that, beſides an underſtanding that extended to all parts of uſeful learning and knowledge, Dr Wilkins had a will always diſpoſed to great, public, and generous things: that he had a natural averſion to all idle ſpeculations (*y*), or ſmall and frivolous deſigns; but that in great matters he judged ſo well, as not uſually to be ſuprized with events. He purſued his intentions with ſuch equalneſs of mind, that he was never carried beyond the calmneſs of his natural temper, except through his zeal for the public good, or where his friend was concerned. In this laſt caſe particularly, he did not act ſlightly, but like one that made it his buſineſs, as in all other reſpects, ſo eſpecially where either his friend's good name or memory were attacked. That, however, he would not ſpare to give advice, and even reproof, where he ſaw occaſion for it. I never knew, ſays Dr Lloyd, any that would do it ſo freely, and that knew how to manage that freedom of ſpeech ſo inoffenſively. In this he excelled all men that ever I knew. That though his prudence was ſo great, as it ſeldom failed in any thing to which he applied himſelf, yet he ſo much wanted craft or diſſimulation, that he had rather too much openneſs of heart. He ſo abhorred a lie, that he was not at all for ſhew, and could not put on any thing that looked like it. He had a greatneſs of mind, which made him look down upon wealth. He knew the uſe of an eſtate, but did not court it. What he yearly received of the church, he beſtowed in its ſervice; and as for his temporal eſtate, being ſecured againſt want, he ſought no farther, he ſet up his reſt. Dr Lloyd had heard him ſay often, *he would be no richer*; and believed he was as good as his word. Notwithſtanding all this, it cannot be denied that his political conduct both in church and ſtate has been generally condemned. Even his greateſt advocates judged it indefenſible [*U*]. He was undoubtedly a moderate man, in the good ſenſe of the word [*W*]; yet he ſeems to have been one of thoſe of whom neither his friends nor foes have ſpoken with ſufficient moderation. Even Dr Tillotſon, the beſt guardian of his fame, is remarkably tranſported on this occaſion into an intemperance of wit not uſual to him. Upon ſome reflections (in the *Hiſtoria & Antiquitates Univ. Oxon.*) caſt upon our Author's character, which he thought were injurious to him, he expreſſes himſelf in the following words: "I cannot forbear, out of a generous indignation to ſee the aſhes of ſo worthy a man trampled upon, to take notice of a ſlight, and I think unjuſt, character given of our Author in Mr Wood's *Hiſtoria, &c.* whether by the author of that book or by ſome other hand, I am not curious to know *. It conſiſts of flat and ill-favoured commendations; as that he was *Philoſophiæ &*

(*w*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra, col. 507.

(*x*) He was afterwards better known by the character of the learned Bp of Worceſter. This ſermon is printed at the end of Dr Wilkins's treatiſe of Natural Religion.

(*y*) This is to be underſtood of the religious and moral part of his ſtudies, and is ſo much the more remarkable, as he was far from being free from vain and idle ſpeculations in other ſubjects; witneſs his real character, and his forming a contrivance to execute a perpetualmotion, &c.

[*U*] *Even his greateſt advocates judged it indefenſible.*] Dr William Lloyd, who knew him well in theſe times, allows, that ſometimes in his compliance to the Diſſenters he overdid it (57); and Dr Tillotſon, where he ſhews the warmeſt regard to our author's good name, when he thought it moſt abuſed by ſome invidious reflections upon his carriage and the circumſtances of his condition in the times of the uſurpation, throws the defence of this part of his character off himſelf in the following manner: "In all which," ſays he, "becauſe I did not then know him, I leave him to be vindicated or cenſured by thoſe who were witneſſes of his behaviour and temper at that time (58)."

(57) See his funeral ſermon, ubi ſupra.

(58) Preface to Bp Wilkins's ſermons.

[*W*] *He was undoubtedly a moderate man in the good ſenſe of the word.*] His great admirers, Lloyd, Tillotſon, and Burnet, have their eyes principally upon this amiable diſpoſition, when they call him *a lover of mankind*; which yet is meant likewiſe to comprehend his conſtant endeavours to promote and encourage uſeful learning among all, without reſpect of perſons: To which purpoſe Dr Sprat alſo, ſpeaking of our author's *Univerſal Language*, has theſe words (59): 'A work wherein this excellent man hath undertaken a deſign, that very well fits the temper of his own mind; for it well became him to teach a communion of ſpeech amongſt all philoſophers, whoſe chief ſtudy it has always been to promote a general agreement amongſt all learned and virtuous and wiſe men.' But this part of his character is ſet beyond even the reach of either envy or malice, by the unwilling atteſtation of one of his greateſt maligners; I mean Mr Wood, who (60) ſpeaks thus at large of him: 'This Dr Wilkins was a perſon endowed with rare gifts; he was a noted theologiſt and preacher, a curious critic in ſeveral matters, an excellent mathematician and experimentiſt, and one as well ſeen in mechaniſms and the new philoſophy as any of his time. He alſo highly advanced the ſtudy and perfecting of aſtronomy, both at Oxford whilſt he was Warden of Wadham-college, and at London whilſt he was of the Royal Society; and I cannot ſay to the contrary that there was any thing deficient in him, but a conſtant mind and ſettled principles. Dr Gilbert Burnet * tells us,' ſays he, 'that this Dr Wilkins (who was for a comprehenſion and a limited indulgence for diſſenters in religion) was a man of as great a mind, as true a judgment, as eminent virtues, and of as good a ſoul as any he ever knew, &c. And one † or more of the Royal Society ſay, *that all that knew Biſhop Wilkins, muſt needs acknowledge him, for his univerſal inſight into all parts of learning, ſolid judgment, rare prudence and dexterity in the management of worldly affairs and tranſactions, univerſal charity, ingenuity, temper, and moderation of ſpirit, to have left behind him but few equals*, &c. Sir Peter Pet, in his Epiſtle to the Reader before *Dr Barlow's Genuin Remains*, ſaith thus of Biſhop Wilkins: "He was an ornament both of that univerſity and the Engliſh nation, and one who adorned the goſpel itſelf by his great intellectual and moral endowments." But this writer, in proceeding, is, to uſe his own expreſſion, nauſeouſly laviſh in exalting him above meaſure; a zeal which drew him into the moſt uncommon errors, as attempting to burniſh his character at the expence of another very worthy perſon; I mean Biſhop Fell, whoſe pen is charged on this occaſion, without any good grounds, with daſhing out the ſtrokes againſt Wilkins that are found in Wood's Hiſtory and Antiquities of Oxford, lib. ii. p. 376 *. 'which,' ſays Sir Peter, 'ſeemed to me the more *nauſeous*, becauſe I was preſent with that Biſhop, when he made it his particular requeſt to Cromwell's Major-general, not to baniſh that perſon from Oxford, and therein prevailed with him, notwithſtanding the applications that had been made to him for it by Dr Owen and by the Preſbyterian Heads of Houſes.' Biſhop Burnet having allowed that he was naturally ambitious, proceeds upon the impartiality of that conceſſion to gratify his known ſpleen againſt the clergy in general; aſſerting that our prelate was the *wiſeſt clergyman he ever knew*, and that he had a courage which could ſtand againſt a current, and againſt all *the reproaches with which ill-natured clergymen ſtudied to load him* (62).

(59) Hiſt. of R. S. book 2. p. 253.

(60) In his Ath. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 506.

* In his life of Sir Matthew Hale, p. 69. ed. 1682. 8vo.

† Dr Seth Ward in his epiſtle dedicatory to Dr Jonathan Goddard, prefixed to his *Inquiſitio in Bullialdi Aſtronomiæ Fundamenta*.

* See Dr Tillotſon's article, Vol. VI. part I. Rem. [*EE*].

(62) Burnet's hiſt. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 253.

" *Mathematicæ addictiſſimus*, a great *Well-willer* to Philoſophy and the Mathematicks; the " exact character of an Empiric and Almanack-maker, when theſe two excellencies happen " *to be in conjunction*. And then *to the ſtudy of Divinity he added Eloquentiam in concionando non contemnendam, an Eloquence in preaching not to be deſpiſed*; which, though it " be but a very cool and ſlender commendation both of his divinity and eloquence, yet " I muſt own ſomething of kindneſs in it, becauſe there is, in good earneſt, a ſort of " eloquence in preaching that is to be deſpiſed. To finiſh the kindneſs, and that nothing might be omitted that might caſt an odium upon him, as he is placed next before Mr Hobbes, ſo I cannot but obſerve in comparing their characters, that there is " apparently far leſs of envy and detraction in that of Mr Hobbes than in this of the " reverend Biſhop; for which I can imagine no other reaſon but this, that Mr Hobbes " was then alive to ſpeak for himſelf, *but the dead bite not*. Upon the whole, it hath " often been no ſmall matter of wonder to me, whence it ſhould come to paſs that ſo " great a man, and ſo great a *lover of mankind*, who had the inclination, the ſkill, and " the opportunity to oblige ſo very many, and was ſo highly valued and reverenced by " all that knew him, ſhould yet have the hard fate to fall under the heavy diſpleaſure " and cenſure of thoſe, who knew him not; and that he, who never did any thing to " make himſelf one perſonal enemy, ſhould have the ill fortune to have ſo many. I " think I may truly ſay, that there are, or have been, very few in this age and nation " ſo well known, and ſo greatly eſteemed and favoured, firſt by a judicious Prince, and " then by ſo many perſons of high rank and quality, and of ſingular worth and eminence " in all the learned profeſſions, as our Author was (z)." By his laſt will, he committed the care of his papers to Dr Tillotſon, leaving it wholly to his diſpoſal whether any, or what part of them ſhould be made public. And in 1675, a treatiſe, in 8vo, of our Author's, intitled, *Of the Principles and Duties of Natural Religion*, was publiſhed by that truſtee; who aſſures us, that though it was left unfiniſhed, yet he knew it was deſigned by Dr Wilkins for the preſs, and that if God had been pleaſed to have granted him but a little longer life, he would have publiſhed it himſelf; that the firſt twelve chapters were written out for the preſs in his life-time, and that the remainder was gathered and made up out of his papers, as well as the materials left for that purpoſe, and the ſkill of the compiler, would allow (aa) [*X*]. In 1682, a Volume of his Sermons, preached upon ſeveral occaſions, was likewiſe publiſhed, in 8vo, by the ſame editor.

(z) See Preface to a volume of ſermons preached by Dr Wilkins.

(aa) Preface to this book.

WILLIAMS [JOHN] a Welſh Divine of a very diſtinguiſhed character, being Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, and Archbiſhop of York. He was born March 25, 1582, at Aberconway in the county of Carnarvon in Wales, and was the ſon of Edward Williams, Eſq; whoſe father, William Williams, Eſq; of Coghwillanne derived his pedigree from the princes of North Wales in the time of King Stephen, and continued his coat of arms without any alteration from Ednevet Viſchan (a), Lord Steward of Wales in the 25th year of Henry III. Mr Williams, the ſubject of the preſent article, being youngeſt of five ſons (b), his education fell to the ſhare of his grandmother, who was daughter of Sir William Griffyth, Knt. late of Penryn; and this gentlewoman very gladly embraced the opportunity that offered of ſending her grandſon to Ruthyn in Denbighſhire, to a grammar-ſchool founded that year by Dr Gabriel Goodman [*A*], Dean of Weſtminſter, who had likewiſe appointed her kinſman, Mr Robert Griffyth, the firſt maſter. Mr Williams could not be leſs than thirteen years of age when he came to this ſchool; however he retrieved that diſadvantage by the quick progreſs he made through it. For though his ſpirit could not be confined to a conſtant regular attendance, and indeed no boy play'd truant ſo often as he [*B*], yet when returned to his book, he plied it ſo much to the purpoſe, and made ſuch ſwift advances, that no boy was able to keep pace with him. He was head ſcholar when Dr Richard Vaughan, then lately made Biſhop

N. B. Moſt of the particulars of this article are taken from Bp Hacket's life of the Abp.

(a) i. e. In modern Welſh, Vaughan.

(b) Beſides theſe brothers he had two ſiſters. Hacket.

[*A*] *A ſchool founded by Dr Gabriel Goodman.*] This worthy gentleman was made Dean of Weſtminſter in 1561, to which he was promoted from a prebend of the twelfth ſtall in that church (1). He was a great patron to Mr Camden (2), and defrayed the expence of his travels through ſeveral parts of England, for the compoſing and perfecting of his *Britannia* (3). He died in 1607 (4), having been ſucceeded in the deanery by Dr Lancelot Andrews, afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter, in 1597. Some few years before, 1580, he founded a ſcholarſhip in St John's college, Cambridge, to which Mr Richard Neile, afterwards our Archbiſhop's immediate predeceſſor in the ſee of York, was admitted, in purſuance of the following letter.

'To the Maſter and Fellows of St John's college.

'*Salutem in Chriſto*,

'Whereas Richard Lockſmith, one of the two 'ſcholars of your late By-foundation, is otherwiſe 'placed; I am required by the foundreſs, Lady Mildred Boughley (5), to recommend unto you in the 'place of the ſaid Lockman the bearer hereof, Richard Neile, a poor and fatherleſs child of good hope 'to be learned, and to continue therein; requiring 'you that he may receive and enjoy all ſuch profits 'and commodities as ſhall be due unto him with your 'favours. God proſper you and your charge with his 'grace, and encreaſe of vertue and learning. From 'Weſtm. College, 16th of April, 1580.

'GABRIEL GOODMAN (6).'

[*B*] *No boy played truant ſo often as he.*] It was owing to this playful diſpoſition that he became *eunuchus pene ab utero* (7). When he was about ſeven years of age, he took a leap, being then in long coats, from the walls of Conway town to the ſea-ſhore, thinking that the wind, which was then very ſtrong, would fill his coats like a ſail, and bear him up, as it did his playfellows; but he found himſelf miſtaken, for lighting upon his belly on a big ragged ſtone, the fall cauſed, ſays Dr Hacket, a ſecret infirmity, better to be underſtood than deſcribed; and want of timely remedy, the ſkill of good ſurgery being little known in that climate, continued it to his dying day.

(1) Athen. Oxon. vol. I. col. 310.

(2) Camden's Britannia, in Middleſex, under the diſcourſe of Weſtminſter.

(3) Sir Ant. Weldon's Review of the court of K. James, MS. p. 19.

(4) Wood's Faſti, vol. I. col. 122.

(5) Though Dr Goodman by a compliment gives it to Lady B. yet it was really his own foundation. Hacket.

(6) Idem, who ſays, he was a ſcholar, a gentleman, and a chriſtian.

(7) Arthur Wilſon roundly ſays, he was *eunuchus ab utero*. Life of K. James, p. 196. edit. 1653. fol. but in this he was miſtaken, though it appears he came near the truth.

of Bangor [C], happened to make a viſit to this new foundation, and finding his young kinſman ripe for the univerſity, preſently ſent him to St John's College in Cambridge, where he was admitted in 1598, under the tuition of Mr Owen Gwyn, another of his relations (c); and he became a ſcholar of the houſe the 5th of November in the following year (d). It was obſerved, that he brought with him hither more Latin and Greek than good Engliſh; and the ſhame of his Welſh dialect proved a lucky check upon the ſociableneſs of his temper; for avoiding company on that account, he kept cloſe to his ſtudies, and being happy in a conſtitution that required no more than three hours ſleep in the twenty-four to keep him in perfect health, he read over the beſt authors in ſeveral ſciences, together with the moſt conſiderable hiſtorians and poets, Greek and Latin, while he was yet under-graduate; and his genius was likewiſe ſoon obſerved to be above the ordinary level; but he was moſt of all diſtinguiſhed by a ready and retentive memory (e). He proceeded Bachelor of Arts the latter end of the year 1602, and in leſs than a month, *viz.* on the 14th of April 1603, was elected into a foundation-fellowſhip for the dioceſe of Bangor (f), and nominated Senior of his election by the favour of K. James I. [D] In 1604, his patron Dr Richard Vaughan, being promoted to the ſee of London (g), gave his kinſman an invitation to his palace there in vacation-times. This kindneſs proved of great ſervice to our ſtudent, who thereby began to ſhake off the aukward addreſs of the collegian, and to acquire a more courtly manner. Here he likewiſe became known to John Lord Lumley, who received him as a relation, and never diſmiſſed him without a preſent of ten pieces, and afterwards gave him ſeveral valuable books, both printed and manuſcripts, out of his curious library [E]. By this means, when Mr Williams commenced Maſter of Arts in 1605, he indulged his natural humour, and treated his friends at the commencement in a ſplendid manner above the common practice. As ſoon as he had completed this degree, he entered ſeriouſly upon the ſtudy of divinity, and having employed two years in reading the bible with the beſt commentators, he undertook the ſchoolmen, the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, and the fathers. In the ſtudy of which his manner was, to allot one month to each, whereby he found variety almoſt as much refreſhing as ceſſation from labour: In ſuch a method he was likewiſe ſure to return to none of theſe courſes of learning as a ſtranger, making his ſpaces of abſence from none of them any longer than thoſe monthly revolutions: however, as he obſerved, *viam ſibi reperit uſus*: and he liked his own method ſo well, that he was conſtant to it for thirteen years, until he was called off by his ſecular employments, and when he was diſcharged of them, he fell again to run round with his former courſes. But though he made divinity his chief ſtudy, yet he did not neglect other acquiſitions and accompliſhments. He had been early inſtructed in mathematicks by the celebrated Mr Edward Briggs, then fellow of his college. He was particularly fond of metaphyſicks, and remarkably well verſed in that ſcience (h). Beſides theſe he acquired ſome ſkill in muſick, both vocal and inſtrumental, and a tolerable knowledge of the French language. Theſe

(c) His mother was Mary, a daughter of Owen Wyn, eſq; ibid.

(d) His life by Ambroſe Philips, Cambr. 1703. 8vo. 2d edition, p. 5.

(e) Hacket.

(f) From the college-regiſter.

(g) He was conſecrated to that ſee Decem. 20. Le Neve, p. 82.

(h) He defended the uſe and advantage of this ſcience publickly in the ſchools, when he was proctor. Hacket.

[C] *Dr Richard Vaughan*, &c.] He was our author's countryman, born in the ſame county, and educated in St John's college (8). He was conſecrated Biſhop of Bangor this year, 1595, on January 25th (9). Mr Wood obſerves, that he was ſucceſſively Biſhop of Bangor, Cheſter, and London, during which time he was accounted an excellent preacher, and a pious liver. He ſeems to have been a great encourager of his ſchool at Ruthyn, the third maſter of which, Gabriel Powel, he took to be his chaplain, who being puritanically inclined, gives ſome room to ſuppoſe the Biſhop a little leaning to thoſe principles, and that he inſtilled the ſame into Mr Williams.

(8) Wood's Faſti, vol. I. p. 127.

(9) Le Neve's Lives of the Proteſtant Biſhops, vol. I. part i. p. 58. edit. 1720. 8vo.

[D] *Senior of his election*, &c.] This appears by a letter of our author written to that King two and twenty years after, wherein he reminds his Majeſty, that *his gracious letters conferred that bloſſom of his firſt preferment upon him* (10).

(10) Hacket, p. 10.

[E] *Lord John Lumley's curious library.*] This Lord had married his ſiſter Barbara to Mr Llhuid, the antiquarian, whom he made uſe of in collecting his library (11). Mr Llhuid was a very learned man, and coadjutor to Mr Camden, who ſtiles him a learned Briton (12), and for knowledge in antiquities reputed by our countryman to carry after a ſort with him all the credit and honour. He was born at Denbigh, about the year 1526, and bred at Oxford a Commoner of Brazen Noſe college, commenced A. M. in 1551. He ſtudied phyſic and practiſed at Denbigh, diverting his leiſure hours with muſic, being eſteemed a well bred gentleman. Mr Wood ſays, he was a perſon of great eloquence, and a ſound philoſopher, beſides a noted antiquarian; and that dying in 1570, he was interred at Whitechurch near Denbigh, ſoon after a monument of alabaſter was ſet in the wall over his grave, repreſenting his effigies in a praying poſture, with a deſk, and a book lying before him, and a ſword by his ſide, but nothing elſe military in his habit. Underneath is a plain free ſtone, inſcribed with eight barbarous Engliſh verſes; the two firſt of which ran thus:

The corps and earthly ſhape doth reſt
Here tomy'd in your ſight,
Of Humfrey Lloid, Maſter of Art,
A famous worthy wight.

He wrote, (1.) *An Almanack and Calendar, ſhewing the changes of the moon for ever, and the ſign ſhe is in for three years, with the natures of the ſigns and planets*, &c. (2.) *Commentarioli Britanniæ deſcriptionis fragmentum*, dedicated to his dear and intimate friend Abr. Ortelius, of Antwerp, in 1568. It was tranſlated into Engliſh by Tho. Twyne, who entitles it *The Breviary of Britain*. Lond. 1573. 8vo. (3.) *De Mona Druidum inſula antiquitati ſuæ reſtituta*, written likewiſe to Ortelius, dated 5 April 1568. (4.) *De Armamentario Romano*. Theſe two laſt are printed at the end of *Hiſtoriæ Britannicæ Defenſio*, written by Sir John Riſe. Lond. 1573. 4to. (5.) *Chronicon Walliæ a Rege Cadwalladero uſq; ad Ann. Dom.* 1295. *MS in Cotton Library under Caligula.* (6.) He alſo tranſlated into Engliſh from the Latin, 1. *The Judgment of Urines*. Lond. 1551. 8vo. 2. *The Hiſtory of Cambria, now called Wales*; afterwards corrected, augmented, finiſhed, and continued, by David Powel, Lond. 1584. 4to. 3. *The Treaſure of Health, containing many profitable Medicines*. Lond. 1585. 8vo. written by Petrus Hiſpanus; to which our author added the cauſes and ſigns of every diſeaſe, with the *Aphoriſms of Hippocrates* (13).—So much was thought proper to ſay of Mr Humfrey Lloyd, by whoſe ſkill and diligence is owing the noble collection of books in the Lumleian library, which being purchaſed by King James I. and repoſited in St James's palace for the uſe of his ſon Prince Henry, was the firſt foundation of what was afterwards called *the King's Library*, and makes now a principal part of the *Britiſh Muſæum* (14).

(11) Idem, p. 11.

(12) Britan. ch. i. de primis incolis, & c. iv. de nomine Britan.

(13) Athen. Oxon. vol. I. col. 164, 165.

(14) See Patrick Young's article.

ſeveral attainments, accompanied with a more polite addreſs than is uſually ſeen in cloſe academical ſtudents, and joined to the advantage of being known to ſome people of high ſtation, to whom he had been occaſionally introduced by the Biſhop of London, brought him into conſiderable repute and eſteem in his ſociety; inſomuch that in 1607, being not above 25 years of age, he was pitched upon as the fitteſt perſon to carry a meſſage upon ſome college-affairs to the Earl of Saliſbury (*i*), then Chancellor of that Univerſity. In 1609, having loſt three of his principal friends [*F*], he entered into holy orders, and to improve himſelf in the gift of preaching took a ſmall living (*k*). In the mean time he had ſucceeded ſo well with his late meſſage to Lord Saliſbury, that he was frequently delegated by the college on the like occaſions to other great perſonages, as to the Lord Chancellor Egerton, and Archbiſhop Bancroft; and his prudent addreſs in diſcharge of theſe truſts proved not more ſerviceable to the college than to himſelf. In 1610 he preached on Luke xvi. 22. before the Univerſity at St Mary's church, with great applauſe, as he did eight months after at Royſton before the King, when Prince Henry being preſent, was ſo much pleaſed with his ſermon, that he promiſed to prefer him. Another time being deputed by the ſociety for their agent to the court, to petition the King for a mortmain, his Majeſty not only granted the ſuit, but was ſtruck with ſomething he obſerved very pleaſing in the ſuitor (*l*), and ſome time after gave him the rectory of Grafton Regis in Northamptonſhire, to which he was inſtituted May 3, 1611 (*m*). At Midſummer the ſame year, he was recommended to be Chaplain to the Lord Chancellor Egerton, who likewiſe at his requeſt excuſed his attendance at York-houſe for the firſt year, that he might not loſe the benefit of the Proctor's place in the univerſity, which office regularly devolved upon him at Michaelmas following, as ſenior of his election in the college (*n*); an advantage that, as is obſerved above, he owed to the King's letter ſent to the ſociety in his favour. Soon after Chriſtmas, the Duke of Wirtemburgh making a viſit to the univerſity, was entertained by the King's orders with an academical diſputation, wherein our Proctor preſiding as Moderator, artfully took care to make his deciſions in the words and upon the authority of the German authors in logic (*o*), which induced the Duke to take him in his coach to Newmarket, and there preſent him to the King, with a particular encomium of his courtly addreſs in thoſe diſputations. The Earl of Saliſbury, Chancellor of Cambridge, dying May 4th this year, the ſucceeding election furniſhed Mr Williams with an opportunity of ſerving the univerſity by the ſhare he then had in the King's favour; which he likewiſe greatly improved by unriddling one of his Majeſty's ænigmatical expreſſions [*G*]: and afterwards being, though junior Proctor, elected Father of the Act, which was honoured with the preſence of many noblemen and gentry, he gave ſo ſumptuous an entertainment, that the Prevaricator, in the humour of thoſe days, ſtyled him *Titus Largius Primus Dictator Romanorum*; and the Act was ſcarce well over, when he was inſtituted to the rectory of Grafton Underwood in Northamptonſhire, at the preſentation of Edward Earl of Worceſter (*p*). Soon after the Commencement he went to London, to perform his duty at York-houſe; but, in ſeven months time, was recalled by the particular requeſt of the univerſity to Lord Elleſmere, occaſioned by a letter received from his Majeſty, giving them notice to prepare for the reception of the Prince Palatine (*q*) in a fortnight's time. Notwithſtanding this ſhort warning, Mr Williams performed his exerciſe, and took his degree of B. D. before the arrival of that Prince [*H*], that he might appear more regularly as firſt opponent in the divinity

(*i*) Hacket, p. 17.

(*k*) Probably Fakenhall, beyond St Edmund's Bury in the confines of Norfolk, for which place he teſtified a kind remembrance after he became Lord Keeper, in applying to Sir Lionel Talmaſh for 100l. to purchaſe 6l. a year for the poor of that pariſh. Ibid. p. 19.

(*l*) K. James told him of it when he became his principal officer of ſtate. Ib. p. 18.

(*m*) Le Neve, ſupra, part 2. p. 156.

(*n*) By the rule obſerved in that ſociety, which not improbably might be erected by Bp Vaughan, when he procured him this ſeniority.

(*o*) As Keckerman and others.

(*p*) Le Neve, as before.—Bp Hacket ſays it was in exchange for another given to that earl by Lord Elleſmere.

(*q*) Upon his marriage with the Princeſs Elizabeth, from which match deſcends the preſent royal family.

[*F*] *Having loſt three of his principal friends.*] Theſe were Biſhop Vaughan, Lord Lumley, and Dr Tho. Playfere. The firſt died in the beginning of the year 1607, the ſecond in 1609. His Lordſhip was buried in the church of Cheam in Surrey, where Mr Williams firſt made his Lordſhip's generoſity to him known to Dr Hacket, who was then miniſter of that place, and gives this Lord the character of a ſcholar, a gentleman, and a chriſtian. The third, Dr Tho Playfere, was Margaret Profeſſor of Divinity at Cambridge, and being Fellow of St John's college, had the chief hand in procuring Mr Williams's preferment there. He died in the latter end of the year 1608; and our author, in a grateful reſpect to his memory, made an elegant Latin ſpeech (15) over his corpſe in the college chapel, from whence it was carried to St Botolph's church in Cambridge, and interred there.

(15) Dr Hacket, who heard it, ſpeaks highly in its praiſe.

[*G*] *He unriddled one of his Majeſty's ænigmatical expreſſions.*] The major part of the univerſity put up the old Earl of Northampton, who being known to be very rich, it was hoped would be induced by this compliment to become a benefactor to that body; accordingly the election was carried for him. But ſome forward perſons there, thinking to make their court to his Majeſty, named the Duke of York (afterwards King Charles I.) which being done ſuddenly, and the Duke being then only twelve years of age (16), there happened to be very few votes for him. When this came to the King's ears, he was much diſpleaſed with the univerſity, eſpecially for ſetting up his ſon without having acquainted his Majeſty with it. Upon this occaſion, no one was thought ſo likely to meet with a good reception at court as our *Prætor*; and being diſpatched thither, was favourably received by his Majeſty, who appeared to be wholly reconciled, upon hearing from him a true repreſentation of the matter: and the Earl of Northampton having declined the offer of the chancellorſhip, in reſpect, as he ſaid, to Prince Charles, the univerſity, in this meſſage, applied to his Majeſty to nominate a fit perſon for their choice; in return to which he ſent orders for them to proceed to a new election, declaring *he would make the perſon elected to hold it*. Here being no explicit deſignation of any particular perſon, the univerſity were ſtill much perplexed how to proceed, till Mr Williams luckily conjectured that the words *he would make them hold it*, muſt needs be pointed to the Earl of Northampton, who had juſt before refuſed to hold it; this interpretation was approved; that Earl was accordingly re-elected; and his Majeſty, as ſoon as he had notice of it, was greatly ſatisfied, and acknowledged *that* was his meaning in the words.

(16) Prince Henry was then Prince of Wales.

[*H*] *He took the degree of B. D.*] As ſoon as he came to Cambridge, he ſtarted this difficulty of his having no degree in divinity; upon which Dr Richards bid him prepare his theſis, and ſhew up his queſtions, and to prevent any hindrance that might be put to it by the King's Profeſſor, Dr Davenant, on account of the ſhort notice, promiſed that, if the queſtions were brought to him but three days before the diſputation, he divinity diſputations performed for the entertainment of his Electoral Highneſs; in which he executed his part ſo well, as to gain thereby the friendſhip and patronage of Dr James Mountague, Biſhop of Bath and Wells, who happened to be preſent; and before the expiration of the year he was admitted into the archdeaconry of Caermarthen [*I*], February 11th. He had not been long with the Lord Elleſmere before he became his principal favourite [*K*], to whom he made himſelf in a manner neceſſary, by an indefatigable induſtry, conducted with the moſt artful addreſs in procuring the beſt and earlieſt intelligence for his ſervice from the court, both of the King and alſo of Prince Henry, whoſe death happening (*r*) within four months after Mr Williams entered upon this office, proved a loſs, which in that view was more ſenſibly felt by him; yet his ready wit ſuggeſted other ways to ſupply theſe uſeful expedients (*s*), the fruits of which were ſeen in the following preferments. December the 29th, 1613, he was inſtalled by proxy Precentor of the cathedral of Lincoln (*t*); and May the 4th, 1614, he was inſtituted to the rectory of Waldgrave in Northamptonſhire, at the preſentation of Dr Richard Neile, Biſhop of Lincoln (*u*). The ſame year, before the 3d of January, he reſigned the archdeaconry of Caermarthen, and was collated to a prebend and reſidentiaryſhip in the church of Lincoln, and to a prebend in thoſe of Peterborow, Hereford, and St David's (*w*); and, beſides all theſe, had a *ſine-cure* in Wales, equal in point of profit to any of his other preferments, being the gift of the Lord Chancellor (*x*) [*L*], by whoſe munificence in the ſpace of five years he likewiſe raiſed himſelf an ample fortune in caſh. Neither was he wanting to his friends while he lived in this ſtation; we are aſſured by Biſhop Hacket (*y*), that he procured from the Chancellor livings for ſeveral clergymen of merit in the univerſity of Cambridge, to whom he likewiſe opened his purſe freely, if wanted. To theſe, as alſo to all others in general that applied to him, he was always ready to give his aſſiſtance in any difficulties of law: Inſomuch that many Biſhops and Chapters of cathedral churches employed him to manage their law-ſuits, being very expert in bringing them to a final termination with the leaſt expence. His ſituation gave him an opportunity of informing himſelf in the buſineſs of his maſter's office, and he improved it by reading books upon that ſubject; in which ſtudy he had the aſſiſtance of Sir John Walker, afterwards Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer. In the midſt of all theſe employments, he ſtill kept on his rounds in the ſtudy of the Fathers, and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory and antiquities; and in this laſt branch eſpecially he had now the advantage of diſcourſing often with three of the moſt learned men that England ever bred, Sir Henry Spelman, Sir Robert Cotton, and Mr Selden. Toward the latter end of the year 1615, the Lord Chancellor being, through age and infirmities, wholly confined to his houſe, Mr Williams was intruſted by him in carrying meſſages upon buſineſs to the King, who on theſe occaſions took notice, that the chaplain was principled by his maſter to be a ſtateſman and a pillar of the kingdom; and his Lordſhip, a very little before the day of his death, called Mr Williams to him, and told him, *If he wanted money, he would leave him ſuch a legacy in his will, as would furniſh him to live in the world like a gentleman.* Sir, ſaid the chaplain, *I kiſs your hands; you have filled my cap full. I am far from want, unleſs it be of your Lordſhip's directions how to live in the world if I ſurvive you.* *Well*, ſays his Lordſhip, *I know you are an expert workman: Take theſe tools to work with; they are the beſt I have.* So he gave him ſome books and papers written all with his own hand [*M*]. Nor did the chaplain fall ſhort of the preſage of his noble Lord and patron in the uſe of them. However, when

(*r*) He died Nov. 6, 1612. Gen. Hiſt. of England.

(*s*) This is a diſtinguiſhing part of his character. He conſtantly afterwards made uſe of the ſame quickening ſpur on the like occaſions, and valued himſelf upon this part of his wit.

(*t*) Willis's Cathedrals.

(*u*) Le Neve, vol. 2. p. 197.

(*w*) Wharton's Defence of Pluralities, edit. 1692. 8vo. p. 12.

(*x*) Philips's life of our author, p. 43.

(*y*) p. 29.

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he would appear in the room of Dr Davenant. This offer was accepted by Mr Williams, who at the time agreed on gave up the following queſtions. 1. *Peccata ſemel remiſſa nunquam redeant.* 2. *Qui ſacros ordines ſuſceperunt famulari poſſunt magnatibus, ut fructus eccleſiaſticos percipiant.*

[*I*] *He was admitted into the archdeaconry of Caermarthen.*] Dr Hacket tells us (17), that our author gained ſo much by his engaging wit and decent behaviour, at the time of his ſpeaking before Archbiſhop Bancroft upon the college affairs, that two years before he was Bachelor of Divinity, that prelate ſent for him, and of his own free-will gave him the advowſon of an archdeaconry in Wales, Cardigan, ſays he, to the beſt of my remembrance; but Dr Browne Willis, having made ſtrict ſearch into this matter, places him in the archdeaconry of Caermarthen, and ſays he was admitted to it February the 11th 1612, and reſigned it before January the 3d 1614 (18); which agrees with what Dr Hacket obſerves (19) of his being in the Convocation in 1613.

[*K*] *He became Lord Elleſmere's favourite.*] This Lord had been choſen Chancellor of Oxford in November 1610, and he had not been long with him when Dr King, Biſhop of London, uſed pleaſantly to call our Chaplain Chancellor of Oxford; his maſter generally making uſe of his aſſiſtance in the management of all affairs relating to that office (20).

[*L*] *All given him by the Lord Chancellor.*] Mr Le Neve having found (21) in the *Libr. Inſtitut. Petriburg.* that Mr Williams was preſented to Waldgrave by Mr Neile, which was then void by the reſignation of Will. Bate, continues thus: 'I have been the more 'particular in this article, becauſe Mr Philips, p. 43. 'ſays, that his patron (meaning the Lord Chancellor 'Egerton) gave him the parſonage of Waldgrave in 'Northamptonſhire, and by his intereſt got him the 'rectory of Grafton Underwood in the ſame county.' But this ſeeming difference is adjuſted by Dr Hacket, who obſerves, that the Lord Chancellor not chooſing to preſent the ſame perſon to two livings, did, out of the value he had for his chaplain, allow him in this caſe to procure a change with another perſon.

[*M*] *The Chancellor gave him MSS of his own writing.*] Biſhop Hacket, who ſaw the notes, informs us, that they were his Lordſhip's own collections for the well ordering of the high court of Parliament, the court of Chancery, the Star-chamber, and the Council board (22); ſo, ſays the Biſhop, he had a good ſtock to ſet up with, and I don't doubt but the marrow of Mr Williams's politics was drawn from the Lord Egerton's papers. The Biſhop likewiſe, by way of confirmation, mentions ſeveral rules, concerning the conduct of the judges in theſe courts, and eſpecially in Chancery, in theſe MSS, which were obſerved by our Keeper (23). This great and good patron dying March 15, 1616, his chaplain attended his corpſe to its interment among his anceſtors in Cheſhire, and mourned for him long after (24).

(17) Ubi ſupra, p. 17.

(18) Willis's Cathedrals, vol. III.

(19) p. 17. as before.

(20) Idem.

(21) See his Life of our Archbiſhop, p. 157.

(22) Theſe are meant by Mr Wood, when he tells us that Egerton left four MSS. of choice collections, fit to be printed, concerning, 1. the prerogative royal, 2. privileges of parliament, 3. proceedings in Chancery, 4. the power of the Star-chamber. Ath. Ox. vol. I. col. 418.

(23) David Lloyd tells us, that my Lord gave him four books, which he preſented afterwards to the King. Memoirs, &c. p. 375.

(24) Philips, p. 43.

his

his ſucceſſor to the great ſeal, Sir Francis Bacon, who knew Mr Williams's merit [*N*], made him an offer to continue him in his former ſtation at York-houſe, he declined it, but accepted the office of a Juſtice of Peace of the *Quorum* in Northamptonſhire, which was given him by the new Keeper. He was preparing for his journey, when his friend Dr Montague, now Biſhop of Wincheſter (*z*), preſented him to his Majeſty, who appointed him his Chaplain in ordinary, with a command to attend upon him in his northern progreſs, to begin in April following; and the King told him pleaſantly, *that he might expect the labourer's penny as ſoon as they who had ſerved him longer.* But the Biſhop obtained of his Majeſty that Mr Williams might ſtay to take his Doctor's degree, and give entertainment to Marco Antonio de Dominis, Archbiſhop of Spalato, who was newly come to England, and deſigned to be at Cambridge commencement the next July, 1617, when Mr Williams accordingly commenced D. D. (*aa*) and immediately after went to reſide at his rectory of Waldgrave [*O*], which, by building, gardening, and planting before he came, he had made a very pleaſant ſituation. Here he lived in the greateſt hoſpitality, without neglecting to diſcharge faithfully the duties of a good pariſh prieſt. However, his chaplain's place requiring him to take the courſe of his attendance at court, he preached a ſermon (*bb*) before the King, at Theobalds, in 1610, which was printed by order of his Majeſty, who the ſame year, being upon his northern progreſs, collated him, September 10th (*cc*), to the deanery of Saliſbury, void by the death of Dr Gordon. This was the firſt ſtep to which no hand helped him but the King's (*dd*) [*P*]; for he had hitherto judged it imprudent to make his court to the Marquis of Buckingham [*Q*], both on account of the unlikelihood there was that ſo great a favourite ſhould hold his ſituation long without a fall, in which caſe he ſhould think himſelf obliged in honour to follow his fortune; and likewiſe by reaſon of the fickleneſs of that favourite's temper in particular. But he had not been long poſſeſſed of this deanery [*R*], when being

(*z*) He had been confirmed in that biſhoprick, Oct. 3. preceding.— Le Neve, vol. 1. p. 95.

(*aa*) The queſtions which he maintained for this degree were, 1. 'Supremus magiſtratus non eſt excommunicabilis.' 2. 'Subductio calicis eſt mutilatio ſacramenti & ſacerdotii.' The firſt againſt the Puritans, the ſecond againſt the Papiſts.

(*bb*) On Matth. xi. 8.

(*cc*) He was inſtalled in the middle of October following. Le Neve, vol. 2. p. 161.

(*dd*) Bp Montague died the 19th July that ſummer.

[*N*] *Sir Francis Bacon knew Mr Williams's merit.*] Bacon, then Attorney General, made frequent viſits to his predeceſſor in the laſt ſtage of his life; and though Lord Elleſmere might make him the compliment of wiſhing him to ſucceed to the ſeals, yet the Attorney, it can't be denied, ſhewed himſelf very forward (25) in that point, which could hardly eſcape the knowledge of Mr Williams, who, as has been obſerved, kept ſo good a watch upon every thing relating to his patron; and this extraordinary eagerneſs ſeeming to imply a wiſh at leaſt that his predeceſſor was out of it, might well give Mr Williams ſome diſguſt, and be one motive for refuſing the offer of being his chaplain.

[*O*] *He went to his rectory of Waldgrave.*] He had made this place fit and pleaſant for all ſeaſons of the year; and he provided a choice collection of books, to which he applied himſelf very cloſely, that nothing but the great temperance in his diet (26) could have preſerved his body from the decay that this intenſe ſtudy muſt neceſſarily have brought upon him. He read prayers conſtantly upon Wedneſdays and Fridays, expounding the Catechiſm in Lent, and upon the holidays, and preached duly twice every Sunday at Waldgrave, or at Grafton; performing his turn too at Kettering, a market town hard by, in a Lecture ſupplied by the beſt divines thereabout. It was a common ſaying of his, that the beſt way to get credit with the Nonconformiſts, was to outpreach them; and ſo well was his preaching liked, that his church uſed to be thronged with gentry of the neighbouring pariſhes as well as his own. However, the moſt remarkable thing of him while he reſided here, was his ſumptuous houſekeeping, which brought him great numbers of viſitants among the nobility and gentry, and both rich and poor clergy, who reſorted frequently to his houſe, not ſo much for the ſake of his table, as for the diverting entertainments of his good concerts of muſic; for he kept with him the beſt voices and inſtruments he could get, being extraordinary fond of this kind of entertainment, in which he was able to bear a part himſelf. And as by theſe means he obliged the gentry, ſo he purchaſed the prayers of the poor by his charity, being conſtant in viſiting the poorer pariſhioners; in their ſickneſs praying with them and bleſſing them, ſupplying them alſo with money, and very often paying their apothecaries bills. He was alſo much reſpected and beloved in his office of juſtice of the peace, by his reſolved courage in maintaining the rights of the clergy, and by reconciling private quarrels among his neighbours, even at the expence of ſometimes paying all, or good part at leaſt, of the damages demanded by the injured perſon (27).

[*P*] *To which no hand helped him but the King's.*] Mr Le Neve relates this matter thus: Though many ſtirred in it, yet the King put them all by, ſent for Dr Williams, and gave it him; to which he was collated and inſtalled, as above: and hereupon (continues he) ſays the Oxford Antiquary, vol. I. p. 803. he reſigned the ſacerdotal rectory of the Savoy, which was conferred on the Archbiſhop of Spalato. The firſt volume of Wood's Athen. Oxon. is here referred to, which volume, at leaſt in the ſecond edition, does not contain ſo many pages. And the ſame antiqary informs us, in vol. II. p. 76. that the Archbiſhop of Spalato was poſſeſſed of that place long before. It ſeems this Archbiſhop having heard Mr Williams perform his exerciſe for his doctor's degree at the Cambridge commencement, went thence to Oxford, where he heard Dr Daniel Fairclough, or Featly, keep a diſputation for his doctor's degree, when he puzzled Prideaux, the King's Profeſſor, ſo much, that a quarrel was raiſed between the diſputants, which the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (28) was in a manner forced to compoſe, for his chaplain's ſake. The Archbiſhop of Spalato being alſo preſent at the diſputation, was ſo much taken with Featly's arguments, that he forthwith gave him a brother's place in the Savoy-hoſpital near London, he being then Maſter thereof.

[*Q*] *He thought it imprudent to make his court to Buckingham.*] I can't help thinking that theſe prudential reaſons alledged to his friend Dr Hacket by our author, might owe their birth to a certain diſguſt which he took to the Marquis, from what he muſt have obſerved of that favourite's behaviour with reſpect to Lord Elleſmere. For though Sir Anthony Weldon's cenſures (29), that Buckingham, in order to vex the very ſoul of the Lord Chancellor Egerton, ſent Bacon to him for the ſeal, and that the dying Chancellor hated that Bacon ſhould be his ſucceſſor, are both abſolutely falſe in fact, yet theſe falſehoods were no doubt raiſed upon the credit of the Marquis's known diſlike of the Chancellor; and nothing can be more certain in hiſtory, than that the Attorney General was encouraged by the Marquis in treading ſomewhat indecently, as he did, upon Egerton's heels long enough before his death.

[*R*] *He had not been long poſſeſſed of that deanery.*] He very rarely went to Saliſbury, on account of ſome inconveniences which he met with there. The Reſidentiaries of that church, through the indolence of his predeceſſor, had got poſſeſſion of more power than he thought was their right; and finding he ſhould unavoidably, if he lived among them, be drawn into ſome conteſts, he choſe to give no occaſion for ſuch by keeping away; and no doubt he was confirmed in this purpoſe by the proſpect which was preſently offered to him of a ſpeedy removal by the favour of the Marquis of Buckingham. It was while he held this deanery, that he employed Mr John Lamb, a Proctor, in two cauſes that were brought into the ſpiritual court at that time; and being pleaſed with his management,

(25) See ſeveral letters in the 4th vol. of Lord Bacon's works, ed. 1730. folio.

(26) To which muſt be added a conſtitution able to go through the greateſt fatigue in that way.

(27) Philips, p. 255. & ſeqq.

(28) Namely Abbot, whoſe domeſtick chaplain Featly then was, as well as Rector of Lambeth.

(29) Court and Character of K. James, p. 115, edit. 1651.

being in waiting upon his Majeſty then at Royſton, in the abſence of the Marquis, the King abruptly, without any relation to the ſubject then in diſcourſe, aſked him, *when he was with Buckingham? Sir*, ſaid the Doctor, *I have had no buſineſs to reſort to his Lordſhip. But*, replied the King, *whereſoever he is, you muſt preſently go to him on my meſſage.* On the delivery of this meſſage the Doctor being graciouſly received by the Marquis, determined to comply with the King's pleaſure thus intimated to him; and ſoon engaged the Marquis's beſt regards by ſmoothing a rub, which the Marquis had met with, in ſolliciting his match with the Earl of Rutland's daughter [*S*]. After this can it be ſurprizing to find Doctor Williams making a very quick progreſs to the height of all that could be in his utmoſt ambition? Accordingly the deanery of Weſtminſter becoming void this year, he eaſily obtained it of his new patron [*T*]; and gladly quitting Saliſbury, was inſtalled into this, July 10th or 12th, 1620 *(ee)*. This place was very agreeable to his humour, and he greatly improved both the church, the college, and the ſchool [*U*]. While he was thus employed, Chancellor Bacon being deprived of the great ſeal, for corruption, in May 1621 *(ff)*, the Maquis of Buckingham, a few days after, deſired the Dean to draw up in writing a ſtate of the juſt profits of that place; which being readily

(ee) Le Neve, ubi ſupra.

(ff) The letter diſmiſſing him is dated on the 6th of that month.

ment therein, he took him into his favour. This was very lucky for Mr Lamb: for when ſeveral complaints of extortion were brought ſome time after againſt him, and being ſigned by all the juſtices of the county, were intended to be laid before the houſe of Commons, his friend Dr Williams not only prevented that deſign, but when the Proctor got poſſeſſion of a higher office in the ſpiritual court, this friend procured him a doctor of law's degree at Cambridge, and likewiſe the honour of knighthood from his Majeſty (30).

(30) Hacket, part i. p. 37. The reaſon of taking this notice of Lamb here will be ſeen hereafter.

[*S*] *Sollicited his match with the Earl of Rutland's daughter.*] That old Earl at this juncture, was much offended with the Marquis, who he thought puſhed the match with more boldneſs than the reſpect due to his daughter, conſidering the very great fortune he could give her, fairly demanded. Here the Dean of Saliſbury ſtept in, and by his engaging wit and decent behaviour preſently reconciled the Earl to the King's firſt favourite, which was the eaſier effected, as the Dean found the Lady's affections already ſecured; beſides Waldgrave was not beyond the bounds of the Earl's neighbourhood, and the Rector was well known and eſteemed by him. He likewiſe removed another obſtacle which ſtuck with his Majeſty in the way of this match on account of this heireſs's religion, and brought her Ladyſhip from the church of Rome into the faith and profeſſion of the church of England; and to confirm his convert, he afterwards inſcribed a letter to her, containing the elements of the true religion (31). However, after the Marquis's death, ſhe returned to the church of Rome §.

(31) There were 12 copies printed, but without his name, only, By an old prebend of Weſtminſter. Dr Hacket had one copy, and once deſigned to inſert it at the end of his life; but it ſeems afterwards changed his mind, for no ſuch thing appears there.

§ See the article of the duke her firſt conſort.

[*T*] *He eaſily obtained it of his patron.*] Dr Hacket has given a copy of the letter he wrote to the Marquis on this occaſion.

[*U*] *He improved the college, the church, and the ſchool.*] His ambition was to emulate two of his predeceſſors, who were very eminent men in their time, namely Dr Lancelot Andrews, for his great care and encouragement of learning in the ſchool, and Abbot Iſlip, for his vaſt expences upon the minſter. As ſoon as he was poſſeſſed of the deanery, there ſcarce paſſed a week, when he was in the college, that he did not go to the ſeveral claſſes, and inſtruct the lads, and take an account of them, that ſo he might countenance and encourage the moſt hopeful and thoſe of the beſt parts (*a*); which notice of his ripened the youth ſo faſt, that the number ſent out to both univerſities was almoſt double to thoſe that had been removed in former elections. In repairs of the abbey, he new-covered the whole body of it, in which he expended 4500 l. of his own money; beſides this, he procured the beſt muſic both for organ and voices that was then poſſible to get. After this, he made a good library out of a waſte room on the eaſt ſide of the cloyſters, and purchaſed the celebrated Mr Becket's books, of Highgate, at the ſum of 500 l. with which he furniſhed his new library, having built deſks to receive them. To theſe he added ſeveral choice manuſcripts and books of his own collecting. And thirdly, as to the college, he diſcharged a debt of 300 l. that had been incurred chiefly through the great increaſe in the price of victuals, which in leſs than ten years had been raiſed to a double proportion. Not long after, he founded four ſcholarſhips; the ſcholars to be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by *violet* gowns, for whoſe maintenance he purchaſed lands. And he did not ſhare his riches among them here, but likewiſe when in theſe days a great part of the liberties of the city were threatened to be cut off by the encroachment of the Lord Steward of the King's Houſhold and the Knight Marſhal, he withſtood them ſtoutly, and would accept of no compoſition to let them ſhare in the privileges which they never had by right, but preſerved the charter of the place intire in its juriſdiction and ancient immunities (32).

(32) Philips, p. 230.

(g) Reckoned worth between 3 and 400 l. a year.

(*a*) This advantage brought ſeveral boys to the ſchool, and among others Mr Edward Rainbow, afterwards Biſhop of Carliſle, an exemplary prelate, whoſe worth deſerves particular notice. He was born April 20. 1608, at a village called Bliton, on the Lindſey coaſt in Linclonſhire, near Gainſborough, where his father (*a*) was then Rector; and having contracted a friendſhip with Dr Williams, ſent him from the free-ſchool at Gainſborough, April 1620, to Peterborough, to be one of the ſcholars of our Dean, who was then a prebendary of that church (*b*); and upon the Dean's promotion to Weſtminſter, Mr Rainbow was ſent to that ſchool, in June 1621; whence, in July 1623, he was removed to Corpus Chriſti college in Oxford (*c*); but in 1625 tranſplanted to Magdalen college in Cambridge, to a ſcholarſhip there founded by Sir Chriſtopher Wray, ſometime Lord Chief Juſtice of England *(d)*. Here having taken both his degrees in arts, he accepted the offer made to him by Sir John Wray to teach a free-ſchool at Kirton, near Bliton, in 1730; but in a little time left that employment, and went to London, where being in holy orders, he officiated three months at Lincoln's Inn; but miſſing the chaplain's place there, was made curate of the Savoy, in June 1633; but on an invitation to come to his college, he returned thither, and was pre-elected a Fellow in November this year, and in 1634 was made actual Fellow. In September the ſame year, he preached at Paul's Croſs; he likewiſe preached before the univerſity, always to a crowded audience; and once, on the failure of the preacher appointed, he went up at the requeſt of the Vicechancellor, and made an extempore diſcourſe to the admiration and ſatisfaction of the audience. In 1635, he began to take pupils *(f)*, and was among others tutor to two ſons of Lord Daincourt, and the two ſons of Theophilus Earl of Suffolk. This brought him into the acquaintance and friendſhip of that Earl, and alſo with the families of Northumberland, Warwick, and Orrery; and Dr Smith, Maſter of the college, dying in 1642, he was preſented by James then Earl of Suffolk, who had been his pupil, to that maſterſhip, in 1642. He commenced D. D. in 1646, but was deprived of his place at Magdalen, for refuſing the proteſtation, or *engagement*, in 1650; after which he was preſented by the Earl of Suffolk to the ſmall living of Little Cheſterton, near Audley Inn, in 1652; and the ſame year he married Elizabeth, daughter of Dr Smith, his predeceſſor in the college. He never ſubmitted to be confirmed by the parliamentary Triers; and in his church uſed a form of prayer compoſed out of thoſe in the liturgy, which the people not knowing, were well pleaſed with; and as he excelled in the pulpit, and catechiſed and inſtructed his flock at their houſes, even procuring their attendance by giving money to the indigent, he was greatly beloved in the pariſh. However, he was called away in 1659 to the rectory of Benefield in Northamptonſhire *(g)*, by the preſentation of the Earl of Warwick, who ſent it to him with an aſſurance that he might hold it without going to the Triers; which favour was procured by the Lord Broghill, and he poſſeſſed it quietly till the Reſtoration, when he was reſtored to his maſterſhip, and made chaplain to King Charles II. in 1660, and Dean of Peterborough the following year. In 1662 he was choſen Vice-chancellor of Cambridge, when he procured for his college a turn in the proctorſhip of the univerſity every ninth year (*b*). He was advanced to the biſhoprick of Carliſle in 1664 (*i*), vacant by the tranſlation to the ſee of York of Dr Stern, with whom he was unavoidably involved in a long law-ſuit for dilapidations, during which he had an offer of being tranſlated to the ſee of Lincoln, by Archbiſhop Sheldon, in 1660; but the deſign miſcarried through the oppoſition of Lady Frances Howard, with whom he had ſome acquaintance and a juſt reſpect before her proſtitution (*k*); but after that, he refuſed all the offered civilities from her; which ſhe reſenting, hindred his removal to Lincoln: ſo that he continued nigh twenty years at Carliſle, in the exemplary exerciſe of all the duties of his function, till his death, which was occaſioned by the gout in his ſtomach, March 26, 1684. He was interred in Dalſton church-yard, April 1. following *(l)*.

(*a*) He was a perſon of learning and virtue, and bred at Chriſt College, Cambridge.

(*b*) Mr Williams took ſcholars at that time.

(*c*) His elder brother was then a fellow there.

(d) That family were particular friends to his father, and Mr Edward Wray was our author's godfather.

(*e*) This ſermon, with two others, are all that were printed of his writings.

(f) He had acquired great reputation in the univerſity, particularly by a *Tripos*-ſpeech ſpoken extempore on another's being ſilenced for his ſcurrility.

(*b*) By the former rule this office came to the college only once in 44 years.

(i) He was conſecrated in July that year by Archbiſhop Sheldon, who afterwards made him an offer of the ſee of Lincoln, but was over-ruled in that deſign.

(*k*) See an account of this infamous lady, in the article of Sir Tho. Overbury.

(l) This account of Biſhop Rainbow is taken from the hiſtory of his life, edit. 1688. 8vo. to which we muſt refer the reader for more particulars of his exemplary behaviour.

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complied with, when the account was peruſed by his Majeſty [*W*], he preſently concluded the author of it to be the fitteſt perſon to execute that great truſt; and accordingly the Dean was ſworn, June 10 following, Lord Keeper of the great ſeal [*X*]; and before the end of that month, was nominated to the biſhoprick of Lincoln, to which he was conſecrated, November 11 (*gg*); and he afterwards prevailed, though not without ſome difficulty, to hold the deanery of Weſtminſter in commendam [*Y*], to which was alſo joined his rectory of Waldgrave, together with the reſidentiaryſhip of Lincoln, and the prebend of Aſgarvey in that church (*hh*). In accepting the Keeper's office, he requeſted and obtained of the King, that the ſeal ſhould not be taken from the Commiſſioners and put into his hands before

(*gg*) Le Neve, p. 161. The congé d'elire is in Rymer's Fœdera, vol. 17. p. 325. upon which he was elected the 3d of Aug.

(*hh*) Wharton's defence of pluralities, p. 13. ed. 1692. 8vo.

[*W*] *The account was peruſed by his Majeſty.*] Some perſons in high ſtation, encouraged by Lord Chancellor Bacon's ſcandalous corruption, were aiming at this time to lop off ſome branches of the juſt perquiſites of the great ſeal; whereupon the King ſet Buckingham to enquire what were the true ancient profits of it. He applied for this purpoſe to Sir Lionel Cranfield, then Maſter of the Wards, who adviſed with our Dean— *A ſudden man*, ſays he, *and ready*; *not apt to clap the ſhackles of delay upon a buſineſs.* He being ſpoke to, and begged to be quick, drew up in writing what he thought of this caſe, and returned the following anſwer immediately on the 10th of May. 'Although the more I examine myſelf, the more unable I am made, to my own judgment, to wade through any part of that great employ which you have vouchſafed to confer with me about; yet becauſe I was bred under this place, and that I am informed my true and noble friend, the Maſter of the Wards, is willing to accept of it (and if it be ſo, I hope your Lordſhip will incline that way) I beg leave to acquaint your Honour, by way of prevention, with ſecret underminings, which will overthrow that office, and make it beggarly and contemptible. The lawful revenue of that office ſtands thus, or not much above at any time, in fines certain 1300 l. or thereabouts, in fines caſual 1250 l. in greater rates 140 l. in impoſt of wines 100 l. In all 2790 l. and theſe are all the true means of that great office.

'Now, I am informed, the Lord Treaſurer begins to intitle the King to the caſual fines and the greater rates, which is a full moiety of the profits of the place, not ſo much to enrich the King, as to bring griſt to his own mill, and to wind from the Chancellor the donation of the Curſitor's places: The preventing the Lord Treaſurer in this caſe made Queen Elizabeth even reſolve ſuddenly upon the diſpoſing of the great ſeal. Likewiſe they are very buſy in the Houſe of Commons (and I ſaw a Bill which is put up to that effect) to ſettle the *Cuſtodes Rotulorum* and the Clerks of the Peace for term of life upon the perſons who now poſſeſs them, which as it is inconvenient, ſo it is very prejudicial and derogating from the next Lord Chancellor. Finally, the under officers have alſo made a petition unto the Lords, and not without encouragement, to have ſome collops of the Chancellor's office; and new devices will daily ſpring up, if the diſpoſing be delayed any longer. Now, I hope, when your Lordſhip ſhall ſee this information, to let the King ſee it, that you will excuſe me for the boldneſs that I am put upon by your great commands.'

We have given this letter, as it is a moſt conſpicuous inſtance of the value of Lord Elleſmere's tools, and likewiſe of the ſkill and abilities of the workman. Upon reading it, King James preſently obſerved, that Queen Elizabeth was inclined in her own judgment that Archbiſhop Whitgift ſhould take the place; who refuſed it on account of his great age, and multitude of eccleſiaſtical offices. But *Whitgift knew not half that this man doth in reference to that office* (33).

(33) Hacket, part 2. p. 83.

[*X*] *He was admitted July 10th following.*] That the ſkill of this workman may be ſtill more conſpicuouſly evident, it will not be amiſs to ſet before the reader his ſpeech that day in Council on this occaſion, wherein will be ſeen how admirably well he hit King James's humour. 'If I ſhould think myſelf,' ſays he, 'worthy or ſufficient for this great place wherein your Majeſty is pleaſed to make probation of me, I were the moſt unworthy and inſufficient wretch in all the world; but in good faith I do not, but am as conſcious of my own weakneſſes as aſtoniſhed at your Majeſty's favour and goodneſs. I do not therefore trouble my head to find the reaſon of this advancement, becauſe I take it for no ordinary effect, but an extraordinary miracle; *Deus & qui Deo proximus tanta munera diſpertit arbitrio & beneficiorum ſuorum indignatos per homines ſtare judicium mavult de ſubditis dediſſe miraculum.* I muſt only lift up my eyes to heaven, and beſeech that God, who ſome ten years ago brought me like Eliſha to be ſervant only unto this Elias, who, under God and your Majeſty, was the chariot and horſemen of our Iſrael, that he would be pleaſed to double the ſpirit of Elias upon his ſervant Eliſha, whom your Majeſty hath thus inveſted with his robe and mantle; and for my eſpecial direction I will take up with that counſel which Plato gave his friend Maximus, while he was exalted Prætor for Achaia, *Meminiſſe oportet officii tituliq;* I will never forget my office and title. I am deſigned to be a probationer in this place, and as a probationer, by God's grace, I will demean myſelf. I will take up together with this ſeal, that induſtry, integrity, and modeſty, *non ut me Conſulem, ſed ut conſulatus candidatam putem*; and ſo I will eſteem myſelf not a *Keeper*, but a *Suitor* only for the great ſeal: and if I feel the burden too heavy, which I much fear and ſuſpect, I will chuſe *potius deſinere quam deficere*, and ſlip it off willingly to ſome abler ſhoulders, rather than be cruſhed in pieces with the weight of the ſame. I humbly beſeech your Majeſty to remember I am no more than a mere probationer. If I prove aukward at firſt, I muſt have my time to learn; the beſt of them all have craved as much, and I will deſire no more: for if, after the full weighing of my ſtrength, I ſhall find myſelf unable for this ſervice, I will ſay unto your Majeſty as Jacob ſaid to Pharaoh, *Paſtor ovium eſt ſervus tuus*; whatever you are pleaſed, Sir, to make me, I am but a keeper of ſheep. In that calling your Majeſty found me, and to that calling I ſhall never be ſorry to betake myſelf again. In the mean time, I beſeech your Majeſty to protect this court of juſtice wherein you have placed me, that the ſtrength and power of that body be nothing impaired through the weakneſs of the head; *nemo adoleſcentiam meam contemnat.* Let not my fellows of another profeſſion cry out with him in the Pſalms, *There, there, ſo would we have it! neither let them ſay, we have devoured him.* And ſo I end with my prayers unto God, that your Majeſty may live long, and myſelf no longer than I may be ſerviceable to your Majeſty (34).'

(34) Cabala, p.

[*Y*] *To hold the deanery of Weſtminſter in commendam.*] The King was on his progreſs at Retford in Nottinghamſhire (35), to whom our Dean wrote a letter, repreſenting that the deanery might well be looked on as part of the Lord Keeper's place, ſince it would ſave his Majeſty the expence of a houſe for him; that he was there provided with ſome articles of houſekeeping, as bread, beer, corn, and fuel, which otherwiſe would coſt the King 1600 l. per ann. ſince he muſt otherwiſe crave for ſome addition out of the King's own means, as all his predeceſſors in that office had done; beſides the very name and countenance of the place would take away all expectation of extraordinary entertainment; that it was but a ſtep from where his buſineſs lay, and afforded him marvellous quietneſs to turn over his papers; and, ſays Dr Hacket, he might have added, (for it was in the bottom of his breaſt) that he was loath to ſtir from a ſeat, where he had the command of ſuch excellent muſic. He prevailed; and thereby unluckily brought on his own downfall. For Dr Laud, who now held a prebend in this church, had ſet his eye upon the deanery (36); and being diſappointed, found means in leſs than three years to get poſſeſſion of that place, in Buckingham's favour, which before was held by Williams, who ſeems to have been aware of this rival for the deanery. At the Marquis's ſuit, who had been repulſed, he ſollicited hard with his Majeſty to confer the biſhoprick of St David's upon Laud; to which at laſt the King with much ado yielded, but told the ſuitor, he would live to repent it (37).

(35) Hacket, part 2. p. 91.

(36) That prelate writes thus in his diary: "His Majeſty gave me the grant of the Biſhoprick of St David's; the general expectation was in court that I ſhould have been made Dean of Weſtminſter, and not Biſhop of St David's.

(37) Hacket, p. 48.

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ten months were over, that he might have time to ſtudy and weigh the truſt of his office; to which purpoſe he kept Sir Henry Finch, a moſt profound lawyer, in his lodgings from May to October, to adviſe with him upon all occaſions. By that means he had time to look out for honeſt and able ſervants to fill the chief places of truſt under him. He requeſted his Majeſty likewiſe that he ſhould be in the nature of a probationer for one year and a half; that in the court of chancery he might have a Maſter of the Rolls of great knowledge to ſit with him, and laſtly, the conſtant aſſiſtance of two judges. He did not appear in court till the end of Michaelmas term *(ii)* [*Z*], when he made a ſpeech, wherein he laid down ſeveral rules which he reſolved to obſerve in the diſcharge of that office [*AA*]. And after ſome time that paſſed in obtaining experience, the court of Chancery was never better ordered [*BB*], his decrees were generally approved, and his diſpatch was ſo extraordinary, that his enemies made it an objection to him [*CC*]. He had not been above two months in this poſt, when he redeemed an eſtate belonging to his family from William Earl of Pembroke, at the price of 10,000l. *(kk)* The ſame year, at the inſtance of Buckingham, his preſent patron, whoſe ſuit for the purpoſe had been rejected, he petitioned and prevailed with his Majeſty to promote Dr Laud, then one of his prebendaries at Weſtminſter, to the Biſhopric of St David's. This year he likewiſe procured Mr Selden's releaſe from priſon ‡ [*DD*], and afterwards gave him the Regiſtry

(ii) The ſeal was delivered to him Oct. 9. then the firſt day of term. D'Ewes Life of Lord Bacon, p. 58.

(kk) Dr Hacket obſerves, that this purchaſe ſo ſoon after he became Lord Keeper, could not be raiſed from the profits of that place.

‡ See Selden's article, Remark [*M*].

[*Z*] *He began to ſit in the court in Michaelmas-term.*] Probably not till the meeting of the parliament in November, in which he was obliged to appear, as Speaker of the Houſe of Lords. Beſides the ordinary buſineſs in Chancery, he had ſeveral cauſes, which were referred in the preceding ſeſſion of parliament to the ſucceeding Lord Keeper, to view the orders of his predeceſſor diſplaced. And his buſineſs at this time was ſo great, that he was obliged to ſit by candle-light in the court two hours before day, and to remain there till between eight or nine, and then to repair to his office in the Houſe of Lords, till twelve or one every day; after a ſhort repaſt at home, he returned to hear the cauſes in chancery, which he could not diſpatch in the morning; or if he attended at council in Whitehall, he came back towards evening, and ſat in chancery till eight at night and later; after this, when he came home, he peruſed the papers that were brought to him from the Secretary of State's office, and when that was done, though late at night, he prepared himſelf for the Houſe of Lords the next morning. All who lived in his family knew, that it was ordinary with him to begin his ſtudies at ſix at night, and to continue them till three in the morning, and be ready again by ſeven to attend his employment. It is almoſt incredible what fatigue he went through at this time; and, notwithſtanding the uncommon ſtrength of his conſtitution aforementioned, he was ſeized, after this term was over, with a fever and flux, which however was cured by the ſkill of the famous Dr Harvey (38).

(38) Idem, p. 7. 53, 54, 56.

[*AA*] *Some rules in the diſcharge of that office.*] Theſe were, 1. *Never to make any decree, that ſhould croſs the grounds of the common or ſtatute law.* 2. *Never to encourage any motion made at the bar, which did not apparently tend to further and haſten the hearing of the cauſe.* 3. *That without ſpecial motives he would not overthrow the decrees of his predeceſſors.* 4. *To be as cautious as poſſible in referring cauſes, becauſe it deferred the hearing of them.* 5. *That the court ſhould be no ſanctuary for indiſcreet and deſperate ſureties. Laſtly, That he would follow the rules of the court, as nearly as poſſibly he could* (39).

(39) p. 12, 13.

[*BB*] *The court of Chancery was never better ordered.*] At his firſt entrance upon Chancery, one at the Bar, thinking the Lord Keeper, as a novice, might be ignorant of the terms of the common law, troled out a motion, crammed, like a grenado, with obſolete terms; imagining that with thoſe miſty phraſes he ſhould baffle the new judge. But the Keeper, with a ſerious face, anſwered him with a cluſter of crabbed notions picked out of logic and metaphyſics; ſo that the Counſellor being foiled at his own weapons, and well laughed at in the court, went home with this leſſon, that *he who tempts a wiſe man in jeſt, ſhall make himſelf a fool in earneſt* (40). He made it his buſineſs to prevent all immethodical pleadings, to check excurſions, and hold the counſel cloſe to the point. Immediately upon the opening of a bill, he would direct the pleaders, and ſuffer them only to ſpeak the very weight of the cauſe; and he grew ſo ſkilful in two terms, that the counſel at the bar, who were men of worth and judgment, approved of him very much: yet ſtill he was apt to be ſometimes too much carried away by paſſion; but after he had ſpent three years in it, he was not at all inferior to the beſt judges for ſufficiency to manage his place: in this time experience having mellowed the natural heat of his temper, it was obſerved that he had obtained a very great command over his paſſion, which at firſt was objected to him, and he carried all things with a mild and gentle hand; would chide little, and bear much. The ſame author (41) took pleaſure in ſaying that the Lord Keeper Williams had the moſt towering ſublime wit that he ever heard, and that his decrees in all cauſes were juſt; that the Lord Coventry, his ſucceſſor, ſeldom altered any thing which he had ſettled before, except upon new preſumptions; and that he always ſpoke of him in court very honourably.

(40) p. 75, 76.

(41) Mr J. Evelyn, one of the 6 clerks in the keeper's time, and the ableſt man of the office, as ſays Bp Hacket.

[*CC*] *His diſpatch was objected to him.*] How excellent he was for diſpatching buſineſs, take this account which he gives of his firſt year, in a letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, dated July 10, 1622. 'In this place I have now ſerved his Majeſty one 'whole year diligently and honeſtly, but to my heart's 'grief, by reaſon of my rawneſs and inexperience, 'very unprofitably. Yet if his Majeſty will examine 'the Regiſter, there will be found more cauſes finally 'ended this year, than in all the ſeven years pre'ceding; how well ended, I confeſs ingenuouſly, I 'know not: his Majeſty, and your Lordſhip, who 'no doubt have received ſome complaints, though in 'your love you conceal them from me, are in that 'the moſt competent judges (42).' Sir Arth. Weldon tells us, that though Williams wanted much of his predeceſſor Bacon's abilities for the law, yet did he equal him for learning and pride, and went beyond him in the way of bribery; this man anſwering by petitions, in which his ſervants had one part, and himſelf another, and ſo was calculated to be worth to him and his ſervants 3000 l. per ann. by a new way never found out before (43). In anſwer to this, Biſhop Hacket obſerves, That it is true it was objected to him, that he diſpatched a great many cauſes by hearing petitions in his chamber; and this he did for the relief of the poor, from whom he could make no advantage either to himſelf or to his ſecretaries: but he is not the firſt who has been accuſed of his good works. Therefore the Lord Keeper, to ſecure himſelf from miſrepreſentations, directs two remonſtrances, the firſt to Buckingham, September 8th, the other to his Majeſty, October 9th, 1622. In that to the Marquis, he proteſts, that he was obliged to allow 20l. a year to a youth in his chamber, to take care of the poor mens petitions, the ſecretaries did ſo neglect them. In that to his Majeſty he declares, that in all orders upon petitions he had obſerved the caution which he had received from him. 'Then,' ſays he, 'I humbly 'crave your Majeſty's opinion, whether I may go on 'in this way; for what reaſon have I to overtoil my'ſelf in eaſing the purſe of the ſubjects, if it be ob'jected as a crime againſt me, and be not a ſervice 'acceptable to your Majeſty and the realm?' So the King approved of his proceedings. This ſlander as it troubled him very much, ſo was he very diligent to clear himſelf from it, as appears not only from theſe remonſtrances, but alſo from a letter of his at the ſame time to the Duke, printed in the Cabala, p. 292.

(42) Hacket, p. 201.

(43) Court and character of K. James, p. 129, 130. ed. 1651.

[*DD*] *He releaſed Mr Selden.*] Mr David Wilkins tells us (44), that this diſcharge was owing to the intereſt

44) In the life of Selden, prefixed to his works in 1726, ſix vol. fol.

Regiſtry of Weſtminſter College. He ſecured the rights of the Biſhops againſt the attempts of the Earl of Eſſex [*EE*]. He did not approve of the Prince [Charles] going to Spain for the Infanta; and during that negotiation ventured to give the Marquis a piece of advice which that favourite never forgave [*FF*]. From this time the Keeper was narrowly watched; notwithſtanding which, all the power of that abſolute minion was foiled in attempting to diſplace him, after his return from Spain [*GG*]. For the King was ſo well ſatisfied with his conduct in that affair, that during the Chriſtmas holidays in 1623-4 he entered him into the council-book to ſucceed upon the next vacancy to the Archbiſhoprick of York [*HH*]. Not long afterwards the Keeper by an artful ſtratagem luckily diſcovered the intrigues of the Spaniſh ambaſſador [*II*] againſt the Marquis. In 1624 he prevented

tereſt of Dr Andrews, Biſhop of Wincheſter. But Dr Hacket aſcribes it to our author (45), and produces a letter which Mr Selden wrote to him with that requeſt, wherein he denied that he had given his approbation of that power of judicature lately uſurped by the Houſe of Commons. With reſpect to the Regiſter's place, as our Dean knew Mr Selden would not accept it, he procured a perſon who gave 400l. for it to Mr Selden, who dedicating his *Eadmer* to this Benefactor, addreſſes him in the following words. ' Egregius Perfectiſſimuſq; literarum Cenſor & Fautor ' idulgentiſſimus & audis, & vere es, quippe qui doc- ' trinam tuo merito indies cupientiſſimus honeſtos & ' ſumptuoſam in ſtruendis Publico uſui bibliothecis ' operam impendis, præmium ita ſtudioſis & arma ' ſine exemplo ſollicitus parandi.' Biſhop Hacket ſays, he likewiſe made Selden and Mountague friends, (46) being a patron to both.

[*EE*] *Secured the rights of the Biſhops, againſt an attempt of the Earl of Eſſex.*] There happened to be a motion made in the Houſe of Lords, that their Lordſhips ſhould take no oath, ſave only by their honour; which producing a long debate, one of the Biſhops, who was much in years, begged to be excuſed if he could not ſtay ſo long, and went away; upon which the Earl of Eſſex declared, that they might all go out if they would; and preſently moved for the queſtion, that their Lordſhips were content to open wide their doors to let them all out, without ever entering again. The Lord Keeper replied, *That if he was commanded, he would put the queſtion; but it ſhould be to the King, and not to the Houſe of Peers: for their Lordſhips, as well ſpiritual as temporal, were called by the King's writ to ſit and abide there till the ſame power diſſolved them; and as for my Lords temporal, they had no power to licenſe themſelves, much leſs to authorize others to depart from the parliament*; by which the ſpirit was at that time conjured down. But this Lord procured an ample revenge in the next reign upon the whole bench. As to the motion of ſwearing only upon their honour, it was laid aſide, upon a diſtinction made by the Lord Keeper, who obſerved, that when one Peer appeared againſt another as a witneſs before the Lord Steward, he took his oath by laying his hand upon the goſpels; but that in giving judgment by laying their hands upon their breaſts, and pronouncing the words *upon my honour*, there was no oath, but a ſolemn declaration, that as ſure as they were honourable, they found the priſoner guilty, or not guilty (47).

[*FF*] *Advice which that favourite never forgave.*] In one letter he makes it his ſuit, that as all the Lords in England ſought his Lordſhip in this court, ſo his Lordſhip would ſeek and gain the great Lords of Spain with as much obſervance in that court. He told the King, that the Marquis would be too haughty for the Spaniſh court. And, in another letter, he begs Buckingham to behave reſpectfully to the Prince. Biſhop Laud generally bears the odium of being the informer againſt him; and Williams was told by the Marquis's mother, that St David's was the man that undermined him with her ſon (48).

[*GG*] *Buckingham was foiled*, &c.] He took one ſtep towards it, which turned greatly to the Keeper's honour. It was in the beginning of Michaelmas term, 1623, when he deſired the Lord Chief Juſtice Hobart to certify to the King, that Williams, by reaſon of his ignorance and inabilities, was not fit for the Keeper's place; and that then he would engage to throw him out, and the Chief Juſtice ſhould ſucceed him. *My Lord*, anſwered Hobart, *ſo much might have been ſaid at the firſt, but he ſhall do the Lord Keeper great wrong, that ſhall ſay ſo now.* At this time it appears by Archbiſhop Laud's diary, that Williams had ſome words at his own houſe with Laud, upon a jealouſy of his underworking with the Marquis, in whoſe affection Laud ſoon after pronounces him a dead man; and that likewiſe he ſoon after quarrelled with Laud in the withdrawing-room, and was obliged to make his ſubmiſſion for it to the Marquis (49).

[*HH*] *Advanced to the ſee of York.*] While the Prince was in Spain, the King told the Earl of Carliſle, that *if he had ſent Williams into Spain with his ſon, he had kept heart's eaſe and honour, both which he lacked at that time*: and the firſt time Williams came into the King's preſence after the Prince's return into England, which was a little before Chriſtmas, his Majeſty looking intently upon him, ſaid to the Prince, *There's the man that makes us keep a merry Chriſtmas*; and his Highneſs looking as if he underſtood not his father, *Why it is he*, ſaid the King, *that laboured more than all my ſervants beſides to bring you ſafe home to keep Chriſtmas with me, and I hope you are ſenſible of it.* He entered him, as is aboveſaid, for the archbiſhoprick; and notwithſtanding the Marquis had inſtilled a jealouſy of him into the Prince, yet it appears from a letter wrote by Williams to his Highneſs, that this entry was made by his requeſt. After the match had miſcarried, the King being cooler to the Spaniard, might probably recollect ſome of the Keeper's honeſt arts practiſed upon himſelf during the heat of that affair in favour of his ſubjects. Upon his Majeſty's declaration to reſtrain the preachers, the Keeper once procured the delivery of one, who was impriſoned for that offence, by a merry tale, thus: Such a man's wife, upon reading her huſband's impriſonment, fell preſently into labour; and the midwife is come to deliver her, but ſays, it will not be effected till ſhe can ſee her huſband again; for which the women that aſſiſt her revile you, that your Highneſs would ſtick out ſuch a declaration. *Now weal away*, ſays the King, *ſend a warrant preſently to releaſe him, leſt the woman periſh.* Another time, being ordered by his Majeſty to draw up directions to preachers againſt the King's eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy, he propoſed it to the King, that in thoſe directions none might be ſuffered to preach under thirty years of age, nor over ſixty, while men were in full poſſeſſion of their reaſon and judgment, otherwiſe it would be impoſſible to prevent ſuch offences. For inſtance, proceeds he, Kitchen, an offender, is a beardleſs boy, from whom exactneſs of judgment could not be expected, and Dr White (50), a decrepid old man, that is ſpent, having not a fee-ſimple, but a leaſe only of reaſon, and it is expired. Upon this pleaſant and good-natured repreſentation, his Majeſty was moved to releaſe them both.

[*II*] *He diſcovered the intrigues of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador againſt the Marquis.*] A paper of informations or complaints againſt the parliament and Buckingham, was put into the King's pocket unobſerved; and in the poſtſcript it was prayed, That Don Franciſco Carondolet, Secretary to the Marquis Inioſa, might be brought to the King, when he and the Prince were ſitting in the Houſe of Peers, to ſatisfy ſuch doubts as his Majeſty might raiſe. This ſleight was performed by the Earl of Kelly, who told their errand ſo ſpitefully, that the King was much troubled about it, and it ſtruck eſpecially at the Marquis; whom though he defended in ſome particulars againſt any of the Spaniſh, yet he complained that he had noted a turbulent ſpirit in him of late, and knew not how to mitigate it. In this humour he took coach with the Prince to Windſor, and when Buckingham, who attended, offered to ſtep in, the King found a ſlight excuſe to leave him behind, who begged in vain with tears to know the cauſe of his Majeſty's diſpleaſure. Williams, who ſpared no coſt in procuring intelligence (51), had notice by his ſcout of the information, went immediately to the Marquis, who was retired melancholy to Wallingford-houſe, where he acquainted him with what prevented him from executing his deſign of ſelling the crown and church-lands [*KK*]. In negotiating the match with France he gave the French Ambaſſador a ſhrewd piece of advice [*LL*], and afterwards drew up the marriage-articles. In 1625, March 22d, when the danger of the King's illneſs reached his ears, he haſtened to Theobald's, and there finding that report confirmed by the phyſicians, he acquainted his Majeſty with it, and conſtantly attended him till his death; after which he preached his funeral ſermon (*ll*), and printed it by the command of King Charles I. who likewiſe gave him orders to prepare another againſt his coronation. But that mark of his Majeſty's favour was intercepted by the new Duke of Buckingham, the effects of whoſe diſpleaſure ſoon began to fall heavy upon him. As no man kept a better watch upon the court, ſo he was preſently acquainted with the Duke's threats [*MM*], and immediately apprehended the conſequence.

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(45) P. 69. Mr Wood, who likewiſe gives the Lord Keeper the credit of it, and ſays it happened in the firſt parliament that Mr Selden ſat in. Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. col. 179, 180.

(46) This is acknowledged by Montague, in the dedication to our Archbiſhop of his treatiſe *Of the invocation of ſaints.*

(47) Hacket, p. 76.

(48) MS. of Abp Abbot.

(49) Hacket, p. 7. & ſeqq.

(50) He was the perſon that purchaſed Sion College, and gave it to the city clergy. He founded a charity-ſchool, and gave 30l. a year to put out three of thoſe children apprentices of St Dunſtan's in the weſt, where he was Rector.

(51) For that reaſon he uſed to ſay, that no man could be a ſtateſman without a great deal of money.

what he had diſcovered; and bid him go to Windſor, and never leave his Majeſty, to prevent any more miſchief, in perſuading his Majeſty to break thoroughly with the parliament, and upon their diſſolution to ſend the Marquis to the Tower. Buckingham takes the advice, and on Saturday tells the ſtory to the Prince at Windſor, who was early on Monday morning at the Houſe of Lords; and when the Keeper came thither, took him aſide into the Lobby, thanked him for the warning given to Buckingham, and begged him to ſearch further into the plot againſt that favourite. Williams anſwered, that he knew ſome in the Spaniſh ambaſſador's houſe had been preparing miſchief, and infuſed into his Majeſty about four days paſt. The Prince replied, I expected better from you; for if that be the picture-drawer's ſhop, no counſellor in this kingdom is better acquainted than yourſelf with the work and the workmen. I might have been, ſays the Keeper, and I am panged like a woman in travail, till I know what miſhapen figure they are drawing; but your Highneſs and the Marquis have made it a crime to ſend unto that houſe, it is a month ſince I have forbid the ſervants of that family to come to me. But, Sir, anſwered the Prince, I will make that paſſage open to you without offence, and interpoſe any way to bring us out of this wood; only before we part, keep not from me, how you came to know or imagine that the Spaniſh agents had charged Buckingham to my father with high miſdemeanours, or perhaps diſloyalty. I would hear you to that point, that I may compare it with ſome parcels of my intelligence. Sir, ſays the Keeper, I will go in directly with you. Another perhaps would bluſh, when I tell you what heifer I plow with; but knowing mine innocence, the worſt that can happen is to be laughed at. Your Highneſs hath often ſeen Don Franciſco Carondolet; he loves me becauſe he is a ſcholar, for he is Archdeacon of Cambray, and ſometimes we are pleaſant together, for he is a Walloon by birth, and not a Caſtilian. I have diſcovered him to be a wanton, and an humble ſervant to ſome of our Engliſh beauties, but above all to one of that gentle craft in Mark-lane; a wit ſhe is, and one that muſt be courted with news and occurrences at home and abroad, as well as with gifts. I have a friend that had bribed her in my name to ſend me a faithful account of ſuch tidings as her paramour Carondolet brings to her. All that I intruſted the Marquis with came out of her chamber; and ſhe hath well earned a piece of plate or two from me, and ſhall not go unrecompenced for theſe ſecrets about which your Highneſs does uſe me, if the drab can help me in it; truly, Sir, this is my dark lanthorn, and I am not aſhamed to enquire of a Dalilah to reſolve a riddle, for in my ſtudies of divinity I have gleaned up this maxim, *licet uti altero peccato*. Though the devil make her a ſinner, I may make a good uſe of her ſin.' Yea, ſays the Prince merrily, do you deal in ſuch ware? In good faith, replied the Keeper, I never ſaw her face. He then left the Prince, and got Carondolet's under-ſecretary, whoſe lodging he knew, ſeized, as a Romiſh prieſt. This brought Carondolet to him to beg his ſecretary's diſcharge; to which ſays the Keeper, Would you have me run ſuch a hazard to ſet a prieſt at liberty, a dead man by our ſtatutes, when the eye of the parliament is ſo vigilant upon the breach of juſtice eſpecially in this kind, to the grievance of our godly men, who deteſt them that come hither out of the ſeminaries above all malefactors, becauſe they come to pervert them who have lived in the boſom of our church? My Lord, ſaid Franciſco, let not the dread of this parliament trouble you; I can tell you, if you ha'n't heard it, that it is upon expiration. He afterwards fiſhed out of the ſecretary the heads of all the articles in the paper ſlipt, as above-mentioned, into the King's pocket. He did not ſtay for the copy of them which was brought to him four days after, but immediately drew the heads then diſcovered to him into ſuch a form, as it ſhould appear to be copied from the original, and gave all to the Prince, of whom he deſired ſecrecy, having put his life into the hands of his Highneſs, firſt for ſearching into the King's councils, and then diſcovering them; and, for further ſecurity, he ordered Carondolet out of the kingdom immediately, that he might not be produced to confront him, if the matter ſhould come to be queſtioned. Dr Hacket obſerves (52), that this ſtory accounts for the King's reconciliation to the parliament, as well as why his Majeſty never offered afterwards to retrieve the Spaniſh match, and furniſhes a reaſon why King Charles the following year readily entered into a war with Spain. But our chief motive for inſerting it here is, that it agrees with one part of our author's character repreſented by Lord Clarendon (53).

[*KK*] *He prevented the ſale of the crown lands.*] Againſt the firſt project of ſelling the crown lands, we have a letter in Dr Hacket, p. 98. of his, dated October 21. The ſecond project was prompted to the Marquis by Dr Preſton, Maſter of Emanuel college, Cambridge, and Chaplain to the Prince; the Keeper quickly got notice of it, and went to Wallingford-houſe, where the Marquis, being cloſeted up with Preſton, refuſed him an audience. Upon this he ſent next day to Preſton, and offered him the deanery of Weſtminſter, if he would leave his deſigns againſt the cathedral lands; but Preſton did not believe him, and they parted at enmity. However, Williams procured a conference afterwards with the Marquis, who yielded to his arguments in defence of the hierarchy (54).

[*LL*] *A ſhrewd piece of advice.*] Our author promoted this match, and had a great hand in bringing it to a concluſion. Among other things, on *their* Chriſtmas day he treated the French ambaſſador and all his train very ſumptuouſly in the Jeruſalem chamber, having before entertained them with three anthems in the Choir of the Abbey, in which he performed a part himſelf in the tenor; upon this occaſion he furniſhed them with the Engliſh liturgy in French (55). He ſettled the marriage articles upon more moderate terms (than had been at firſt inſiſted on) for the Papiſts; adviſing the Secretary Villoclare not to inſiſt upon an abſolute and general diſpenſation with the penal laws againſt the Papiſts from the King, which would diſpleaſe his Majeſty, and ſo bring it to be put to a conteſtation hereafter. The Secretary was greatly pleaſed with him, and told him, *Sir, uſe me honeſtly, I am a ſtranger, and while I am in England I will ſurrender myſelf up to your directions: nay, I will poſſeſs our virtuous and illuſtrious Madame, that you are a clear dealing man, of good faith, and moſt worthy of her truſt, when ſhe comes into a ſtrange land.* The conſequence of this to the Keeper was, that he ever afterwards ſtood well in her Majeſty's favour. By this, and the foregoing ſpecimen in Remark [*II*], it appears, that King James's kingcraft, ſo much gloried in by himſelf, was well copied by his principal officer. Yet his conduct has been very ſeverely chaſtiſed by a ſucceſſor of his in that office (56), who does not ſcruple to ſay, that he appeared to be a man of a very corrupt nature, whoſe paſſions could have tranſported him into the moſt unjuſtifiable actions: a cenſure, which ſurely was not meant by the writer to be conſtrued in the full extent of the words, wherein there is evidently more inſinuated than is explicitly aſſerted. But let it be remembered that there was a perpetual warfare between the Keeper and Dr Laud, for whom the noble hiſtorian had a particular regard.

[*MM*] *The new Duke's threats.*] In the interval between the firſt and ſecond parliament in the firſt year

(*ll*) The text was 2 Chron. ix. 29, 30, 31. It was printed under the title of *Great Britain's Solomon*.

(52) p. 197, 198.

(53) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, part 2. p. 345. 8vo, edit.

(54) Hacket, p. 98.

(55) He had procured it to be tranſlated by Mr De Laune, miniſter of the French church at Norwich. The tranſlation was approved, and the author handſomely rewarded by him. It is uſed now in our French proteſtant churches.

(56) Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

ſequence (*mm*). When the King's coronation drew near, which was appointed for Candlemas-day 1625-6, he received orders from his Majeſty not to appear in his office as Dean of Weſtminſter at that ſolemnity, and his place was then ſupplied by Biſhop Laud, a perſon for whom he had the leaſt affection (*nn*). He was likewiſe denied to do his homage to the King with the reſt of the ſpiritual Lords on that occaſion. Before the opening of the ſecond parliament in this reign, which was four days after the coronation, the Lord Coventry was put into the Keeper's office, and the Biſhop had now no parliamentary ſummons ſent to him; and when upon a motion in parliament, where his friends were numerous, he did receive it, he received likewiſe a particular charge from the new Keeper not to appear in perſon, and had even ſome difficulty to obtain that his proxy might be left with the Biſhop of Wincheſter. He ſtruggled hard to ſecure his reputation before he parted with the ſavings of the Great Seal, and at laſt, on the ſurrendry, made a ſort of capitulation [*NN*] for that and his other preferments before he delivered it up, which was on the 25th of October 1626, at Foxley, a ſeat of the Lord Sandys, near Windſor [*OO*], after which he removed to Bugden. When the writ was ſent to him

(*mm*) He gave warning to all who had any dependence upon him to make their intereſt elſ-where, for his ſervice would ſo on ſtand them in no ſtead.—Philips, p. 157.

(*nn*) When he received orders to depute one of the prebendaries, underſtanding Laud was intended by the King, he ſent his Majeſty the names of all the twelve, deſiring him to nominate whom he pleaſed; ſubmitting, as he calls it, to this ſequeſtration.

year of this reign, the Duke of Buckingham was allowed to throw his marks of diſpleaſure upon thoſe members who had oppoſed him in the laſt parliament, of which one of the chief was the Keeper, whom he had openly reproved at Chriſtchuch in Oxford, for ſiding againſt him. The Biſhop ſtoutly anſwered, *that he was indeed engaged with William Earl of Pembroke, and other worthy patriots, to labour the redreſs of the people's grievances, and in ſo good a cauſe he was reſolved to ſtand upon his own legs. If that be your reſolution,* ſaid the Duke, *ſee you ſtand faſt*; and ſo they parted (57).

[*NN*] *A ſort of capitulation.*] On the 16th of October 1626, the Lord Conway brought him this meſſage (58), that his Majeſty underſtanding that his father had taken a reſolution that the Keeper of the Great Seal of England ſhould continue but from three years to three years (59); he approving very well thereof, and being reſolved to obſerve the order during his own reign, he expects you ſhould ſurrender up the ſeal by Allhallowtide next, alledging no other cauſe thereof; and that having ſo done, you would retire to your biſhoprick. The Keeper replied, that he hoped it was not his Majeſty's intention to confine him altogether to his dioceſe, nor to reſtrain him from the council board before the delivery of the ſeal; and begged he might be admitted to ſpeak to his Majeſty in behalf of his reputation as well as his maintenance, which was granted; and upon the 19th of that month he preſented himſelf to the King, when he firſt aſked his Majeſty's grace and favour in general; who granting it, gave him his hand twice to kiſs. *Secondly,* ſays the Keeper, *I humbly thank your Majeſty for your gracious promiſe to take away none of my church preferments* (60), *till you have given me better; and I beſeech your Majeſty to keep the ſame benevolent mind towards me.* The King replied, *It is my intention. Thirdly, I beſeech your Majeſty to remember your father's promiſe, that whenſoever he took away the ſeal from me, he would place me in as good a biſhoprick or archbiſhoprick as he could; a promiſe not only ſeconded, but drawn from your father firſt, by your Majeſty.* K. There is no ſuch place vacant; when any falls, then it will be time to make this requeſt to me. *Fourthly, I deſire that I may not be commanded away from the council table, but that my abſence may be left wholly to my own diſcretion.* K. I never intended it ſo, and never ſaid a word to the contrary; but then I expect you will not attend by a voluntary intruſion. *Fifthly, I beſeech your Majeſty to declare unto the Lords, that I have willingly and readily yielded to your Majeſty's pleaſure, and that I part in your favour and good opinion, and am ſtill your Majeſty's ſervant.* I will, replies his Majeſty; but I look that no petitions be made by any man at that time, but only for my favour in general. *Sixthly, I humbly beg that your Majeſty, when you think fit, would make my atonement with the Lord Duke, either upon or without examination of thoſe informations, which his Grace hath received againſt me.* K. It becomes not me, a King, to take up the quarrels between my ſubjects; and the Duke has never before me expreſſed any enmity againſt you. So he thanked his Majeſty for the laſt part of his anſwer, which revived him not a little. *Seventhly, Whereas, by your father's direction, I bought a penſion of* 2000 *marks per ann. for* 3000 *l. I deſire your Majeſty would be pleaſed either to buy it of me for the ſum again, and extinguiſh it, or aſſign it to be paid me out of the tenths and ſubſidies, as before I had appointment to receive it out of the Hanaper.* The King ſaid, Aſſignments are naught; but I will take order with my Treaſurer either to pay it or buy it, as ſhall be found moſt convenient. *Eighthly, I deſire your Majeſty would beſtow the next vacant prebend of Weſtminſter upon my library-keeper* (61), *as your father had promiſed me.* It is very reaſonable, replies the King. *Ninthly, I petition your Majeſty, that you would be pleaſed to ratify a grant made by your father, of four advowſons to St John's college in Cambridge, two whereof I bought with my money, and two his Majeſty gave me for the uſe of that ſociety.* Says the King, I will ratify the grants, and give way to amend any errors in the form or in the paſſing. *Tenthly, I beg leave to retire to a little lodge, lent me by my Lord Sandys, where my Lord Coventry may receive the ſeals, when your Majeſty commands it.* Granted. *Laſtly, I beſeech your Majeſty not to be offended at me, if upon my diſcharge reports are raiſed of my being diſcontented; which I proteſt I am not, giving off ſo comfortably in your Majeſty's favour.* I will do you that juſtice, ſays the King, and ſhall little value reports. So, with a pleaſing countenance, he gave him his hand to kiſs, and diſmiſſed him graciouſly. Accordingly the four advowſons were confirmed to St John's college; but after he left Saliſbury, which was the next day, he never received any thing of his penſion; nor could he ever bring it to a hearing. Before five days were expired, he had intelligence how vehemently the Duke talked againſt him, which made him give over all hopes of any court favour for the future (62).

[*OO*] *At Foxley, near Windſor, after which he removed to Bugden.*] Sir John Suckling, Comptroller of the Houſhold, brought the warrant, whereupon he inſtantly put the ſeal into a rich cabinet in Sir John's preſence, incloſing the key in a letter to his Majeſty, ſealed with the epiſcopal arms of Lincoln; in which he particularly requeſted it of the King, that he would pleaſe to order his ſucceſſor to ſhew countenance eſpecially to the clergy in their cauſes in that court, and put ſome of that body into the commiſſion of the peace. Being now freed from his ſecular employment, and coming to live at Bugden, he found the houſe quite out of repair and all order, but in the ſpace of one year he made a good dwelling out of a ruinous pile; (63) furniſhing the gallery with a curious collection of paintings he made at a great expence. He beautified the chapel with all the expence it was capable of. After this he planted woods and walks, fenced the park, and ſtored it with deer; and he bought in all the leaſes belonging to the demeſnes, which through miſmanagement were let out to the very gates. His delight lay chiefly in gardening; ſo that he was even profuſe in his expences that way in arbours, flowers of the choiceſt ſort, orchards, pools, fiſh-ponds, with a wall raiſed three foot from the ground, paled in, and ſhaded on each ſide with trees. He alſo bought Dr Day's library, and got the timber hewn ready for the building; but the unexpected troubles that came upon him, ſtopt the advancing of it ſo long, that the timber came into the hands of ſoldiers to make fortifications in the civil war, and the books became a prey to every flatterer that could read. During the time that he lived here, the ſervice was decently performed at his chapel with the organ and other muſic, and the beſt voices that could be procured, himſelf often bearing a part among them; and the altar was adorned with rich plate, and other coſtly utenſils. In the ſpace of three

(57) Complete Hiſt. of England. Vol. iii.

(58) To his lodgings in Weſtminſter, whither he had followed the King, and wrote to him in his own defence. Hacket.

(59) That was agreeable to Dr Williams, who required it when he had the ſeal delivered to him.

(60) This likewiſe had been brought to him before by Lord Conway.

(61) His name was Gowland, a very worthy perſon, ſays Dr Hacket, of great learning, eſpecially in antiquities: but he never had the prebend.

(62) Philips, p. 173—183.

(63) It is a large houſe, built by Byden, Lord Chancellor, when the biſhoprick had 34 rich manors belonging to it, being then the greateſt biſhoprick in England, but nothing had been done in it ſince.

him for the meeting of the third parliament, he had the like intimation, as before, of his Majeſty's pleaſure that he ſhould forbear being preſent in it; but he now refuſed to ſubmit to his Majeſty's directions, reſolved to ſtand upon his privilege [*PP*], and ſat in the Houſe of Lords himſelf, and not by proxy, as before: and the petition of right being ſet on foot in this parliament, the Biſhop promoted it with great zeal, but at the ſame time propoſed a clauſe to be added in favour of the crown [*QQ*], and moved likewiſe for an act to explain the Bill of Rights, ſo as thereby his Majeſty's claim to the duties of tonnage and poundage might be fully confirmed. His behaviour at this time ſeems to have reconciled him to the Duke of Buckingham [*RR*], and the King was ſo well ſatisfied with him, that he conſulted him in a point of the utmoſt importance concerning his own conduct, and expreſly approved of his advice [*SS*]. But the incautious uſe he afterwards made of the King's freedom [*TT*] in communicating his thoughts to him, drew the royal diſpleaſure upon him again; and in 1629 his name was actually ſtruck out of the council-books. And though he obtained his Majeſty's pardon for that offence (*oo*), yet the next year upon the chriſtening of Prince Charles (*pp*), when all the reſt of the Lords both ſpiritual and temporal were invited, the Biſhop of Lincoln was excepted [*UU*]. This year he fell undet the examination of the commiſſioners appointed to

(oo) See Remark [*TT*]

(*pp*) He was chriſtened July 27, 1630.

three years he brought the palace into as much ſtrength and elegance as when it was firſt inhabited. In a word; he lived at Bugden the moſt epiſcopally of any of his predeceſſors. He took ſeveral noblemens ſons, as of the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of Pembroke, Saliſbury, and Leiceſter, into his houſe, beſides ſeveral others of the gentry, and provided preceptors for them, who often accounted to him how their charges proceeded both in piety and in learning; and to ſuch as grew ripe for the univerſity he read himſelf a brief ſyſtem of logic. Beſides, he maintained ſeveral poor ſcholars at the univerſity; and in this and other charities he ſpent 1000 l. and ſometimes 1200 l. per annum (64).

(64) Hacket, p. 66.

[*PP*] *He reſolved to ſtand upon his privilege.*] In his anſwer to Lord Coventry's letter, which brought him the order not to appear in the houſe, he ſays, 'I muſt 'crave ſome time to reſolve by the beſt counſels 'God ſhall give me, whether I ſhall obey your 'Lordſhip's letter (though mentioning his Majeſty's 'pleaſure) before my own right, which by the law 'of God and man I may in all humility maintain.' (65)

(65) Philips, p. 194.

[*QQ*] *A clauſe in favour of the crown.*] This clauſe was, that as they deſired to preſerve their own liberties, ſo they had regard to leave intire that power wherewith his Majeſty was intruſted for the protection of his people. He even chid his friends among the Commons for not admitting it, but found them more ſullen than uſual (66).

(66) Id. p. 196.

[*RR*] *Reconciled to the Duke of Buckingham.*] He had a private conference with the Duke, wherein he tendered him his faithful ſervice, which was accepted by the Duke, who had another private conference with him afterwards, and, two months before his death, promiſed to reſtore the Biſhop into favour, and did deſign a time for the open profeſſion of it; however, at this time they parted in perfect charity, which was happy for them both, ſince they never met again, the Duke being ſoon after murdered by Felton. It is certain that the Biſhop had always been faithful in executing Buckingham's commands, and as to what lay in his power punctually to obey him; but it was allowed by the Duke's mother, that the Lord Keeper had ſufficient reaſon ſometimes not to comply with her ſon, and that ſhe never knew them diſagree, but that his counſels were wiſe and well grounded, ever tending to the Marquis's honour, ſafety, and proſperity. But then he often offended her ſon with reprehenſions that were too bold and vehement (67); and, as the Counteſs had intimated to him, were aggravated by Biſhop Laud: which coming from a perſon of ſo much zeal and worth, might eaſily have their deſired effect upon a mind ſuch as that of the Duke her ſon, which was ſoon ſatiated with the beſt ſervices of thoſe whom he had promoted. After the Duke's unfortunate end, Biſhop Williams wrote a letter of condolance to his ſiſter, the Counteſs of Denby; the anſwer to which ſhews how much ſhe believed him a ſincere friend. It begins thus: 'My Lord, it is true noble-'neſs that makes you remember ſo diſtracted a crea-'ture as I am, and to continue a friend in harder 'fortunes. You give me many reaſons of comfort, 'for which I kindly thank you (68).'

(67) Hacket, p. 108.

(68) Id. p. 84.

[*SS*] *And approved his advice.*] The King giving him his hand to kiſs, conjured him to tell him freely how he might beſt ingratiate himſelf with the people: To which he as freely replied, That the Puritans were many and ſtrong ſticklers, and if his Majeſty would give but private orders to his miniſters to connive a little at their party, and ſhew them ſome indulgence, it might perhaps mollify them a little, and make them more pliant; though he could not promiſe that they would be truſty long to any government. The King anſwered, that he had thought upon this before, and that he would do ſo (69).

(69) Philips, p. 197.

[*TT*] *The incautious uſe, &c.*] About two months after the laſt mentioned declaration of his Majeſty, the Biſhop, at his court at Leiceſter, acted according to that counſel then reſolved upon by his Majeſty; and withal told Sir John Lamb and Dr Sibthorp his reaſon, that it was not only according to his own, but the royal pleaſure. This coming to the King's ear, it was reſolved, that upon the depoſition of theſe two, a bill ſhould be drawn up againſt the Biſhop for revealing the King's ſecrets, being a ſworn counſellor. As to the two informers, we have already given an account how Lamb owed his dignity to the Biſhop. At this time he was Sir John Lamb of Rothwell in Northamptonſhire, and Chancellor of Peterborough. Sibthorp having married his daughter, was Rector of Water [Fenny] Stratford in Buckinghamſhire, and a Juſtice of Peace; both were violent perſecutors of the Puritans, and the latter particularly a great promoter of the King's project of raiſing money by loan, without his parliament, to which purpoſe he had printed a ſermon (70) the year before, for which he had been made King's Chaplain, and a Prebendary of Peterborough (71); ſo that the Biſhop, who always diſapproved any ſevere proceedings againſt the Puritans, no doubt was glad that he had it in his power to back his own opinion againſt their ſharpneſs with the royal authority. Dr Hacket obſerves, that they ate and drank at the Biſhop's table at this time, and depoſed not only what they heard there, but more than the truth. The information being tranſmitted to the council-table, was ordered to be ſealed up, and committed to the cuſtody of Mr Trumball, one of the Clerks of the Council. Neverthele ſs the Biſhop made ſhift to procure a copy of it, and likewiſe the King's pardon for that offence. It ſhould ſeem therefore that his being ſtruck out of the council-book was owing to ſubſequent informations brought againſt him; yet when he aſked the Earl of Holland the cauſe of it, that Earl told him, that he muſt expect worſe than this, becauſe he was ſuch a champion for the *Petition of Right*, and that there was no room at the table for thoſe that would aver it. But if we may credit the noble hiſtorian (72), he laid himſelf open to the deſigns of his enemies after his removal from the ſeal; for, ſays he, living ſplendidly in his dioceſe, he made himſelf very popular among thoſe who had no reverence for the court, of which he would frequently, and in the preſence of many, ſpeak with too much freedom, and tell many ſtories of things and perſons upon his own former experience, and did often preſume in theſe unwary diſcourſes to mention the perſon of the King with too little reverence.

(70) Intituled apoſtolical obedience. An aſſize ſermon at Northampton on Rom. xiii. 7. London 1627. See Selden's article, Remark [*M*].

(71) Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. col. 275.

(72) Clarendon, in Hiſt. of the Rebellion, ubi ſupra, p. 345.

[*UU*] *He was not invited to the Chriſtening.*] Dr Hacket aſſures us (73), that this ſlight vexed him more than any that was put upon him, and even reduced him to a degree of dejection, that in ſo good a day,

(73) P. 96.

to enquire into exacted fees (qq), which terminated greatly to the advantage of his reputation [*WW*]. About this time being told, that the King was offended with his magnificent way of living at Bugden, and with his holding the deanery of Weſtminſter, he refuſed to comply with his Majeſty's pleaſure in either of theſe propoſitions [*XX*]. He afterwards diſputed the Metropolitan's right to viſit his dioceſe [*YY*]. In 1636 a complaint was lodged againſt him by the high-ſheriff of Huntingdonſhire for refuſing to pay the ſhip-money [*ZZ*], and preſently after, upon ſome informations being brought againſt him in the Star Chamber for ſcandalous words ſpoken of the King and his miniſters, he was ſentenced to pay a fine of 10,000 l. and to ſuffer impriſonment during his Majeſty's pleaſure, and to be ſuſpended by the high commiſſion court from all his dignities, offices, and functions [*AAA*]. Accordingly he was ſent to the Tower of London, where

day, when the King's clemency ſhould have run at waſte to all men, that then he ſhould be ſuperſeded. ‘ But in one reſpect,’ ſays Biſhop Williams, ‘ it was ‘ well; for I could not have ſaid Amen to Biſhop ‘ Laud's prayer conceived for the royal infant (and ‘ was commanded to all pariſh churches) in that paſ‘ ſage, *Double his father's grace, O Lord, upon him,* ‘ *if it be poſſible*; to put in a *poſſible* whether the Al‘ mighty could double thoſe gifts to the child which ‘ he had given to the father, and to confine the good‘ neſs and almightineſs of the Lord: It ſhewed both ‘ bold flattery and loathſom divinity. Let Cartwright ‘ and all his party ſhew ſuch an exception againſt any ‘ line in our common prayer, and I will confeſs they ‘ have ſome excuſe for their nonſubſcription.’

[*WW*] *It turned greatly to his reputation.*] Ratcliffe, the Attorney at York, prepared a bill about the fees of the Clerk of the Hanaper, but it came to nothing; and with reſpect to thoſe in the epiſcopal regiſtry at Lincoln, the Biſhop wrote to the King about them a letter, in which he proteſted he had never touched one penny of thoſe fees, but given his to mend his ſervants wages, and deſired the matter might be referred to the Archbiſhop [Abbot]; which being granted, that Archbiſhop did authorize the receiving the uſual fees for the preſent *de bene eſſe*, and ordered a table of them to be hung up in all the courts of the dioceſe (78).

[*XX*] *He refuſed to comply to his Majeſty in either of theſe propoſitions.*] Being continually harraſſed with vexatious law ſuits and other troubles, he aſked the Lord Cottington, if he could tell him, what he ſhould do to procure his peace, and ſuch other ordinary favours as other Biſhops had from his Majeſty? To which that Lord replied, that the ſplendor in which he lived, and the great reſort of company that came to him, was offenſive; and that the King muſt needs take it ill, that one under the height of his diſpleaſure ſhould live at ſo magnificent a rate. In the next place, his Majeſty would be better ſatisfied, if he reſigned the deanery of Weſtminſter, becauſe he did not care he ſhould be ſo near a neighbour to Whitehall. As to the firſt, his natural temper would not ſuffer him to comply with it, and to moderate his expences in houſekeeping; and he ſaid he was not ſo ſhort-ſighted as to part with his deanery *. But ſince he was reſolved to hold it, he was made as uneaſy as poſſible in it. He was not admitted to preach before the King in Lent, Good Friday, being his uſual courſe for four years; and for three years together when he came to the chapters or election of ſcholars, he did not reſt above a day or two in college, but Secretary Coke, either by letter or *viva voce*, commanded him from the King to return to his biſhoprick; ſo that the Biſhop one time very reſolutely aſked him, *how he durſt command a man out of his freehold?* which wrought upon the old gentleman ſo far, that he never reſted till he had his pardon ſealed for it. After the Archbiſhop was ordered by the King to preſs him to reſidency upon his biſhoprick by the ſtatutes. But this proved ineffectual; for, in anſwer to his Grace's letter, he writes thus: ‘ I confine myſelf to thoſe parti‘ cular ſeaſons to which the local ſtatutes of the col‘ lege, and my expreſs oath, doth enjoin me; that is, ‘ the two chapters, and the great feſtivals, all which ‘ ſpace of time doth not, being taken in the diſtinct ‘ ſpaces, make a Biſhop a non-reſident by any law I ‘ know of, nor conſequently infringe his Majeſty's ‘ inſtructions, though a man had no diſpenſation; ‘ which inſtructions require only that a Biſhop ſhould ‘ reſide. But we preſume that it is no part of his Ma‘ jeſty's gracious intention, that they ſhould be con‘ fined, or as it were impriſoned in their biſhoprics (79).’

[*YY*] *The Archbiſhop's right to viſit his dioceſe.*] In a letter to the Archbiſhop on this occaſion he writes, that he found upon enquiry into the records of ſeveral regiſters, that his dioceſe had never been viſited in the time of Robert Groſthead, 1285, and never ſince but by virtue of ſome particular bull, or letter of aſſiſtance from the King's Majeſty, ſince the ſupremacy was ſeated in the crown. The reaſon was, becauſe all the former means of livelihood being taken away by the Duke of Somerſet in the 2d of Edward VI. and new corps formed conſiſting in great part of eccleſiaſtical juriſdictions, the fees ariſing from thence were now the chief ſupport of the Biſhop. Upon which account likewiſe the grievance of this metropolitical viſitation would be ſo much greater, as it was the year of his triennial viſitation. Laud returned for anſwer, that he would do him no injuſtice, but was reſolved to aſſert the rights of the archbiſhoprick; and the matter being on both ſides agreed to be referred to the Attorney General, he determined it in favour of the Archbiſhop. This viſitation was ſtill more vexatious to the Biſhop, becauſe his old friend Sir John Lamb, now Dean of the Arches, preſided in it. A metropolitical Vicar in this viſitation, occaſioned Williams to publiſh his *Letter to the Vicar of Grantham,* which had been wrote in 1627, with a deſire not to publiſh it.—— It was anſwered by Peter Heylin the ſame year, in a book intitled, *A coal from the altar*; to which the Biſhop replied in his *Holy Table name and thing, more anciently, properly, and literally uſed under the New Teſtament, than that of Altar. Written long ago by a miniſter in Lincolnſhire, in anſwer to Dr Coal, a judicious divine in Queen Marie's dayes. Printed for the uſe of the dioceſe of Lincoln,* 1637, 4to. Licenſed by John Lincoln, Dean of Weſtminſter. Heylin rejoined in his *Antidotum Lincolnienſe*; which the Biſhop intended to anſwer, but was prevented by the ſeizure of his books (80).

[ZZ] *For refuſing to pay the ſhip money.*] Sir Robert Oſborn, the High Sheriff, laying a very unequal levy upon the hundred in which Bugden lay, the Biſhop wrote a civil letter to him to rectify it, and he and his neighbours would be ready to ſee it collected: upon this the Sheriff catching at the opportunity, poſts up to court, and makes a heavy complaint againſt the Biſhop, that he not only refuſed the payment of ſhip-money himſelf, but likewiſe animated the hundred to do ſo too; and from this inſtance it may appear how much he was now pecked at. For though he afterwards cleared himſelf before the Lords of the council, and they were ſatisfied that he had behaved with duty and prudence, yet Sir Robert was not apprehended, nor had the Biſhop any ſatisfaction given him, nor was the levy regulated (81).

[*AAA*] *He was ſuſpended, and ſent to the Tower.*] This proſecution had been continued for ſeveral years upon various informations brought againſt him for words in derogation of his Majeſty, and his miniſters; but as no ſufficient proofs were made out while the Attorney [Noy] lived, the Biſhop had taken no notice of it, concluding it would ſpend itſelf in ſmoke only: but after Noy's death, when he found, by the corrupt management of one Kilvert *, it grew ſo hot as would ſoon burſt out into a trial, he ſubmitted himſelf in a petition to his Majeſty, in order to prevent a hearing; in which declaring his innocency from any crime committed againſt his Majeſty in thought, word, or deed, behaving as he found all other Biſhops of the realm had done, yet he begged to have no ſuit with his ſovereign Lord and Maſter and Patron. ‘ *Your* ‘ *Petitioner*,’ ſays he, ‘ *caſts himſelf with all humility* ‘ *at your Majeſty's feet, and implores your royal mercy,*

(qq) See more of this commiſſion in Sir Henry Spelman's article.

(78) Ibid. p. 95.

* It was obſerved that his pride and obſtinacy in not ſubmitting to the King in due time, had undone him. Garrard's letter to Ld Wentworth, dated July 14, 1637. in Strafford's letters, &c. p. 85. vol. II.

(79) Philips, p. 206, & ſeqq.

(80) Lord Clarendon, no friend to our author, obſerves, that Williams was an enemy to thoſe innovations, which were countenanced by Laud, and had wrote a book againſt uſing them, in which there was much good learning, though too little gravity for a biſhop. Hiſt. of the Rebellion, book i.

(81) Lives of Lord Chancellors, p. 104. vol. I. 8vo.

* Mr Aubiſton, ſchoolmaſter of Weſtminſter, on whom he had beſtowed a living near Hatfield, worth 400 l per ann. a little before, was put into the high commiſſion court for ſcandalous letters written to the Biſhop, which were found in his ſtudy at Bugden. Kilvert ſays, Aubiſton whipt himſelf into an eſtate, and he will whip him out of it. Garrard to Wentworth, ubi ſupra, p. 149, 150.

where ſome hard terms of accommodation being offered him, he abſolutely refuſed to ſubmit to them, and thereupon ſeizure was made of his goods at Bugden and Lincoln to the value of that fine [*BBB*]. When the parliament met in November 1640, he petitioned the King for his enlargement, and to have his writ of ſummons to parliament, but notwithſtanding he procured the mediation of the Queen, who had always preſerved a kindneſs for him, yet the Lord Keeper Finch and Archbiſhop Laud oppoſing, brought the King to refuſe it; ſo that about a fortnight after, viz. about the 16th of November, the Houſe of Lords ſent the Uſher of the Black Rod to demand him of the Lieutenant of the Tower; upon which he was brought to the parliament-houſe, and took his place among his brethren. Hereupon his Majeſty was pleaſed to be reconciled to him (*rr*), ſo far as to command that all orders kept in any court or regiſtry upon the former hearings and informations againſt him ſhould be taken off, razed, and cancelled, that nothing might ſtand upon record to his diſadvantage [*CCC*]. However, in the Houſe of Lords

(*rr*) It has been obſerved that his enemies too found they were ſo far from being able to procure him any further mortification, that they ſhould find it difficult enough to ſtand their own ground. Lives of the Lord Chancellors, vol. I. p. 105.

‘NON STARE IN JUDICIO CUM SERVO TUO, *but ſuffer him to aſcribe his deliverance to your Majeſty's clemency.*’ Then, with regard to the information of Lamb and Sibthorp, he proceeds thus: ‘And whereas your Majeſty having in the 4th year of your happy reign received the opinion of the four Lords to whom it was committed, concerning this very ſelf ſame charge, did, in your Majeſty's gallery of Whitehall, admit the defendant, brought in by the Lord Treaſurer, one of the ſaid committee, to kiſs your Majeſty's hand, and did uſe unto him the ſaid defendant, in the preſence and hearing of the ſaid right honourable Lord, theſe gracious words, that your Majeſty was pleaſed to forgive all that was paſt, and ſhould eſteem of this defendant according as how he ſhould demean himſelf for the time to come; he beſeeches no further proſecution may be uſed againſt him.’ He concludes in pleading for his Majeſty's favour for a perſon, ‘who had,’ ſays he, ‘the honour to cloſe your Majeſty's father's eyes, and of drawing up the commiſſion and contracts for your Majeſty's marriage.’ Biſhop Hacket aſſures us, that he likewiſe applied to Laud for his intereſt with his Majeſty to the ſame purpoſe; and the better to move him to it, put him in mind of his former friendſhip, in procuring him the biſhoprick of St Davids (82): ſo hard did he ſtruggle to prevent any further hearing of this cauſe. But we have the reaſon why all proved ineffectual from Lord Clarendon, who aſſures us, that it was not poſſible for him at this time to make his peace; for though, ſays he, upon ſome former addreſſes and importunities in his behalf by ſome perſons of power and place in the court, and in which the Queen herſelf had endeavoured to do him ſome good offices, the King was inclined to have ſaved him, being a Biſhop, from the infamy he muſt undergo from a public trial, yet the Biſhop's vanity had in thoſe conjunctures ſo far tranſported him, that he had done all he could to have inſinuated that the court was aſhamed of what they had done, and had prevailed with ſome of his powerful friends to perſuade him to that compoſition; upon which the King would never more hear any perſon in his behalf (83).

[*BBB*] *And ſeized to the value of the fine.*] The terms of accommodation were, 1. That he muſt leave his biſhoprick and commendams, and take a biſhoprick in Ireland or Wales, as his Majeſty ſhould think fit. 2. He muſt recant his book *. 3. Secure all his fines. 4. Never queſtion any that had been employed by his Majeſty againſt him. To this he anſwered, that he was content to lay his biſhoprick and deanery at his Majeſty's feet, but was not willing to go into Ireland. That he could not recant his book, which he was ready to juſtify. That he would pay his fine as faſt as he was able; and that he would not queſtion any body. This being not thought ſufficient, he offered to reſign all he had in the church, but ſtill to live in England (84); and as to his book, he was ſorry if any thing in it gave offence to his Majeſty. But ſince he muſt be ſtript of all he had in the church, he deſired to know how much ſhould be left him of all his lands and leaſes to live upon, that the fine-gatherers might not have all? and whether his penſion of 2000 marks a year, and the 24000 l. in arrears for the ſame, ſhould be taken in part for the King's payment? The anſwer he received was, that penſions were not paid to men out of favour; and as for what ſhould be allowed him out of his own eſtate to live on, he muſt not know that, till he had wholly ſubmitted himſelf. Upon this his Lordſhip writes to the Earl of Dorſet (who carried theſe meſſages to and fro) that it were a tempting of God to part with all he had willingly, and leave himſelf no aſſurance of a livelihood: That his debts, if he came out of the Tower, would caſt him into another priſon, no better proviſion being made for them than he ſaw appearance of. That he would never hazard himſelf into a condition to beg his bread. After this, hearing his Majeſty would not abate any thing of his fine, he deſired that it might be taken up by 1000 l. yearly as his eſtate would bear it, till the whole ſhould be paid. But that was not granted: Kilvert was ordered to go to Bugden and Lincoln, and there to ſeize upon all he could, and bring it into the Exchequer. Kilvert, glad of the office, made ſure of all that could be found, goods of all ſorts, plate, books, &c. to the value of 10,000 l. of which he never gave account but of 800 l. The timber he felled, killed the deer in the park, ſold an organ which coſt 120 l. for 10 l. pictures which coſt 400 l. for 4 l. made away with what books he pleaſed, and continued revelling for three ſummers (85) in Bugden-houſe. For four cellars of wine, cyder, ale, and beer, with wood, hay, corn, and the like, ſtored up for a year or two, he gives no account at all; and thus a large perſonal eſtate was ſquandered away (86), and not the leaſt part of the King's fine paid all this while; whereas if it had been managed to the beſt advantage, it would have been ſufficient to have diſcharged the whole. It were endleſs, ſays Dr Hacket (87), to repeat all the contrivances againſt his Lordſhip during his confinement, the bills which were drawn up, and ſuits commenced againſt him, as if it were on purpoſe to impoveriſh him, and to plunge him into debt, that ſo if he procured his enlargement from this priſon, he might not be long out of another. He petitioned the Lord Keeper, complaining, that he was ſummoned, being a priſoner, to appear at the ſame time before three or four courts of juſtice; that his means were taken from him, his ſervants ſome of them had betrayed him, others had left him; that he was forced to make but one meal a-day, and that but a poor one, for want of means to buy him bread ‡. However, he bore all theſe afflictions with the utmoſt patience; and if a ſtranger had ſeen his Lordſhip in the Tower, he would never have taken him for a priſoner, but rather for the Lord and Maſter of the place: for he lived with his uſual chearfulneſs and hoſpitality, and wanted only a larger allowance to give his gueſts a heartier welcome; for now he was confined to bare 500 l. a year (88), a great part of which was conſumed in the very fees of the Tower. He diverted himſelf, when alone, ſometimes with writing Latin poems, and at other times with the hiſtories of ſuch as were noted for their ſufferings in former ages. And for the three years and a half that he was confined, he was the ſame man as elſewhere, excepting that his frequent law-ſuits broke his ſtudies often; and it could not be ſeen, that he was the leaſt altered in his health, or pleaſantneſs of his temper (89).

[*CCC*] *The King was reconciled to him.*] When ſome after this were ſet on to try how he ſtood affected to his proſecutors, he anſwered, that *if they had no worſe foes than him, they need fear no harm, and that he ſaluted them with the charity of a Biſhop*; and when Kilvert came to him to crave pardon and indemnity for all the wrongs he had done, *I aſſure you pardon*, ſays the Biſhop, *for what you have done before; but this is a new fault, that you take me to be ſo baſe a ſpirit as to defile myſelf with treading upon ſo mean a creature.* LIVE STILL BY PETTYFOGGING AND IMPEACHING, AND THINK THAT I HAVE FORGOTTEN YOU (90).

(82) Hacket, p. 117.

(83) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 317.

* He had been examined in the Tower by two Biſhops and 3 Doctors of Law about it in the beginning of February 1637. Strafford, State papers, &c. in a letter to his Lordſhip from Mr Garrard, dated February 7, 1637. vol. ii. p. 149.

(84) Clarendon tells us that he refuſed to go into Ireland; for he had much ado to defend himſelf againſt the Archbiſhop [Laud] here, but if he went into Ireland, there was a man [the Earl of Strafford] that would cut off his head in leſs than a month. Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. p. 357.

(85) That is, till his Lordſhip's diſcharge in 1640.

(86) Clarendon ſays, he was committed without the compaſſion of any, except thoſe, who out of hatred to the government, were ſorry they had loſt ſo uſeful a companion. Ubi ſupra, p. 135.

(87) p. 128. part 2.

‡ The petition was ſhewn to the King, and relief was granted him in the firſt article; but in the ſecond, his Majeſty calling the Lord Treaſurer, was told by his Lordſhip, that he had uſed all means and diligence to have the Biſhop's lands extended, but yet could receive no profits of them; ſo that out of nothing nothing could be had. Garrard's letter to Wentworth, in Strafford's letters, &c. as before.

(88) Paid out of the profits of his new eſtate in Wales, purchaſed, as has been ſaid, of William Earl of Pembroke, for 10,000 l.

(89) Hacket, as before.

(90) Philips, p. 222.

he ſeconded the Lord Say's famous ſpeech againſt Archbiſhop Laud, but at the ſame time applied himſelf to the King, and made the greateſt profeſſions of duty to his Majeſty, and zeal to the church [DDD]. And ſhortly after, in a ſermon preached before the King, as Dean of Weſtminſter, mentioned the Preſbyterian diſcipline (ss) with great contempt, and in the proſecution of the Earl of Strafford, he defended the right of the Biſhops to vote in caſes of blood in a very pertinent learned ſpeech, but declared his opinion at the ſame time, that they ought not to be preſent at that trial, and offered, not only in his own name, but for the reſt of his brethren, to withdraw always when that buſineſs was entered upon [EEE]. However, when the bill of attainder had paſſed both houſes, he perſuaded his Majeſty againſt his private conſcience to give the royal aſſent to it [FFF]. In May 1641 he defended in a long ſpeech, very conſiderable for the learning and ſtrength of argument it contained, the right of the Biſhops to ſit in the houſe of peers, which had this effect, that the bill for depriving them of that right was then thrown out by the houſe. He was advanced to the ſee of York [GGG] December the 4th following (tt), and when upon the revival of the lately rejected bill the mob being gathered about the parliament-houſe to prevent the Biſhops from entering therein, inſolently tore his gown from his back, he returned to the Deanery, and convened thither all his brethren that were in town (uu), and propoſed to them as abſolutely neceſſary, that they ſhould unanimouſly and preſently prepare a proteſtation to ſend to the houſe againſt the force that was uſed upon them, and againſt all the acts which were or ſhould be done during the time that they ſhould be kept by force from doing their duties in the houſe, and immediately having pen and ink ready, he prepared a proteſtation, which being read to them, they all approved, and being engroſſed, they ſet their hands to it (ww) December the 27th, when the Archbiſhop went to Whitehall, and preſenting it to his Majeſty, to whom it was directed, humbly deſired, that he would ſend it to the Houſe of Peers, ſince they could not preſent it themſelves, and command that it ſhould be entered in the journal of the houſe: he obtained his ſuit, but the conſequence was the commitment of himſelf with the reſt of the petitioners by the parliament on an accuſation of high-treaſon to the Tower, where they all remained till the bill for putting them out of the houſe was paſſed, when on May 5th, 1642, they were releaſed, and June the 27th following, our Archbiſhop in perſon was inthronized in his own cathedral at York, where the King then was, but his Majeſty left it in July, and the Archbiſhop was forced away ſoon after. Being at Cawood one night very late, Dr Ferne, whom he had formerly made Archdeacon of Leiceſter, came in with a ſollicitous countenance, and begged him to leave the houſe and the country immediately, for that the younger Hotham was coming with

(ss) He obſerved that it was a government fit only for taylors and ſhoemakers, not for noblemen and gentlemen. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. p. 307.

(tt) Le Neve, ubi ſupra, p. 193.

(uu) Lord Clarendon informs us, that it was within a very few days before Chriſtmas; and the petition upon the face of it appears to be preſented on the 27th of December.

(ww) Depending, ſays Lord Clarendon, on his great experience in the rules of the houſe, where he had ſat ſo many years, and in ſome parliaments as ſpeaker, whilſt he was keeper of the great ſeal. Ibid. vol. I. part ii. p. 350. 8vo edition.

[DDD] *He ſeconded Lord Say's ſpeech, and profeſſed zeal to the church.*] After Lord Say had done, the Biſhop got up, and ſaid, That he had long known that noble Lord, and had always believed him to be as well affected to the church as himſelf. However, he profeſſed to the King, that he had a perfect deteſtation of thoſe perſons, who appeared to have no affection or duty toward his Majeſty, and of all evil intentions againſt the religion eſtabliſhed; and that the civility he had expreſſed toward them, was only out of gratitude for the good which they had ſhewed to him, and eſpecially that he might the better promote his Majeſty's ſervice (91).

[EEE] *To withdraw when that buſineſs was entered upon.*] His ſpeech in defence of the right of the Biſhops is extant, and lies before me. His arguments are clear and undeniable, according to the legal eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution. But having aſſerted the right, and therein ſhewn that it was at their own option, whether they would attend, or no, at that Lord's examination in the Houſe, he thought it no inconſiſtence voluntarily to wave their privilege. The whole fact ſtands thus: Some of the Biſhops greatly diſliking the violence of the Earl of Strafford's proſecution, when his life was plainly ſtruck at, thought to caſt an odium upon it as cruel, by declaring in the moſt ſolemn manner, that they were forbid by the canons of the church to give their aſſiſtance in caſes of blood; upon this a motion was made, that the Biſhops might have no vote in the paſſing that act of attainder, becauſe they pretended it was to have their hands in blood, which was againſt an old canon. The Biſhop of Lincoln ſpoke againſt that motion, and defended their right; but having done ſo much, he declared that they ought not in prudence to be preſent on account of the canons, and offered, not only in his own name, but for the reſt of the Biſhops, to withdraw always when that buſineſs was entered upon; and ſo, ſays the noble hiſtorian (a little ſeverely) betrayed a fundamental right of the whole order, to the great prejudice of the King, and to the taking away the life of that perſon who could not otherwiſe have ſuffered (92). However juſt, though ſevere, this remark may be, yet it ſhews this Biſhop's great weight and authority among his brethren, whom he here prevailed with to ſurrender their public right up to their private conſcience.

[FFF] *To give his aſſent to it.*] Here, on the other hand, our caſuiſt prevailed with his Majeſty to give up his private to his public conſcience. Lord Clarendon lays the weight upon him, though three other Biſhops joined with him, as it is ſaid (93), upon this trying point, which at the ſame time that it ſerved to diſcover what kind of ſpirit they were of, proved an occaſion to Biſhop *Juxon* of giving an illuſtrious example of a moſt heroical integrity, by telling the King, that *he ought to do nothing with an unſatisfied conſcience, upon any conſideration in the world* (94).

[GGG] *He was advanced to the ſee of York.*] Lord Clarendon relates (95) the occaſion of this advancement thus: After the King thought it neceſſary to make him Archbiſhop of York, which, as the time then was, could not qualify him to do more harm, and might poſſibly diſpoſe and oblige him to do ſome good, he carried himſelf ſo inſolently in the Houſe and out of the Houſe to all perſons, that he became much more odious univerſally than ever the other Abp [Laud] had been, having many more enemies than he, and few or no friends, of which the other had abundance; and the great hatred of the man's perſon and behaviour, was the greateſt invitation to the Houſe of Commons to revive ſo irregularly that bill to remove the Biſhops, and was their chief encouragement to hope, that the Lords, who had rejected the former, would now paſs and conſent to this ſecond bill. This ſure is going great lengths againſt the Archbiſhop of York; and, with ſubmiſſion to better judgment, I can't help thinking it a little far fetched, and ſeems to be ſo much laboured, as to give ſome room for ſuſpecting a prejudice, eſpecially when we find him repreſented by the ſame pencil in poſſeſſion of the kindneſs of ſome, not only as a known enemy to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, but as a ſupporter of thoſe opinions and thoſe perſons which were againſt the church. Indeed with regard to the perſons the thing is notorious, and his Lordſhip has given us a remarkable

(91) Id. ibid.

(92) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. as before, p. 396.

(93) Viz. Archbiſhop Uſher, and the Biſhops Moreton and Potter; but we have ſhewn this charge upon Uſher to be a miſtake. See his article.

(94) Eachard's Hiſt. of England, vol. II. p. 235. See alſo his article in this work.

(95) Ubi ſupra, p. 351.

with his forces to ſeize and kill him, having ſolemnly vowed it in revenge for ſome opprobrious words the Archbiſhop had given him for his baſe uſage of the King at Hull (*xx*), and that he would be there by five o'clock in the morning. Upon this warning, the Archbiſhop made his eſcape, and from that time never came into Yorkſhire; the wars then breaking out all over England. After this he retired into Wales, to his eſtate at Aber Conway, where he repaired and fortified Conway caſtle for the King, which ſo much pleaſed his Majeſty, that by a letter, dated from Oxford Auguſt 1, 1643, *He heartily deſires him to go on with that work*; *aſſuring him, that whatever money he ſhould lay out upon the fortifications of the ſaid caſtle, ſhould be repaid unto him, before the cuſtody thereof ſhould be put into any other hands than his own, or ſuch as he ſhould recommend.* By virtue of this warrant, the Archbiſhop, on the ſecond of January this year, deputed his nephew William Hooks to have the cuſtody of the caſtle, and gave the country people leave to lay up their plate, jewels, money, writings, and other valuable goods in it; each perſon having an inventory of his own ſhare. Some time after, being ſent for to attend the King at Oxford (*yy*), he gave his Majeſty the beſt advice that his knowledge and experience furniſhed him with; and among other things declared, that Cromwell, taken into the rebels army by his couſin Hampden, was the moſt dangerous enemy that his Majeſty had: for though he were at that time of mean rank and uſe among them, yet he would climb higher. And then proceeding to give Cromwell his true character, he concludes, *In ſhort, every beaſt hath ſome evil properties, but Cromwell hath the properties of all evil beaſts.* My humble motion is, either that you would win him to you by promiſes of fair treatment, or catch him by ſome ſtratagem, and cut him off [*HHH*]. After ſome ſtay at Oxford, the Archbiſhop returned to his own country, having received a freſh charge from his Majeſty to take care of all North Wales, but eſpecially of Conway caſtle. But being diſpoſſeſſed of it about a year afterwards by the King's party, he aſſiſted a colonel of the parliament to retake it, who poſſeſſed himſelf of it [*III*]. After this time he lived in a very private manner at Llandegay in that neighbourhood till the King's death, whom he did not ſurvive much above a year; which time he ſpent in ſorrow, and ſtudy, and devotions, riſing conſtantly every night out of his bed at midnight, and praying for a quarter of an hour on his bare knees, having nothing upon him but his ſhirt and waiſtcoat. At laſt he was ſeized with a quinſey, which put an end to his life (*zz*) on the 25th of March 1650, on his birth-day, being exactly ſixty-eight years of age. He was interred in Llandegay church, where, ſome years after, his nephew and heir Sir Griffyth Williams erected on the north wall a very handſome monument, with the effigies of the Archbiſhop kneeling in white marble, and under it an inſcription, compoſed by Dr Hacket his chaplain, who deſcribes him as an eminent pattern of munificent hoſpitality and charity (*aaa*), which in another place he explains to point to his generoſity, eſpecially to gentlemen of narrow fortunes, and poor ſcholars in both univerſities; his diſburſements this way every year amounting to a thouſand, and ſometimes to twelve hundred

(*xx*) Hotham came accordingly, and the houſe being ſurrendered to him upon a capitulation, he ſuffered the ſoldiers to plunder it, contrary to the articles, being much vexed at his diſappointment. Le Neve, ubi ſupra, p. 215.

(*yy*) At this time he reſigned his commendam of the deanery of Weſtminſter, which Mr Philips obſerves, p. 203, was in 1644, and probably his other commendams.

(*zz*) The words of his epitaph are, *Animam angina extinctus piiſſime Deo reddidit.*

(*aaa*) The words are, *munificentiæ, liberalitatis, hoſpitalis lautitiæ miſericordiæ erga pauperes inſigne exemplum.*

able inſtance of it; his ſeconding Lord Say's ſpeech againſt Laud: but the noble hiſtorian has produced no evidence of any opinions ſupported by our Archbiſhop againſt the church, unleſs the high commiſſion court*, and the ſeventeen canons made by the convocation in May 1640, after the diſſolution of the [ſhort] parliament, be eſteemed a part of the church, which Archbiſhop Laud deſired might die quietly without blemiſhing the church (96). But they were afterwards condemned by the ſucceeding [long] parliament, and the ſucceeding convocation, where Biſhop Williams held the chair in the committee appointed to review thoſe canons (97). Nor can there, I believe, be any inſtance given in ſupport of this charge, our author's ſteady adherence to the legal eſtabliſhed church being the moſt unexceptionable part of his character, and is conſtantly inſiſted upon and defended by Biſhop Hacket, who was never reckoned lukewarm in the church's cauſe. Mr Eachard tells us (98), that notwithſtanding the world's opinion of his principles, he continued ſo exact and ſtrict to the rules of the church of England, that in his laſt ſickneſs wanting a regular preſbyter to give him the ſacrament, abſolution, &c. he purpoſely ordained an honeſt and pious ſervant of his own to adminiſter to him in thoſe holy offices.

[*HHH*] *And cut him ſhort.*] ‘I knew him,’ ſays he, ‘at Bugden, but never knew his religion. He was a common ſpokeſman for ſectaries, and maintained their part with ſtubborneſs. He never diſcourſed as if he were pleaſed with your Majeſty and your great officers. Indeed he loves none that are more than his equals. Your Majeſty did him but juſtice in repulſing a petition that was put up by him againſt Sir Thomas Steward of the iſle of Ely, but he takes them all for his enemies, that would not let him injure his beſt friend; and, above all that live, I think, he is *injuriarum perſequentiſſimus*, as Portius Latra ſaid of Cataline. He talks openly, that it is fit ſome ſhould act more vigorouſly againſt your forces, and bring your perſon into the power of the parliament. He cannot give a good word of his general the Earl of Eſſex, becauſe he ſays the Earl is but half an enemy to your Majeſty, and has done you more favour than harm. His fortunes are broken, that it is impoſſible for him to ſubſiſt, much leſs to be what he aſpires to, but by your Majeſty's bounty, or by the ruin of us all, and a common confuſion, as one ſaid, *Lentulus ſalva republica ſalvus eſſe non potuit* (99).’

[*III*] *Who poſſeſſed himſelf of it.*] Lord Clarendon having expoſed our Archbiſhop's caſuiſtry, as the King's confeſſor, in the caſe of the Earl of Strafford, concludes it thus: This was the argument of that unhappy caſuiſt, who truly it may be did believe himſelf; for towards the end of the war, and when the King's power declined, he being then an Archbiſhop, did in perſon aſſiſt the rebels to take a caſtle of the King's, in which there was a garriſon, and which was taken by a long ſiege, becauſe he might thereby better enjoy the profits of his own eſtate, which lay thereabouts. No doubt the ſtory was thus related to that noble hiſtorian (100). But Dr Hacket gives the particulars of the fact, which, beſides what we have inſerted above in the text, is, that Sir John Owen, a colonel of the King's, coming that way after a defeat in 1645, obtained of Prince Rupert to be under him commander of the caſtle; and ſo ſurprizing it by force, entered it, notwithſtanding the King's promiſe, and the expence laid out not being refunded. Thereupon the Archbiſhop, after ſeveral remonſtrances made to the court without any ſucceſs, he being joined by the country people, whoſe properties were detained in the caſtle, and aſſiſted by one Colonel Mitton, who was really a violent man againſt the King, they forced open the gates, and entered the caſtle, which Colonel Mitton poſſeſſed himſelf of; but that was only agreed

to

* He was preſent but once there, not liking either the multiplicity of their cauſes, or the ſeverity of their cenſures.

(96) See his letter to Mr Selden, Nov. 29, 1640, under his article, Rem. [*HH*].

(97) It was called the Committee of Innovations, and ſat March 12, 1640.

(98) In his hiſt. of England, vol. II. p. 700.

(99) Hacket, p. 212.

(100) Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

hundred pounds [KKK]. His epitaph likewiſe informs us, that he laid out no leſs than twenty thouſand pounds in great benefactions. The particulars we ſhall put together below [LLL]. It is univerſally agreed, that his perſon was handſome and his preſence ſtately, his geſture magnificent and his looks generous, the whole exterior being animated with a great mind and a high ſpirit [MMM], which raiſed him to aim at great things, and effect them. His temper was hot and haſty in reſenting, and as ready in forgiving; the characteriſtic of his country. He entertained a favourable opinion of the Puritans, but was againſt ſhewing them any indulgence, which did not perfectly conſiſt with the legal eſtabliſhment of the church. To this he firmly adhered, and continued to the laſt to teſtify his diſlike of any alterations or innovations whatſoever therein, either to enlarge or contract the ſettled forms. He was poſſeſſed of a good ſhare of learning, had a ready wit and a ſtrong memory, but in his writings fell into the exploded pedantry which was the vice of his time. Beſides what hath been already mentioned, he publiſhed a ſermon under the title of *Perſeverantia Sanctorum, &c.* (*bbb*) He had reſolved upon publiſhing the works of his predeceſſor in Lincoln dioceſe, the famous Robert Groſthead, which were ſcattered in ſeveral libraries at home and abroad; and he digeſted what he could procure of them, and wrote arguments upon diverſe parts of them. He likewiſe undertook a Latin Commentary upon the Bible, and the notes, collected from all good authors by his own hand, were once in the cuſtody of Mr Gowland, keeper of Weſtminſter college library. His Lordſhip, knowing well that to perform ſuch a taſk completely was above the abilities of any one man, intended to leave it to be finiſhed by twelve or more of the beſt ſcholars in the nation, whom he had in his eye, and was willing to give them twenty thouſand pounds, rather than it ſhould be unfiniſhed (*ccc*).

(*bbb*) The whole title is, *Perſeverantia Sanctorum.* A ſermon of perſevering in patience, repentance, and humiliation in time of afflictions, preached before the Lords of the parliament, on the laſt general faſt, upon Aſh-Wedneſday, the 18th day of February, at the collegiate church of St Peter in Weſtminſter, by the right honorable and right reverend Father in God John Lord Biſhop of Lincoln, and Dean of the ſaid church.

(*ccc*) This deſign it is well known was executed by Mr Pool, under the title of *Synopſis Criticorum.*

to by the Archbiſhop on condition that every proprietor might obtain his own, which the Colonel ſaw performed (101).

[KKK] *And ſome years* 1200 *l.*] The following inſtance ſhews remarkably the generoſity of his temper. When Peter du Moulin, flying from the ſiege of Mount Albans, came into England, the Biſhop hearing of him, and gueſſing that he might very probably be in want, ordered his chaplain Dr Hacket to make him a viſit, and bid him carry him ſome money, not naming any ſum; upon which Dr Hacket ſaying he could not give him leſs than 20 l. I did demur upon the ſum, ſays the Biſhop, to try you. Is 20 l. a fit gift for me to give a man of his parts and deſerts? Take 100 l. and tell him he ſhall not want, and I will come ſhortly and viſit him myſelf; which he did afterwards, and was as good as his word in ſupplying his wants while he was in England, and then ſent for his ſon, and gave him a good fine cure in Wales, with a condition of allowing his mother ſomewhat for her ſupport (102).

[LLL] *The particulars of his benefactions.*] Theſe are as follow. Upon Weſtminſter Abbey 4500 l. Upon the library there 500 l. The college debt 300 l. He new-caſed one ſide of the ſquare of Lincoln college in Oxford, and built the chapel (103), and furniſhed it with very handſome utenſils, eſpecially for the communion table. In St John's college, Cambridge, he founded two fellowſhips and four ſcholarſhips, and gave the ſociety the perpetual advowſon of four eccleſiaſtical benefices (104), two with cure, the rectories of Freſhwater and Souldren, and two without cure, the donatives of St Florence and Aberdarron, beſides a very large fair gilt bowl, with a cover, for public uſe on feſtivals. He likewiſe contributed 2011 l. 13 s. 4 d. towards the building of the caſe of the new library there, which after his death was finiſhed with what part the troubleſome times had ſpared of his mangled library, and by ſelling the duplicates and imperfect books (to which adding the ſum of 125 l. 4 s. 1 d.) the college made a purchaſe of lands to the value of 20 l. per ann. 6 l. 13 s. 4 d. whereof to the library keeper for the augmentation of his ſtipend, and the reſt for books for the library, as his Lordſhip's perpetual gift (105). We are informed that the college accepted of his foundation of fellows and ſcholars, out of gratitude to him, at leſs than half the revenue ſufficient to maintain it; for which reaſon, after the ſuſtaining of much loſs, they were at laſt forced to ſink the fellowſhips in their own defence, and in compliance with the ſtatute of the college. It is certain he was ſo ſenſible of the kindneſs of the college to his foundation, and how unhappily the deſigns of making them reparation for the detriment they had ſuſtained thereby were fruſtrated, that he reſolved to leave them an eſtate of 300 l. per ann. that the writings of ſettlement were actually drawn, and read over to, and approved of by him; but it being ſomewhat late at night, and his Lordſhip much indiſpoſed, he deferred the ſigning and ſealing of them till the next morning, before which time it pleaſed God to take him out of the world (106).

[MMM] *A high ſpirit.*] This laid him open to be galled by his enemies, of which nobody took more advantage than Archbiſhop Laud, who himſelf ſeems likewiſe to have had his reſt much diſturbed by Williams, as appears by ſome paſſages in his diary. Thus: *October* 23. *I dreamt the Keeper was dead. June* 14, 1626. *Dreamt the Biſhop of Lincoln came to me with iron chains, but returning freed from them, he leapt upon a horſe; neither could I overtake him. In March* 1627, *Sir Geo. Wright whiſpered in my ear in my ſleep, that I was the cauſe that Lincoln was not admitted again into favour. July* 13, 1637. *Dreamt at Andewick, that the Biſhop of Lincoln came and tried to ſit above me at the council board, and that the Earl of Holland came and placed him there.*—— On the other hand, all authors agree, that Williams was not leſs haunted by Laud, whoſe very perſon he affected to deſpiſe, if we may believe Lord Clarendon; and it is evident that their mutual animoſity firſt helped to ruin each other, and then ſerved to ruin the church (107).

(101) See alſo Philips, p. 286.

(102) Hacket, part iii. p. 33.

(103) It is in a very good taſte.

(104) Two of them he had obtained of King James, as before mentioned.

(105) Philips, p. 311.

(106) Le Neve, ubi ſupra, p. 228.

(107) The caſe ſeems to be this: Laud heartily hated Williams for his want of zeal in the cauſe of the church, according to his notions; and Williams heartily deſpiſed Laud for his want of wiſdom and policy in any cauſe.

P

WILLIS [Thomas], the moſt eminent phyſician of his time, was born January 27, 1621-2, at Great Bedwin in Wiltſhire (*a*), where his father, Mr Thomas Willis, then reſided (*b*); but ſhortly after removing to North Hinkſey, near Abingdon in Berkſhire, ſent this his eldeſt ſon to ſchool to the famous Mr Edward Sylveſter at Oxford, where the ſcholar's diligence meeting with a good capacity and ready apprehenſion, rendered him fit for the univerſity about the age of fifteen, when he was taken under the patronage of Dr Thomas Iles, Canon of Chriſt-church, and admitted a Batler of that college in 1636 (*c*). In this ſituation he applied himſelf with the ſame innate induſtrious temper to the academical ſtudies, and proceeded A. B. June 19, 1639. He likewiſe commenced A. M. on 18th of the ſame month, 1642 (*d*), having at that time ſome thoughts of chooſing divi-

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. col. 540. vol. II.

(*b*) His mother, Rachel, being daughter of Mr Will. Howell, by her the family became related to W. Wykeham, founder of New college, Oxford. Memoirs communicated by Browne Willis, Eſq;

(*c*) Wood, as before. Our author's grandſon, Browne Willis, Eſq; erected a handſome monument in Chriſt-church to Dr Iles, in 1757.

(*d*) Idem, in Faſti Ox. vol. I. 279. & in vol. II. col. 5.

nity for his profeſſion. But his father [A] dying the next year, he left Oxford, and went to take care of his inheritance at North Hinkſey, where he continued, till being haraſſed by the parliament party, who were encamped not far off in the neighbourhood of Oxford, he withdrew for protection into that city, which being garriſoned for the King, he there bore arms in the ſervice of his Majeſty till it ſurrendered; when having ſeen the conſtitution of the church overturned, and no encouragement left for the ſtudy of divinity, he turned his thoughts to phyſic (e); in which faculty he took the degree of Bachelor, December 8, 1646 (f): and applying himſelf to the practice of his profeſſion with remarkable induſtry, he went conſtantly every Monday to Abingdon market (g). At the ſame time being piouſly diſpoſed, and a zealous ſon of the church of England, he had prayers and ſacraments daily performed at his chambers in Canterbury quadrangle at Chriſt-church, by ſome of his friends [B], according to the then aboliſhed church liturgy. All this while his buſineſs increaſing with his fame, he quitted the college, and took a houſe in St John Baptiſt's pariſh, oppoſite to Merton college; where, notwithſtanding the imminent danger of it, the ſame method of divine ſervice was daily practiſed. About this time he married Mary the daughter of Dr Samuel Fell, the ejected Dean of Chriſt-church (h). In the midſt of thoſe diſtractions, which then miſerably rent the public affairs, Oxford was remarkably diſtinguiſhed by a confluence of learned men of all parties and perſuaſions, who, confirming the truth of that maxim, that *true learning is of no party*, formed themſelves into a philoſophical ſociety for the improvement of natural knowledge. Of this ſociety our author was one of the firſt members (i); and particularly proſecuting the ſtudy of chymiſtry, he publiſhed in 1659 thoſe remarkable tracts, which firſt brought his merit into the knowledge of the world, *Of Fermentations, of Fevers, and of Urines* [C]. Theſe pieces were not leſs illuſtrious proofs of his philoſophical than of his medical genius: And upon the King's reſtoration the next year, our phyſician was recommended by Archbiſhop Sheldon to the Sedleian profeſſorſhip of natural philoſophy at Oxford, into which he was unanimouſly choſen Auguſt 8, in the room of Joſhua Croſs, then ejected (k); and he ſeldom failed for a conſiderable time of reading ſuch lectures, as drew an unuſual number of auditors *. He took his doctor of phyſic's degree on the 30th of October following (l). Upon the inſtitution of the Royal Society, he became one of the firſt members of

[A] *His father.*] Dr John Fell, Biſhop of Oxford, gives us the following account of this gentleman (1), that he was deſcended of an honeſt family, that he had a liberal education, and took the degree of A. M. in the univerſity of Oxford, whence, chooſing a country life, he retired to an eſtate (2) which he was poſſeſſed of near the ſame city, and ſolely attended his domeſtic affairs, and the care of his family; that during the civil wars he was taken off by the contagion of a camp-fever, leaving his ſon an orphan of about 20 years of age. This account is expreſly controverted by Mr Wood (3), who tells us, that this Thomas Willis of North Hinkſey near Abingdon in Berkſhire, was ſome time a retainer to St John's college, but took no degree; that he afterwards became bailiff or ſteward to Sir Walter Smith of Bedwin, and in the laſt part of his life reſided altogether at North Hinkſey; and that he was the ſon of another Thomas Willis, a taylor, who moſtly lived at Kennington near Abingdon: but for this article the antiquary alledges nothing more than hearſay; for which another writer informing us there was no grounds, ſuppoſes that our author's father was ſent to St John's college on account of his relation to Dr Francis Willis, ſome time Preſident of that college, who having no children, left an eſtate at North Hinkſey of about 70 l. a year to his family; that engaging in the civil wars as a royaliſt, he died in defence of that cauſe, Auguſt the 4th, 1643, and was interred in the chancel of Hinkſey church, in the ſame grave with his wife, as appears by the inſcription on the grave-ſtone; that beſides our author, his eldeſt, he left two other ſons, namely John, who was bred an attorney at law, and became chapter-clerk at Chriſt-church, and compoſed an excellent Ledger-book, which goes by his name, from the old records and evidences of the college eſtates; that this John left an only daughter, Margaret, who married Mr George Cooper, Regiſter to the univerſity, from which match deſcended Dr George Cooper, Fellow of New college, and an eminent phyſician at Oxford. The other brother of our author, named William, died a Fellow of Trinity college in the ſame univerſity, and A. M. not long after the reſtoration. That our author's father had a younger brother named John, from whom deſcended the family of Willis, of conſiderable note at Halſhead-hall, in the pariſh of Preſcot in Lancaſhire. (4) Upon the whole, it cannot be denied that Mr Wood's information concerning our author's grandfather is not altogether ſo improbable as this writer intimates, who has given us no account at all of him, only inſinuates that he was deſcended from a family of his name at Great Bedwin in Wiltſhire, where, ſays he, ſeveral of the name occur in the pariſh regiſter. The reader cannot but obſerve that the circumſtances of our author's education, as his going to ſchool every day from Hinkſey four miles to Oxford, and not boarding in the city; his being entertained in the family of Dr Iles as his exhibitioner, and admitted in the college a batler, the loweſt order in the univerſity, and his keeping Abingdon market at his firſt ſetting out in the practice of phyſic, all ſpeak the low condition of his family; and indeed Dr Fell, who plainly intends his account of our author for a handſome panegyric upon his brother-in-law, ſays no more than that he was extracted from an honeſt family, *honeſta familia ortus*. It is certain that the meanneſs of the Doctor's birth was no real diſparagement to his perſon, who by his diſtinguiſhed merit became *Faber fortunæ ſuæ*.

[B] *Divine ſervice according to the church liturgy.*] Among others that attended this ſervice, were particularly Mr (afterwards Dr) John Fell (Biſhop of Oxford) brother-in-law to our author, Mr John Dolben, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, and Mr Richard Alleſtree, afterwards Provoſt of Eton college. Beſides theſe the congregation conſiſted of moſt of the loyaliſts in Oxford, and eſpecially thoſe ſcholars that were ejected in 1648 (5). This diſtinguiſhed part of our author's loyalty no doubt was of ſingular ſervice to him in his election to the Sedleian lecture of natural philoſophy after the reſtoration.

[C] *Of fermentation*, &c.] In this treatiſe the Doctor firſt ſtarted that hypotheſis, which in his ſubſequent writings he made uſe of for the ſolution of all the phænomena appearing either in the natural or morbid ſtate of the body, as alſo for the operation of medicines. He maintains, that fermentations occaſioned by the chymical principles of the blood, are the grand principle of life from its firſt appearance in the *punctum ſaliens*, through all its natural growth, to its decay and final diſſolution; the juſt proportion and ſtate of theſe principles conſtituting the health of the body and the diſeaſes, and at laſt the death of it, being brought on either by the exceſs or defect of this proportion, cauſing either too great or too little fermentation therein. For inſtance, in fevers, the principal cauſe of it (*m*). In 1664, he diſcovered the famous mineral ſpring at Aſtrop [*D*], near Brackley, in Northamptonſhire; and the ſame year he publiſhed his celebrated treatiſe on the *Anatomy of the Brain* [*E*]. The plague raging, eſpecially in London, this and the following year, the Doctor drew up, in 1666, *A plain and eaſy Method for preſerving thoſe that are well, from the Infection of the Plague, or any contagious Diſtemper in City, Camp, Country, Fleet, &c. and for curing ſuch as are infected with it* (*n*). The ſame year, his conſtant patron Archbiſhop Sheldon, always ſtudious to promote his welfare, having prompted him to ſettle in the metropolis, he removed ſoon after to the city from Oxford, and took a houſe in St Martin's lane, Weſtminſter (*o*). This ſtep effectually anſwered the purpoſe intended by it. He preſently grew into the moſt extenſive practice of any profeſſor at that time in the faculty; and he executed it with diſtinguiſhed ſkill, care, and induſtry (*p*). Yet he did not neglect the duties of religion; but as he roſe early in the morning to attend divine ſervice, which he ſeldom or never failed of frequenting, before he viſited his patients, he agreed with the ſchoolmaſter, who taught in the veſtry-room of St Martin's church, to read prayers at ſix in the morning in ſummer, and at ſeven in the winter half year; and at five in the evening. And ſeeing the ſervice at theſe times much frequented, after having continued to pay the ſalary during his life-time, he ſettled at his death twenty pounds a year for that purpoſe (*q*). About this time he was elected a fellow of the college of phyſicians in London (*r*), and was appointed phyſician in ordinary to King Charles

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(e) Biſhop Fell in the preface to *Pharmaceutice Rationalis*.

(f) Wood's Faſti, vol. II. col. 53.

(g) Ath. Oxon. as before. This was cuſtomary in thoſe diſtracted times.

(h) Idem, ibid.

(i) See Dr Wallis's article.

(k) Wood's Hiſt. & Antiquitat. Univ. Oxon. lib. xi. p. 43.

* Goodall.

(l) Wood's Faſti, col. 134.

(1) In the poſtſcript to the preface of Dr Willis's *Pharmaceutice Rationalis*.

(2) Of about 70 l. per annum. Communicated by Dr Browne Willis, our author's grandſon.

(3) Ath. Oxon. vol. II. col. 550.

(4) General Dictionary, under our author's article.

(5) Wood, as before.

(*m*) Birch's Hiſt. of R. S.

(*n*) This was not printed till 1690.

(*o*) Athen. Ox. ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Idem, ibid.

(*q*) Idem, col. 550.

(*r*) Birch's Hiſt. of R. S.

cauſe of diſeaſes, he imputes their riſe to the exceſſive fermentation, which cauſes too great an effervеſcence, and a boiling heat in the blood.

This piece being attacked by Edmond de Meara, doctor of phyſic at Briſtol, and fellow of the college of phyſicians at London, was defended by Dr Richard Lower *, in a piece intituled *Diatriba, &c.* in the preface to which he gives this reaſon for publiſhing a vindication of our author, becauſe not only the name of Willis, but even of philoſophy itſelf, was injured; and that he does not attempt to aſſert the cauſe of Willis as though he needed any aſſiſtance, but merely to eaſe him of the trouble of ſuch a taſk, who was deſigned for nobler employments, than attending to the calumnies of his antagoniſt. He declares himſelf greatly ſurprized that Willis, equally celebrated for his courteſy and gentleneſs of manners, who neither by word or deed had given offence to Meara, ſhould be perſecuted with the moſt notorious falſities and reproaches. But this uſage, continues he, may be expected from one who has vilified the greateſt names and perſons, Des Cartes, Hervey, and Gliſſon. This Briſtol doctor denied Hervey's famous diſcovery of the circulation of the blood; charges him with advancing many ridiculous abſurdities, and even impious opinions (6). Neither does he give Gliſſon any better quarter, for attempting to confirm Hervey's doctrine of the ſanguifying faculty of the blood, which having tranſcribed from that author, he concludes thus: *Ita præſidenter philoſophatur Gliſſonius, non aliter quam ſi ut Actæon Dianam, naturam nudam ſine veſte conſpexiſſet* (7). He then enters upon the defence of Galen's doctrine of the four humours againſt Willis; and having charged him with borrowing his account of the heart from Carteſius, whom he endeavours to expoſe as confounding the vital and benign heat with the deſtructive fervors and flame in fevers; which confuſion, ſays he, though it may be pardoned in Carteſius, yet is abſolutely inexcuſable in Willis; *quæ tamen Confuſio quanquam Carteſio, ingeniis aliorum minus ſolidis aliquam educationis umbram venditanti, concedi poſſet, Williſio certe, in academia Oxonienſi philoſophanti, imo philoſophiæ reſtaurationem parturienti, nullatenus concedi poteſt.*

* See his article.

(6) Ch. iv. p. 54, 55.

(7) Ch. v. p. 57.

The following cenſure of Meara is worth notice: he declares his indignation againſt this new hypotheſis to be chiefly occaſioned by the introduction of a new and pernicious practice founded upon it. This remark furniſhed Dr Lower with an opportunity of obſerving on the contrary, that no change was made by it in the practice, nor any alteration in ſuch remedies as experience had approved. The ſame thing is alſo expreſsly intimated by Dr Willis, who claims no other merit by his hypotheſis, than that of founding the practice, which was almoſt wholly empirical before, upon a better way of reaſoning, and thereby of proceeding to a more rational practice. However, it muſt not be omitted, that the Doctor (as is uſually ſeen in the caſe of a new invention) became ſo enamoured of his darling hypotheſis, as to carry it to an indefenſible, not to ſay chimerical exceſs, which in the end proved its ruin. In no long time it was forced to give way to a more mechanical hypotheſis, ſupported by a better knowledge in mathematics, by Dr Pitcairn, and his followers; but this too, being carried to a like exceſs, has ſuffered the like fate. In ſhort, the true cauſe ſeems to be one of nature's ſecrets which are hidden from us mortals; and I am apt to think that the Θειον τι of Hippocrates is the beſt ſolution.

[*D*] *Aſtrop wells.*] It is ſuppoſed he was then (April 12) going upon a viſit to Lady Keyt, his patient, in Warwickſhire, and that obſerving his horſe to drink more largely of it than uſual, he thence took a hint, prompted by a natural curioſity *, to make ſeveral experiments upon the water, which he tells us himſelf he found impregnate with a vitriolic ſalt and ſteel, in which reſpect he ranks it with the German Spa and Tunbridge wells. Being found to have a good effect in the ſcurvy, aſthma, green ſickneſs, and other like diſeaſes, the fame of it ſoon ſpread itſelf over the kingdom. It has been before obſerved, that in making the experiments he was aſſiſted by Dr Richard Lower; and Mr Wood ſpares not to give the honour of the diſcovery more to this aſſiſtant, who he tells us was at this time with Dr Willis in this viſit of his patients. That Willis being then aſleep, or in a doſing condition on horſeback, Lower imparted the obſervation of the horſe's drinking to him, whereupon they jointly made the experiments; and Dr Willis afterwards recommended the water to his patients (8). The water is obſerved (9) to have an irony ſmell and taſte; is, according to ſome, impregnated with ſteel, and, according to others, purely vitriolic. It purges chiefly by urine.

* Pharmaceutice Rational. l. 3. ch. 7. part 2.

(8) Ath. Oxon. vol. II. col. 857. The antiquary here ſpeaks rather diſparagingly of our author, againſt whom it is ſaid he had ſome prejudice, by a quarrel between their ſervants. Br. Willis.

(9) Morton's Natural Hiſtory of Northamptonſhire, p. 281, 282.

[*E*] *The anatomy of the brain.*] The ſubſtance of this piece had been read as lectures in the ſchools at Oxford; but before he printed it, was much improved and diligently reviſed, as he acquaints us in the preface: where he alſo ingeniouſly acknowledges the aſſiſtance of Dr Lower in this work, both in the diſſections of the brain, and obſervations upon them, as a partner and fellow-labourer: he likewiſe had the advice of Dr Thomas Millington, Fellow of All Souls college, in the reaſoning part; and many of the figures were drawn up by Sir Chriſtopher Wren, with diſtinguiſhed curioſity and accuracy (10). Our author made ſeveral conſiderable improvements in this branch of anatomy. The brain having been found before to conſiſt of three parts, the *cerebrum*, *cerebellum*, and *medulla oblongata*, he examined theſe parts; and by tracing the medullary ſubſtance through all its inſertions in the viſcera, examining the origin of all the nerves, and going along with them into every part of the ſyſtem, the brain was, beyond all contradiction, proved to be the fountain of ſenſe and motion; and by the courſes of the nerves, the manner how any one part of the body conſpiring with any other to procure any one particular motion, was clearly ſhewn; and thereby it was made plain even to ſenſe, that very many parts joined at once in cauſing the ſame motion, the nerves cauſing the motions going into every one of thoſe parts, which are all ſtuck together (11).—However, as the ſubject was then ſo little known, it muſt not be diſſembled, that ſome of our author's reaſonings from the *phænomena*, eſpecially in the comparative anatomy of this part, are very extraordinary. For inſtance, he aſcribes the involuntary motions of the

(10) See his article.

(11) See Vieuſſens and Du Verney upon the ſame ſubject, who followed our author, but corrected ſome of his miſtakes in the anatomical part.

Charles II. who afterwards offered to confer upon him the honour of knighthood, which however he modeſtly declined (*s*), being not ſo deſirous of a diſtinction by any dignity or rank in his own perſon, as ſtudious to procure a handſome proviſion for his family [*F*], for whom he had the tendereſt regard. Having before he left Oxford put to that preſs *Pathologiæ cerebri & nervoſi generis ſpecimen in quo agitur de morbis convulſivis & ſcorbuto*, it came out at Oxford in 1667. 4to (*t*). And an account of it was publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 31. In this treatiſe, obſerving how much former authors had been miſtaken in their notions concerning hyſterical and hypochondriacal affections, he declares, that the moſt rational account which can be given of the ſymptoms attending thoſe diſorders, is by attributing them to convulſive motions. He likewiſe conjectures that the cholic, tympanites, and ſome ſorts of aſthmas, are in great part nervous diſtempers. Some animadverſions being made upon this piece by Dr Nathaniel Highmore in 1670, our learned author, in anſwer thereto, publiſhed *Affectionum quæ dicuntur hyſtericæ & hypocondraicæ pathologia ſpaſmodica vindicata, contra reſponſionem epiſtolarem Nathanielis Highmore, M. D. Cui acceſſerunt exercitationes medico-phyſicæ de ſanguinis accenſione & motu muſculari*. Lond. 1670. 4to (*u*). Addreſſed to Dr Highmore. An account of it is printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 57. Dr Willis imagined hyſteric fits to proceed from the brain, Dr Highmore from the blood and lungs. Before the expiration of this year, he had the misfortune to loſe his wife, who died October the 31ſt, of a conſumption, exceſſively lamented by her huſband [*G*]. Among other means to divert his melancholy

(*s*) Athen. Ox. as before.

(*t*) And at London in 1668. Amſtel. 1669. &c. in 12mo.

(*u*) And at Leyden 1671. 12mo.

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the heart and pulſe, &c. particularly to the *cerebellum*, excluſive of the *cerebrum*, which he makes to preſide over the voluntary motions (12). He aſcribes to the cortical part of the brain the generation and production of the animal ſpirits, of whoſe exiſtence he ſpeaks with the ſame aſſurance as that of the blood itſelf, from which he ſays they are produced. To theſe he aſcribes both imagination and memory; the firſt being a certain undulation or wavering of the animal ſpirits, begun inwardly in the middle of the brain, and expanded or ſtretched out from thence on every ſide towards its circumference. That memory conſiſts in the regeneration or flowing back of the ſame animal ſpirits from the exterior compaſs of the brain towards its middle. The reſt of the faculties of the ſenſitive ſoul, as ſenſe and motion, are ſeated in the ſame animal ſpirits. But though he concurs (13) with the commonly received opinion, that the brain is the chief ſeat of the rational ſoul, yet he neither thinks the *pineal gland* to be the ſeat of the ſoul, nor that its faculties ariſe from it; becauſe, ſays he, animals which ſeem to be almoſt quite deſtitute of imagination, memory, and other ſuperior powers of the ſoul, have this glandular kernel large and fair enough (14). He is clear, that neither the animal ſpirits themſelves, nor their traces nor footſteps, being indiſcernible, are this ſeat, but that very liquor or juice which is the latex or vehicle of the animal ſpirits, without which theſe could not be combined or bound, nor be able to combine and knit together the *ſyſtaſis* of the ſenſitive ſoul. 'Tis the action of this nervous juice, in a certain ſpirituous ferment, poured with the arterious blood, full of the nutritious humor, which is the genicular ſeed of the other parts of the body; whence to the defect, redundancy, and diſorder of this nervous *latex*, he aſcribes palſies, ſome atrophies, &c. and hence comes that great reproach, the pretence of a nervous caſe, as an excuſe for the ignorance of the phyſician.

Dr Boerhaave more than all recommends this treatiſe of the anatomy of the brain (15). This, ſays he, is the beſt treatiſe of anatomy that ever was publiſhed; to which is added a new deſcription of the nerves, and their diſtribution in this or that part: their origin and end is moſt excellently deſcribed; ſo that neither Galen nor Sylvius le Boe, who boaſted ſo much of their tables, are in any wiſe to be compared to Willis. This treatiſe is abſolutely the beſt of any to teach one the nature of the nerves that go out from the cranium, which ſerve the external ſenſes, the viſcera (which are called ſplanchnia) and the muſcles of the head and neck. You need look no further than Willis and his moſt excellent treatiſe in theſe matters. But if you would know the nerves which deſcend to all the muſcles of the body, then this treatiſe of Willis muſt be corrected by the *Neurologia* of Raymon Vieuſſens. So then, concludes he, Willis is the beſt that ever wrote of the nerves of the external ſenſes. Again, in another place he writes thus: Willis, in his *Anatome Cerebri*, eſpecially if you can get the London edition in 1670, which is much more copious than the former in 1664, there is no book more beautiful than this. The figures are ſo exact, as if they were the very body itſelf, which is owing to Sir Chriſtopher Wren, that complete mathematician, who was preſent at the diſſections of Lower and Willis, and deſigned them with his own hand. The other editions in Dutch and French are ſo altered, that the figures are ſcarce worth looking at. He afterwards proceeds to recommend Vieuſſens's *Neurologia*, and Ridley's *anatomy of the brain*; and concludes: I cannot give you better advice, than carefully to read theſe authors. For order in writing Willis is certainly preferable to the reſt. The ſame Boerhaave likewiſe recommends our author's treatiſe of urines.

[*F*] *He declined knighthood, being more ſtudious of wealth.*] Though the offer of this honour might be looked upon to proceed as much from a regard in his Majeſty to his own dignity, in having his phyſician in ordinary raiſed to that rank and quality, yet there was this particular inducement to accept it, that the ſame honour had been conferred upon the King's other phyſicians, to whom he muſt conſequently upon the refuſal yield the place in his attendance. But his heart was more ſet to procure a fortune for his family. Mr Wood tells us (16), that 'ſoon after his ſettling in 'Weſtminſter, he became ſo noted, and ſo infinitely 'reſorted to, for his practice, that never any phyſi'cian before went beyond him, or got more money 'yearly than he.' The antiquary does not ſtick to aſſert, that 'the drudgery which he underwent moſtly 'for the ſake of lucre, contributed very much to the 'ſhortening his life.' However that be, no doubt but it was the predominant paſſion of his conſort, as will be ſeen in the next remark.

[*G*] *Exceſſively lamented by the Doctor.*] Seeing the conſumption grow worſe, the Doctor propoſed to leave the town, and attend her in the country, as the likelieſt means to obtain the recovery of a perſon ſo dear to him as ſhe was; but ſhe could not be brought to conſent to it, as this would be putting an end to thoſe great gains which flowed in upon him from his buſineſs; thus preferring her children's increaſe of fortune even before her own life itſelf, ſhe fell a ſacrifice to her predominant paſſion. She died at the houſe in St Martin's Lane, and was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey: where on a ſtone laid over her grave is the following inſcription written by her huſband:

> MARIA *uxor chariſſ.* THO. WILLIS, *M. D.*
> *necnon Sam. Fell, S. P. D. & Eccleſiæ Cathedralis*
> *Chriſti Oxon. Decani Filia; Fœmina, ſi quæ alia,*
> *pietate, prudentia, & morum ſuavitate inſignis;*
> *ſummo omnium, ac imprimis mariti ſui deſiderio &*
> *luctu obiit in vigilia omnium ſanctorum, Anno Do-*
> *mini* 1670; *jamq; hic conditur, feſti illius auroram*
> *expectans æternam.*
>
> *In eadem etiam humo Katharina eorum filia ſepulta*
> *fuit, poſtridie S. Michaelis, Anno Domini* 1667.

On the ſame ſtone were the following words afterwards added by Browne Willis, Eſq; in memory of the Doctor, who was buried by her,

> *Hic etiam jacet prædictus* THO. WILLIS, *M. D.*
> *celeberrimus. Obiit Nov.* 11. 1675. *Ætatis* 54.

under

(12) Ch. x.

(13) Ch. iv.

(14) Ch. xiv.

(15) In his Method of ſtudying Phyſic. Engliſh. 1719. 8vo. p. 2, 213.

(16) Ubi ſupra.

under this affliction, he had recourſe to his philoſophical ſtudies; the reſult of which was his treatiſe *De anima brutorum, quæ hominis vitalis ac ſenſitiva eſt, exercitationes duæ* [*H*]; *quarum prior phyſiologica, ejus naturam, partes, potentias, & affectiones tradit; altera pathologica, morbos, qui ipſam & ſedem ejus primariam, cerebrum nempe & nervoſum genus afficiunt, explicat, eorumq; Therapeias inſtituit.* We have an account in Phil. Tranſ. No. 83. of this curious piece, which came out in 1672, 4to and 8vo (*w*). The Doctor maintains the ſoul of brutes, as being only vital and ſenſitive, to be conſtituted of mere matter, and to periſh naturally with their bodies; as he does alſo the ſenſitive ſoul of man; aſſerting immateriality, and conſequently immortality, to be the prerogative of the rational ſoul. Having tried the force of philoſophy to alleviate his grief, he reſolved to bury it in the arms of a Knight's widow, named Elizabeth Cawley, whom he took for his ſecond wife in September, either this year or the next (*x*): but he did not long ſurvive that marriage, for putting his *Pharmaceutice Rationalis, ſive Diatribe de medicamentorum operationibus in corpore humano*, to the preſs in 1763, he lived not to ſee the publication of the whole work [*I*]; the ſecond part being publiſhed by Dr. Fell at Oxford, and licenſed

(*w*) And at Amſtel. in 1674. 12mo.

(*x*) Memoirs in the family.

[*H*] *He maintains the ſoul of brutes to be material.*] He tells us himſelf (17), that he undertook this work as a *conſolatio philoſophica* under his extreme affliction for the loſs of his conſort; tho' by reaſon of the many avocations in his buſineſs he was not able to finiſh it till this time.—— In juſtice to our author it will be proper to give an extract of his own words in reaſoning upon this curious ſubject.

(17) In the preface.

“ *Dato animæ portionem* (inquit ille) *unam vitulem in ſanguine gliſcentem, ejus incendium quoddam eſſe, alteramque ſenſitivam tantummodo eſſe ſpirituum animalium aggeriem; ubique in cerebro & nervoſo genere diffuſam; hinc conſequitur, bruti animam toti corpori coextenſam, partes non modo plures, & diſtinctas, ſed & quadantenus diſſimilares habere. Quod autem nonnulli objiciunt Bruti animam quia percipit, ſive ſe ſentire ſentit, immaterialem eſſe, ſiquidem materies perceptionis incapax videtur, id veriſimillimum quidem eſſet, ſi perceptio iſta rerum materialium limites tranſgrederetur, altiuſve quidvis ſpiraret iſtis quæ inſtinctui naturali aut idiocraſiis (ut ſympathias antipathiaſque mittam) paſſim attribuuntur. Ecquis autem ſponſorem ſe fecerit Deum Opt. Max., quem ut opificem unicum ita & motorem primum & præſentiſſimum ubiq; auſpicem profiteor, non potuiſſe vires & facultates materiæ imprimere, vitæ ſenſitivæ muniis, accommodas. In ſcriptoris manu calamus diſputat, perorat, res geſtas narrat, futuris & præteritis intereſt, & quidni credamus majora longe a re quacunque præſtari poſſe, quando numinis ſolertia acceſſerit? Demum, ſi quis ſubſtantiam illam ſubtiliſſimam & prorſus æthercam quæ vitali œconomiæ inſervit, immaterialem ſtatuat, eo quod inertem corporum inanimatorum indolem ſupergreditur, meminerit mihi indulgere, ſi forte ego materialem appellem, quod majoribus intervallis infra rationis prærogativas ſubſiſtit... Porro hinc Epicuriſmo Atheiſmoque potentiſſimus elenchus opponitur, in quantum rationum momentis conficitur, ſenſitiva noſtra anima una pariter ac brutorum pereunte, alteram perpetuo ſuperfuturam eſſe; ecquis enim de ſtatu poſthumo ac æterno perſuaſus, haud totam navabit operam, quo felicius in eo, aut ſaltem non miſerrime degat* (18).”

(18) Ibid.

“ Granting the vital part of the ſoul to be a certain fire and flame of the blood in which it glows, and the other, the ſenſitive part, to be only an aggregate or conflux of animal ſpirits every where in the brain and nervous ſyſtem, hence it will follow, that the ſoul of brutes being coextended to the whole body, has not only various and diſtinct, but alſo in ſome meaſure diſſimilar parts. As to the objection that the ſoul of brutes, becauſe it perceives, and feels itſelf to feel, muſt be immaterial, ſince matter ſeems to be incapable of perception, that indeed would be very probable, if this perception ſurpaſſed the limits of material things, or mounted any higher than thoſe things which are every where attributed to natural inſtinct or an appropriate formation (to ſay nothing of ſympathies and antipathies). But who will be the Almighty's ſponſor (whom I profeſs as the only workman, ſo the firſt mover and governor, to be every where intimately preſent) to ſay he cannot impreſs upon matter ſuch powers and faculties as are accommodated to the offices of ſenſitive life. The pen in the writer's hand diſputes, pleads, relates exploits, is preſent to future and paſt things, and why ſhould we not believe that far greater things may be performed by any inſtrument, when the ſkill of the Deity ſupervenes? In ſhort, if any one ſhall maintain that moſt ſubtle and intirely ætherecal ſubſtance which ſerves the uſe of the vital œconomy to be immaterial, inaſmuch as it exceeds the inert conſtitution of inanimate bodies, let him not diſdain to bear with me, while I call that material, which ſubſiſts at a much greater diſtance beneath the prerogatives of reaſon. Moreover, hence ariſes a moſt powerful argument againſt Epicuriſm and Atheiſm; ſeeing it is effected by the powers of reaſon, that while our ſenſitive ſoul periſhes in like manner as does that of brutes, the rational ſoul ſhall ſurvive. For who that is perſuaded of a poſthumous and eternal ſtate, will not do his utmoſt to live more happily, or at leaſt not moſt miſerably in it?”

The Doctor looked upon theſe exercitations as a ſupplement to his *Anatome Cerebri.* Accordingly we find him in the 4th chapter, ſpeaking of the drum of the ear, ‘ this,’ ſays he, ‘ performs the ſame office ‘ with regard to the hearing, as the coats of the eye, ‘ which conſtitute the pupil, do with reſpect to the ‘ ſight; both theſe membranes refract, and as it were ‘ ſoften the ſenſible objects, and deliver them fitly ‘ proportioned to the ſenſorium; for if they were to ‘ fall upon it naked and without that proviſion, they ‘ would eaſily hurt and overpower its tender frame. ‘ *Simili officio fungitur reſpectu auditus ac tunicæ oculi* ‘ *pupillam conſtituentes reſpectu viſus,* &c.’ Dr *Schelhammer* (19) hath reflected upon this paſſage with an illmannered ſeverity, and after having proved, that they are the humors not tunics of the eye that refract the rays of light, he aſks, gibing, whether the ſonorous rays are refracted by paſſing through a different medium? and, Whether the convexity or concavity of the drum collects thoſe rays into a focal point, or ſcatters them? &c. In proceeding he calls in queſtion not only the judgment but alſo the faithfulneſs of our learned author; which cenſure, however, is reſpectfully delivered in theſe words. ‘ *Ob has rationes a clariſſimi* ‘ *viri, ac de re medica præclare meriti, non poſſumus* ‘ *non eſſe alieniores: in quo uti ingenium admiror, quo-* ‘ *ties medicamentorum vires aut morborum cauſas expli-* ‘ *cat, ſic ubi forum ſuum egreſſus Philoſophum agit, ac* ‘ *vel partium uſum vel chymicarum rerum naturam ſcru-* ‘ *tatur, ejus haud ſemel non modo judicium deſidero, ve-* ‘ *rum aliquando etiam fidem.*’—For theſe reaſons we ‘ cannot but diſſent from this moſt famous, and in the ‘ medical faculty eminently deſerving perſon, whoſe ‘ genius as I admire when he explains the powers of ‘ medicines, or the cauſes of diſeaſes, ſo when he goes ‘ out of this province, and plays the philoſopher, ‘ I find him more than once defective in judgment, ‘ and ſometimes even in fidelity.’ In anſwer to this, Dr Derham, acknowledging the animadvertor to have out-done all that wrote before him, in his book *De Auditu,* and ſhewed himſelf a man of learning and induſtry, ‘ yet,’ proceeds he, ‘ as our countryman wrote ‘ more than he (though perhaps not free from errors ‘ too) ſo he hath manifeſted himſelf to have been as ‘ curious and ſagacious an Anatomiſt, as great a Phi- ‘ loſopher, and as learned and ſkilful a Phyſician, as ‘ any of his cenſurers, and his reputation for veraci- ‘ ty and integrity was no leſs than any of theirs too. ‘ But after all this terrible clamour, Dr Schelhammer ‘ prejudicately miſtaketh Dr Willis's meaning,’ &c. (20)

(19) In a tract De auditu, publiſhed in 1684, 4to.

(20) Derham's Phyſico-theol. &c. 4th edition, p. 125, 126.

[*I*] *Pharmaceutice Rationalis Part II. was publiſhed by Dr Fell,* &c.] The *Pharmaceutice* was tranſlated into Engliſh by an anonymous author, printed at Lond. 1679, in folio: but not being well done, it was corrected by S. Pordage, Eſq; who alſo tranſlated our Author's piece *De Fermentatione,* &c. his *Cerebri Anatome,* cenſed the day after the author's death *, which happened at his houſe in St Martin's lane, November 11, 1675, occaſioned by a pleuriſy, in the fifty-fourth year of his age [*K*]. He was interred, as has been already ſaid, in the ſame grave with his firſt wife, in Weſtminſter Abbey. Dr Fell has given us a proof of his own excellent rhetorical abilities, in drawing a handſomely favourable reſemblance of his brother-in-law, which will well reward the trouble of a peruſal, and the more, as the kinſman appears not to have given way to a culpable flattery out of fraternal affection, the particulars being moſtly confirmed by Mr Wood, who, as has been before obſerved, was rather diſpoſed to diſparage him. "Though Dr Willis," ſays the antiquary, "was a plain man, a man of no carriage, "little diſcourſe, complaiſance, or ſociety, yet for his deep inſight, happy reſearches "in experimental and natural philoſophy, anatomy, and chymiſtry, for his wonderful "ſucceſs and repute in his practice, the natural ſmoothneſs, pure elegancy, delightful "unaffected neatneſs of Latin ſtyle, none ſcarce have equalled, much leſs outdone him, "how great ſoever. When at any time he is mentioned by authors, as he is very often, "it is done in words expreſſing their high eſteem of his great worth and excellency; and "he is placed ſtill as firſt in rank among phyſicians." In concluſion the antiquary adds, "*And further alſo, he hath laid a laſting foundation of a body of phyſic, chiefly on hypotheſes of* "*his own framing* (*y*)." But this laſt encomium is ſtrained too high [*L*]; for our author's hypotheſes gave way, it is well known, to others in a ſhort time. However, the reſt of the antiquary's eloge is countenanced by Dr Fell, who informs us, that though the Doctor was very frugal, yet no one was more generous than he (*z*); that he denied himſelf every thing, and nothing to the poor and miſerable. Beſides what he diſtributed with his own hands, he had almoners in the city, in the country, and in the univerſity. And he affirms from his own knowledge, that you could more eaſily get from him a hundred guineas for charitable uſes, than ſo many pence from moſt other people: That from his youth to the laſt day of his life he never reckoned any ſum of money, that he received, his own, till he had dedicated no contemptible portion of it to God (*aa*).—I omit to ſay, continues he, how firm and unbroken he was in adverſity, how temperate in the midſt of affluence; when in the greateſt reputation for learning, how modeſt; when unjuſtly attacked, how ready to forgive; how faithful to his Prince under the greateſt extremities; how dutiful to the oppreſſed church; candid and open in his profeſſion; indefatigable in his ſtudies; of few words; in the whole courſe of his life a Chriſtian (*bb*) [*M*].

The Doctor had three ſons, and five daughters. Thomas, the eldeſt ſon and heir, was bred at Weſtminſter-ſchool, and admitted thence a ſtudent at Chriſt-church, Oxford, where he took the degrees in arts, being a man of excellent learning. He fell into a conſumptive

* The imprimatur is in theſe terms: *Amiciſſimo authori poſt tum immortale opus nihil mortale facturo, tanquam lumina morienti claudens, extremum hoc officium præſtat. Rad. Bathurſt. Oxon. Vicecancel.*

(*y*) Athen. Ox. ubi ſupra.

(*z*) His table was the reſort of moſt of the great men about London. Gen. Dict. fol. under his article.

(*aa*) In his latter years, his cuſtom was to allot his Sunday fees, which amounted to more than any other day in the week, for charitable uſes. Memoirs in the family.

(*bb*) Dr Fell, ubi ſupra.

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tome, and his *Pathologia Cerebri & Nervoſi generis ſpecimen*, and publiſhed them in 1681, fol. Afterwards came out *The London Practice of Phyſick, contained in the Works of* Dr Willis, *faithfully made Engliſh, and printed together for the publick good.* Lond. 1685. 8vo. This contained both parts of his *Pharmaceutice*, his tract of convulſive diſeaſes, that of the ſcurvy, of the brain, and genus nervoſum, and of fevers. The other parts of his works being theoretical, were omitted therein. All his Latin works were printed together at Geneva in 1670. 2 vol. 4to. and at Amſterdam in 1682, 4to. under the care of Dr Gerard Blaſius.

[*K*] *He died of a pleuriſy*, &c.] The ſhort inſcription in Remark [G] added to his memory by his grandſon being thought too ſparing, through modeſty, there was publiſhed, ſome time after, the following eloge of him in the form of an epitaph.

Siſte, properes licet, quiſquis es, Viator,
Ne poſthac doleas te tanti viri ſepulcrum imprudentem præteriiſſe,
Cujus forſan beneficio debetur, quod ipſe ad ſepulcrum
Nondum perveneris.

Magnus hoc tumulo WILLISIVS conditur
Celeberrimus ille THOMAS WILLISIVS,
M. D.
Ædis Chriſti olim alumnus, philoſophiæ naturalis
In florentiſſima Oxonienſi academia profeſſor, & non
Tantum Carolo II. Regi, ſed & Europæ univerſæ
Princeps Medicus.
Cujus laudes ſane non capit ſepulcrale marmor,
Quibus orbis ipſe vix ſufficit.
In arte medica, & philoſophia naturali
Exercenda, excolenda, promovenda quantopere inclaruerit,
Norunt omnes:
Alterum teſtabuntur morbi innumeri mirum in modum profligati:
Alterum arte non mediocri facta experimenta:
Utrumque doctiſſimæ ejus lucubrationes
Hodie & teſtantur:
Neque minus in pietate fuit inſignis quam ingenio & eruditione.
Regi in nequiſſimis temporibus fidelis.
Eccleſiæ etiam oppreſſæ obſequentiſſimus,
Quam non modo affectio dilexit, ſed munificentia locupletavit.
Fortuna adverſa inconcuſſus,
Affluente eximie temperans.
In ſumma doctrinæ gloria humilis & modeſtus.
Pecunia eroganda in pauperes effuſiſſimus.
In ſuorum gratiam frugi & providus
In ſe ſolummodo parcus.
Labori & vigiliis (heu! nimis) indulgens.
Quibus factum eſt, ut aliorum vitam producendo, ſuam
Breviorem, quam par fuit, effecerit:
E vivis enim exceſſit, pleuritide confectus.

Anno { Ætatis ſuæ 54.
Nati Chriſti 1675. *

[*L*] *This encomium is too high ſtrained.*] In the like ill-judged adulation Dr Plot concludes his account of our Phyſician in theſe extravagant words; 'So that 'England, for ought I know, may have as much 'reaſon to boaſt of her learned Willis, as Coos and 'Pergamus [Hippocrates and Galen] of old, of their 'great maſters in phyſic (21).'— Such kind of incenſe foils an author's fame more by its ſmoke than ſweetens it by its overcharged odour.

[*M*] For the ſatisfaction of the learned reader we ſhall give the Biſhop's elegant words, of which the above is a tranſlation. *Quanquam ipſe nemo magis frugalis*,

* Le Neve's Monumental Inſcriptions.

(21) Natural Hiſtory of Oxfordſhire, p. 309.

conſumptive indiſpoſition, and went to Montpellier, which ſerved greatly to eſtabliſh his health. He reſided for ſome time at Bletchley, near Fenny Stratford, in Bucks; the manors of which places his father had purchaſed of George Villiers the younger Duke of Buckingham. He behaved ſo very well in every ſtation, as to be extremely beloved; and in particular was ſo affectionate a huſband, that his wife died for grief ſeven weeks after his death, which happened November 11, 1699, leaving four ſons and five daughters [*N*]. He was interred in Bletchley church. We have no account of our phyſician's two other ſons. The daughters were Mary, born January 1, 1661. Catherine, born February 5, 1662. Anne, born June 30, 1665; ſhe died May 31, 1725. Jane, born September 8, 1666, was married to Robert Symmonds, Eſq; High Sheriff of Herefordſhire in the laſt year of King William; by whom ſhe had iſſue Thomas Symmonds, of Pengethly, near Roſſe, one of the moſt univerſal ſcholars of the age: ſhe died February 2, 1692. Rachel, the youngeſt daughter, was married to Roger Lingen, of Radhook in Glouceſterſhire, of a very ancient family; by whom ſhe had an only child, Thomas Lingen, Eſq; a gentleman of a great eſtate, who in 1735 was High Sheriff of Glouceſterſhire (*cc*): ſhe died about the year 1707 (*dd*).

(*cc*) Gen. Dict. as before.

(*dd*) Memoirs in the family.

galis, & ad rem attentus, nemo magis munificus; omnia ſcilicet ſibi, nihil autem pauperibus & miſeris negaverat. Præter illa quæ proprio manu elargitus eſt, eleemoſynarios, & diſpenſatores in urbe, rure, & academia ſparſos, habuit. Rem multis experimentis mihi compertiſſimam loquor; facilius quis ab ipſo centum aureos idoneo pietatis opere propoſito acceperit, quam a pleriſque aliis extorſerat totidem aſſes. — A prima ejus adoleſcentia ad ultimum vitæ diem, nullam pecuniarum quam acceperat ſummam pro ſuo habuit, donec Deo & pauperibus partem non contemnendam ſacram feciſſet. Mitto dicere quam in adverſa fortuna infractus; in affluente fuerat temperans; quam in ſumma eruditionis fama modeſtus; cum indigne laceſſeretur, quam ad injurias condonandas facilis; quam principi ultima paſſo fidus; eccleſiæ oppreſſæ obſequens; In artis ſuæ profeſſione candidus & apertus; in ſtudiis indefeſſus; ſermone parcus; in toto vitæ curſu Chriſtianus.

[*N*] *Leaving five ſons and four daughters.*] The ſons were, 1. Browne, of whom ſee the next article. 2. Thomas, who died at ſea going to the Eaſt Indies. 3. Robert, who died Maſter of a ſhip at Algiers. 4. John, ſome time of Chriſt Church, now or lately living at Gray's Inn, London. 5. James, who died at ſea a young man. The four daughters were, Elizabeth, married to Samuel Robinſon, Eſq; merchant in London, who died without iſſue. Jane married to Germanicus Shepherd, of Broad Chalk in Wiltſhire, Eſq; a widow, living in 1760, that hath one ſon and one daughter. Mary and Anne both died of the ſmall pox, unmarried (22).

(22) From Memoirs communicated by the family.

WILLIS [Browne] an eminent antiquary, and grandſon of the preceding phyſician, was born September 14, 1682, at St Mary Blandford in Dorſetſhire, his mother being the iſſue of Robert Browne, Eſq; of Frampton in that county. But upon his father's ſettling at Bletchley in Buckinghamſhire, he was firſt put at a proper age to Bechampton ſchool (*a*) in the neighbourhood, where he continued three or four years, and then was removed to Weſtminſter ſchool. Here the adjoining Abbey engaged his admiration. He loved to walk and contemplate the ſolemnity of the building, the antique appearance, the monuments filled his whole mind, he delighted himſelf in reading old inſcriptions. In ſhort, here he firſt imbibed the love of that kind of antiquities, and the impreſſion grew indelible. At the age of ſeventeen he loſt his father, which being followed in leſs than three months by the death of his mother, gave him inexpreſſible affliction, and brought on the falling-ſickneſs, which continued for many years. But this diſorder, great and laſting as it was, did not extinguiſh the ardency of his paſſion for antiquities. And it is a proof of the ſtrength of his mind and his extraordinary induſtry, that under ſuch a diſadvantage he ſhould apply himſelf ſo cloſely as he did to the moſt laborious reſearches. He was this year 1699 admitted a gentleman-commoner at Chriſt Church College, Oxford, under the tuition of the famous geographer Edward Wells, D. D. [*A*] He continued at the Univerſity four years, and then left it without taking any degree. He had now attained the age of manhood, when young gentlemen generally chooſe to complete their education by travelling abroad, Mr Willis's genius carried him into another

This article is taken chiefly from a paper intituled, Some account of Browne Willis, Eſq; LL. D. late ſenior fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London. By Dr Ducarel, F. S. A. Read before that ſociety May 22 and June 12, 1760.

(*a*) See an account of this ſchool in our author's hiſt. of the hundred of Buckingham, p. 137. & ſeq.

[*A*] *Under Dr Wells.*] This gentleman, who was a very eminent tutor at this college, had the rectory of Bletchley in Bucks given him by his pupil Mr Willis. He was likewiſe rector of Coteſbatch in Leiceſterſhire, as appears from ſeveral of his books, which being generally well received by the public, we ſhall give the following complete liſt of them. 1. An Hiſtorical Geography of the Old and New Teſtament, &c. illuſtrated with maps and chronological tables. In 4 vol. 8vo. 2. The young Gentleman's Courſe of Mathematics, in 3 vol. 8vo. 3. An Hiſtorical Geography of the Old and New Teſtament, &c. 4. Arithmetic and Geometry, vol. I. Trigonometry, Mechanicks, and Opticks, vol. II. Aſtronomy, Chronology, and Dialling, vol. III. Illuſtrated with ſeveral Copper-plates. The ſecond edition. 5. A Paraphraſe, with Annotations, on all the Books of the Old and New Teſtament, 6 vol. 4to. 6. An Help, for the right underſtanding of the ſeveral divine Laws and Covenants. 8vo. 7. Controverſial Treatiſes *againſt the Diſſenters*. The ſixth ed. 8. An Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm. 9. Prayers on common Occaſions, appertaining to the forementioned Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm. 10. *Harmonia Grammaticalis*: or, A View of the Agreement between the Latin and Greek Tongues, as to the declining of Words, &c. 11. A Letter to a Friend concerning the great Sin of taking *God's name in vain*. 12. *Unworthineſs* no *Excuſe* for not coming to the *Sacrament*. 13. Of *Childrens Capacity* to receive *Religious inſtructions*, and of the *manner* how to give them ſuch *inſtructions*; together with *Prayers* adapted to the Capacities of *Children*. 14. A Diſcourſe concerning the great and indiſpenſable Duty of a decent and reverent *Behaviour* in Church. 15. The great and indiſpenſable Duty to contribute liberally to the *Rebuilding, Building, Repairing, Beautifying*, and *Adorning Churches*. Being a Diſcourſe peruſed and approved of by the late moſt pious Robert Nelſon, Eſq. The ſecond edition. Dedicated to Browne Willis, Eſq. 16. A Diſcourſe ſhewing, That the Marriages of ſuch as are near of Kin are ſinful under the Goſpel, as well as they were under the Law. To which is added, the Table of Marriage. 17. Forty ſix propoſitions, briefly proving, that his preſent Majeſty King George is the only rightful and lawful King of G. Britain. 18. *Elementa Arithmeticæ Numeroſæ & Specioſæ. In uſum juventutis academicæ. Auctore Edv. Wells, S. T. P. Editio altera*, 8vo. An excellent treatiſe. 19. *Dionyſii Geographia emendata & locupletata Additione ſcil. Geographiæ hodiernæ Græco carmine pariter donata, cum 16 Tabulis Geographicis, ab Edv. Wells, S. T. P.*

ther courſe of making that improvement at home. He found in his own country all that he wanted, by the inſtruction and converſation of that univerſal ſcholar, the celebrated Mr William Wotton, then Rector of Middleton Keynes in Buckinghamſhire [*B*]. With that friend he continued till 1705, when being choſen member of parliament for the town of Buckingham (*b*), he conſtantly attended the houſe of commons, and was generally upon committees during the ſhort time he ſat there. In 1707 he married Catharine, only child of Daniel Elliot of Port Elliot in the county of Cornwall, deſcended as well as himſelf from the ancient Lords of Bletchley and the adjoining pariſh of Whaddon. The lady brought him a fortune of 8000l. and a numerous iſſue*. The ſame year he finiſhed the repairing and beautifying Bletchley Church, to which he had contributed from the year 1704 not leſs than 800l. He alſo gave a ſet of exceeding handſome plate for the communion ſervice. All this while Mr Willis's thoughts were chiefly employed upon the ſtudy of antiquities, and he firſt became known to the world by the publication of *Queries for the hiſtory and ſurvey of the county of Buckingham* in 1712, in one ſheet folio. This was followed by *The hiſtory of Hyde Abbey, together with liſts of the Abbots of Newminſter and Hyde*, which being communicated to Mr Gale, were inſerted by him in the *Hiſtory and Antiquities of Wincheſter Cathedral*, publiſhed in 1715, and in that and the following year came out our author's elaborate piece, entitled, *Notitia Parliamentaria*, &c [*C*]. Theſe works endeared him to the antiquaries, who upon the revival of that ſociety in 1717 were glad to have the honour of his name in their roll. Auguſt 3, 1723, the univerſity of Oxford conferred on him the degree of A. M. by diploma, as a reward of his literary merit; to which learned body he afterwards became a conſiderable benefactor. In 1725 he loſt his lady, over whom he erected a monument in Bletchley Church with an inſcription as below [*D*]. The beautiful church of St Martyn's at Fenny Stratford (*c*) was begun this year upon a ſubſcription ſolicited by Mr Willis, and it was conſecrated May 27, 1730. In 1741 (*d*) he preſented the Univerſity of Oxford with his fine cabinet

(*b*) In the room of Sir Richard Temple, who had made his election for the county.

* See her monument in remark [*D*].

(*d*) The cieling was decorated with the arms of all the benefactors who gave 10l. or upwards.

(*c*) He had revived the market of this town in 1702.

S. T. P. Editio quarta. 20. A Set of Maps of Ancient and Modern Geography. 21. A Treatiſe of Geography ſuited to the Maps, 8vo. 22. Remarks on Dr Clarke's Introduction to his Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, 8vo. 23. A Reply to Dr Clarke's Letter to Dr Wells, 8vo.

During our author's continuance under this celebrated tutor at Chriſt Church, he became intimately acquainted with Mr William Adams, a ſtudent of that college, a man of uncommon parts and learning, in whoſe converſation therefore he could not fail to improve; and who, moreover, in the early part of life, made it his buſineſs to introduce him into the moſt polite company in the Univerſity: and for ſo valuable a friend he ever afterwards retained the greateſt regard and eſteem. Here likewiſe he firſt contracted a firm friendſhip with the learned Dr Richard Frewin, that great ornament of his own profeſſion; which friendſhip ſubſiſted uninterruptedly during the great number of years to which they both attained. Dr Frewin being always pleaſed with the reputation his friend afterwards attained to in his reſearches as an antiquary, and Mr Willis alternately obliged by Dr Frewin's readineſs to aſſiſt him in any caſes relating to his health.

[*B*] *Mr Will. Wotton.*] This univerſal ſcholar, who was preſented to Middleton Keynes in 1693 had publiſhed, the following year, his *Reflections upon ancient and modern Learning*, wherein he celebrates our author's grandfather Dr Thomas Willis for an improver of learning in his *Cerebri Anatome*, obſerving, that 'the author had there traced the medullar ſubſtance 'of the brain through all its inſertions into the cor'tical, and the *Medulla oblongata*; and examined the 'uſe of all the nerves, and went along with them in'to every part of the body. Hereby not only the 'brain was proved to be the fountain of ſenſe and 'motion, but alſo by the courſes of the nerves the 'manner how every part of the body conſpires with 'any others to procure any one particular motion, was 'clearly ſhewn; and thereby it was made plain even 'to ſenſe, that wherever many parts joined at once 'to cauſe the ſame motion, that motion is cauſed by 'the nerves that go into every one of thoſe parts, 'which are all ſtruck together. And', concludes he, 'though Vieuſſens and Du Verney have in many 'things corrected Dr Willis's Anatomy of Nerves, 'yet they have ſtrengthened his general hypotheſis at 'the ſame time that they diſcovered his miſtakes (1).' Dr Wotton alſo retiring afterwards upon a particular occaſion into Wales, drew up the memoirs of the cathedral churches of St David's and Llandaff at the requeſt of our author, who publiſhed them in his ſurveys of thoſe churches (2).

[*C*] *Notitia Parliamentaria, &c.*] The whole title is, *Notitia Parliamentaria; or an Hiſtory of the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs in England and Wales, with Liſts of all the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes.* This work was a conſequence of the ſubject of his *Queries relating to the hiſtory of Buckinghamſhire*, in which he purpoſed to inſert a liſt of the members of parliament for that county. This deſign led him to ſearch firſt the indentures at the Rolls chapel: but finding them very defective, ſcarce half of them being preſerved entire, that defect put him upon ſearching elſewhere, ſo that at laſt by cloſe application he got all the parliaments in a great meaſure entire (3). This ſucceſs, the fruit of his uncommon induſtry, prompted him to enlarge his firſt view, and extend it to ſeveral other counties, cities, and boroughs; a work which had been much wanted towards the perfecting of our Engliſh hiſtory. He publiſhed two volumes in 1715 and 1716, and then ſtopped for want of proper encouragement. He reprinted the firſt volume with additions in 1730; and upon the coming out of the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, he publiſhed, as an appendage thereto, The third part of his *Notitia Parliamentaria*, containing an account of the firſt returns and incorporations of the cities, towns, and boroughs in England and Wales; with liſts of the repreſentatives in the ſeveral parliaments from 1541 to 1660.

[*D*] *The inſcriptions upon his lady's monument.*] They run thus:

> 'Here under reſteth the body of *Catherine*, only 'child of *Daniel Elliot*, of Port Elliot, in the 'county of Cornwall, Eſq; Wife of Browne 'Willis, Eſq; Lord of theſe Manors; by whom 'ſhe had Iſſue ten Children, of which four Sons 'and four Daughters ſurvive her, viz. Thomas, 'John, Henry, Elliot, Gertrude, Catherine, Mary, Alice. Both ſhe and her Huſband were 'deſcended from the antient Lords of this and 'the adjoining Pariſh of Whaddon, when departing this Life at Whaddon-Hall, Oct. 2, '1725, in the 38th Year of her Age, ſhe was, 'according to her Deſire, here interred (4).—— 'Here alſo lieth the body of Anne, the Wife of 'Thomas Willis, Eſq; who died May 21, 1739, 'aged 22 Years and 5 Days.'

ELLIOT WILLIS, A. M.
Coll. Trinitatis Oxon. Scholaris,
Ac hujus Eccleſiæ, B. M. V. Rector,
Obiit July 24, 1752.
Anno Ætatis ſuæ 33.

(3) Preface to vol. I.

(1) Reflections upon ancient and modern Learning, c. 17. p. 196, 197. ed. 1694.

(2) See his article in the Supplement.

(4) She was a woman of ſome learning. In a viſit to her conſort at Whaddon-hall about the year 1718, he ſhewed me a pamphlet in the Bangorian controverſy, which he ſaid was of her writing.

of Engliſh coins, at that time looked upon as the moſt complete collection in England and which he had been upwards of forty years in collecting [E]. This cabinet he annually viſited upon the 19th of October, being St Frideſwide's day, and never failed making ſome additions to it. Mr Willis alſo gave them upwards of 1200 tradeſmens halfpence and farthings*, which he had collected with great labour, and ſome MSS. beſides all his own (which he gave by his laſt will) to the Bodleian Library, together with a picture of his grandfather Dr Thomas Willis. In gratitude to ſo worthy a benefactor, to themſelves in particular, and to the learned world in general by his writings [F], the univerſity created him LL. D. April 10, 1749. by diploma. In the mean time his beneficence was far from being exhauſted by ſupplying ſuch valuable means to promote uſeful learning. A dreadful fire on May 19, 1746, having deſtroyed above fifty houſes at Stony-Stratford in Buckinghamſhire, this charitable gentleman, beſides collecting a handſome ſum of money among his friends for the benefit of the unhappy ſufferers, repaired at his own expence the tower of St Mary Magdalen's Church there, in hopes that others might have contributed towards the rebuilding that church, which was then burnt down (e). In 1752 he laid out 200l. towards the repairs of the fine tower of Buckingham church, and was upon every occaſion a great friend to that town, which he had once repreſented in parliament. In 1756, Bow Brickhill church in the ſame county, which had been diſuſed near 150 years, was reſtored and repaired through his generoſity. In 1757 he erected a handſome monument in Chriſt Church for Dr Iſles, Canon of that church, to whom his grandfather was an exhibitioner, and at his own expence placed a marble ſtone over the grave of Sir Simon Bennet, Bart. in Bechampton Church, on account of his benefactions at Bechampton, Buckingham, Stony Stratford, and other parts. After an induſtrious and well-ſpent life, this uſeful gentleman died at Whaddon Hall, Feb. 5, 1760. He expired with great eaſe, and without the uſual agonies of death, and was buried the 11th of that month in Fenny Stratford chapel [G], and lies under a white marble ſtone enchaſed with black, the inſcription on which was left by himſelf (f). His character was handſomely repreſented, with a juſt regard to a decent impartiality, in the eloge read before the Society of Antiquaries, in theſe terms:

‘As to his character, this learned ſociety, of which he was one of the firſt revivers, and one of the moſt induſtrious members, can bear me witneſs, that he was indefatigable in his reſearches: for his works were of the moſt laborious kind. But what enabled him, beſides his unwearied diligence, to bring them to perfection, was, his being bleſſed with a moſt excellent memory. He had laid ſo good a foundation of learning, that though he had chiefly converſed with records, and other matters of antiquity, which are not apt to form a polite ſtyle; yet he expreſſed himſelf, in all his compoſitions, in an eaſy and genteel manner. He was, indeed, one of the firſt who placed our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory and Antiquities upon a firm baſis, by grounding them upon records and regiſters: which, in the main, are unexceptionable authorities. During the courſe of his long life he had viſited every cathedral in England and Wales, except Carliſle: which journeys he uſed to call his Pilgrimages. In his friendſhips, none more ſincere and hearty: always communicative, and ever ready to aſſiſt every ſtudious and inquiſitive perſon. This occaſioned an acquaintance and connexion between him and all his learned contemporaries. For his mother, the univerſity of Oxford, he always expreſſed the moſt awful reſpect and the warmeſt eſteem.

‘As to his piety and moral qualifications, he was ſtrictly religious, without any mixture of ſuperſtition or enthuſiaſm, and quite exemplary in this reſpect. And of this, his many public works in building, repairing, and beautifying of churches, are ſo many ſtanding evidences. He was charitable to the poor and needy; juſt and upright towards all men. With regard to himſelf, he was remarkably ſober and temperate; and often ſaid, that he denied himſelf many things, that he might employ them better.

* It was uſual for merchants to coin them for their own uſe, before the royal coinage of them in 1672 by King Charles II. upon which a proclamation was iſſued for making current his Majeſty's farthings and halfpence, and prohibiting thoſe made by private perſons to be paid or received in trade. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under that year.

(e) He afterwards gave for the benefit of that church a lottery ticket, which came up a prize.

(f) See remark [G].

[E] *He gave his cabinet of coins to Oxford.*] However the univerſity thinking it too much for him, as he had a large family, to give the gold ones, purchaſed them for 150 guineas; which were paid to him for 167 Engliſh gold coins at the rate of four guineas per ounce weight, and even in this way the gold coins were a conſiderable benefaction.

[F] *His writings.*] Beſides thoſe already mentioned, they are, 1. *A Liſt of the Priors of Worceſter**. 2. *Surveys of the 4 Welſh cathedrals.* Lond. 1718, 19, 20 and 21, 4to. 3. *Hiſtory of the mitred parliamentary Abbies and conventual cathedral Churches*, 1718, 1719, in 2 vol. 8vo. 4. *Survey of the Cathedrals of England*, with *Parochiale Anglicanum*, &c. 3 vol. 4to. 5. *A Series of Principals of religious Houſes* †. 6. *Addreſs to the Patrons of Eccleſiaſtical Livings*, without name or date, a ſingle ſheet 4to. 1750. 7. *Ecton's Theſaurus*, a new edition, 4to. 1754. 8. *Hiſtory and Antiquities of Buckingham*, &c. 1755, 4to.

* Inſerted at p. 116. of the Antiquities of that church, publiſhed by W. Thomas, D. D. in 1717. 8vo.

† Inſerted at the end of Bp Tanner's Notitia Monaſtica, fol. 1744.

[G] *He was interred in Fenny Stratford chapel.*] He left particular directions as to his funeral, and deſired that no perſons might be invited to it, except the Mayor and Aldermen of Buckingham, to each of whom he left his firſt volume of *Notitia Parl.* and a ſmall legacy beſides. Mr Cole, rector of Bletchley, Mr Francis, miniſter of Fenny Stratford, and Mr John Gibberd, curate of Whaddon, attended in a mourning coach, and near 60 of his neighbours and tenants on horſeback. He alſo left the following inſcription, which he directed to be put on his grave ſtone (5).

Hic ſitus eſt
BROWNE WILLIS, *Antiquarius,*
Cujus avi clmi. æternæ memoriæ,
Thomæ Willis, *archiatri totius* Europæ *celeberrimi*
Defuncti die Sancti Martini, A. D. 1675,
Hæc capella exiguum monumentum eſt.
Obiit 5° *Die* Feb. A. D. 1760.
Ætatis ſuæ 78.
O Chriſte, ſoter & judex,
Huic peccatorum primo
Miſericors & propitius eſto.

(5) Id. p. 51.

‘ And, indeed, he appeared to have had no greater value for money, than as it furniſhed him with opportunities of doing good.’

He was ſucceeded in the family eſtate by his eldeſt grandſon, who became his heir upon the death of his eldeſt ſon Thomas Willis, which happened before his own. This gentleman was born in 1710, married Sept. 3, 1735 Anne, daughter of John Hulme, Eſq; of the pariſh of Eccles in Lancaſhire, and by her had his eldeſt ſon Thomas, born Feb. 11, 1738, to whom his grandfather, having appointed him his ſole executor, left all his pictures and books [*H*], &c. except Rymer's Fœdera, in 17 folio volumes, which he bequeathed to Trinity College, Oxford, and the choice of one book to the Rev. Mr Francis Wiſe, who upon the completion and eſtabliſhment of the Radclivian Library in that noble ſeat of learning, was appointed firſt Librarian *(g)*.

(g) See Dr Radcliffe's article.

[*H*] *His ſole executor.*] This gentleman is ſince dead, and has been ſucceeded by his half-brother John Willis, eldeſt ſon by a ſecond marriage of his father, who after the death of his firſt wife, May 21, 1739, married Frances, eldeſt daughter of John Robinſon, Eſq; of Cranſley in Northamptonſhire, and left by her this ſon John, the preſent heir of the family.

P

WILLUGHBY [Francis] a very learned and ingenious gentleman in the ſeventeenth century, was the only ſon of Sir Francis Willughby, Knt. deſcended of two very ancient families, both Willughbies, the one honourable, namely, that of Ereſby in Lincolnſhire, by the father's ſide; the other worſhipful, viz. that of Willughby on the Woulds, or Wollaton, in Nottinghamſhire, by the mother's [*A*]. His mother was the Lady Caſſandra, daughter to Thomas Ridgway, Earl of Londonderry *(a)*. From his childhood he was addicted to ſtudy; and, when he came to the uſe of reaſon, ſo valued and huſbanded his time, as to omit no opportunities of improving himſelf; deteſting no vice more than idleneſs. He chiefly applied himſelf to thoſe ſciences which are moſt abſtruſe; and came to have a deep inſight into the mathematicks, and natural philoſophy. For ſome time he was a member of Trinity College in Cambridge, with his worthy friend, the true chriſtian philoſopher, John Ray; and that learned ſociety have paid a due reſpect to thoſe two great men, and a proper compliment to themſelves, by placing their buſts in their beautiful library. In the inquiſitive age Mr Willughby lived in, obſerving, that the hiſtory of animals had in a great meaſure been neglected, he made the ſtudy of that his province, and the illuſtrating of it his chief and moſt delightful employment. To that end, he made a voyage into foreign countries, with his friend Mr Ray, Sir Philip Skippon, and other gentlemen *(b)*, in the years 1663 and 1664, on purpoſe to ſearch out and deſcribe the ſeveral ſpecies of animals, birds, beaſts, fiſhes, and inſects. Though he was but a few years abroad, yet he travelled over moſt part of France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries [*B*]: in all which places he was ſo diligent and ſucceſsful, that not many ſorts of animals, deſcribed by others, eſcaped his obſervation. He drew them with a pencil, and afterwards the birds were curiouſly engraved on copperplates, at the charge of his widow, Emma, daughter of Sir Henry Bernard, Knt. and printed with his Ornithology [*C*]: And alſo the Hiſtory of Fiſhes [*D*]. A few other ſmall pieces of his are printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, and amongſt

(a) Preface to Sir Francis Willughby's Ornithology, by J. Ray.

(b) Dr M. Liſter, Henry Maſſingberd, and Mr Bacon.

[*A*] *Deſcended of two very ancient families, both Willughbies*, &c.] The ſeveral families of Willughby, or Willoughby, deduce their pedigree from Sir John de Willoughby, who had the lordſhip of Willoughby in Lincolnſhire given him by William the Conqueror (1) Sir Chriſtopher Willughby, Knight of the Bath, who died in 1498, by Margery his wife, daughter of Sir William Jennens, of Knotſhall in Suffolk, Knt, had five ſons; whereof William, the eldeſt, on the failure of iſſue male of John Lord Wells, his mother's father, became one of his coheirs, and had the title of Lord *Willoughby of Ereſby*. Thomas, the youngeſt ſon, was made Sergeant at Law in 1522, conſtituted King's Sergeant 28 April 1531; and having received the honour of knighthood, was advanced to be Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas October 9, 1538. He died September 29, 1545. Robert, his ſon and heir, marrying Dorothy, daughter to Sir Edward Willoughby, of Wollaton in Notinghamſhire, had iſſue Thomas; who by Catharine his wife, daughter of Sir Percival Hart, had 7 ſons and 3 daughters; whereof Percival ſucceeded him in his eſtate, and was knighted April 20, 1603. He married Bridget, eldeſt daughter and coheir of Sir Fr. Willoughby, Knt. of Wollaton aforeſaid, another branch of this ancient family of the Willoughbys, deſcended from Sir Richard Willoughby, Chief Juſtice of England in King Edward the Third's reign: and he from William de Willoughby, brother of Sir Robert Lord Willoughby of Ereſby, living in the reigns of K. Edward I. and II. Sir Francis Willoughby, before-mentioned, built a noble ſeat at Wollaton, which, together with the greateſt part of his large inheritance, came to the ſaid Percival, who died about the beginning of the civil wars; leaving the eſtate to his eldeſt ſon Sir Francis, who dying in 1665, left his only ſon Francis Willoughby, Eſq; the ſubject of this article, and two daughters, Lettice, married to Sir Thomas Wendy, of Haſlingfield in Cambridgeſhire, Knight of the Bath; and Catharine, to Clement Winſtanley, Eſq;

(1) Ar. Collins's Peerage, edit. 1756. vol. 5. p. 67.

[*B*] *He travelled over moſt part of France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and the Low-Countries.*] His Voyage through a great part of Spain, and Mr Ray's Journey through part of the Low-Countries, Germany, Italy, and France, were publiſhed by Mr John Ray, Lond. 1673. 8vo. and inſerted afterwards into Dr John Harris's Collection of Voyages and Travels. Vol. II. ... Sir Philip Skippon's Journey was printed in what is called Churchill's Collection of Voyages, Vol. VI.

[*C*] *His Ornithology.*] Mr Ray publiſhed it in 1676. Lond. fol. with this title, *Franciſci Willoughbeii de Middleton, Armigeri, e Reg. Soc. Ornithologiæ Libri tres, in quibus Aves omnes hactenus cognitæ, in Methodum naturis ſuis convenientem redactæ, accurate deſcribuntur: Deſcriptiones iconibus elegantiſſimis, & vivarum Avium ſimillimis, æri inciſis, illuſtrantur. Totum opus recognovit, digeſſit, ſupplevit*, Joh. Raius.... Mr Ray made great additions and improvements to Mr Willoughby's materials; and afterwards tranſlated it into Engliſh, and cauſed it to be printed in 1678, with very great improvements (2).

(2) See above the article J. Ray, Remark [*G*].

[*D*] *And alſo the Hiſtory of Fiſhes.*] This was printed in 1686, fol. by the order and at the charge of the Royal Society, under this title, *Fran. Willougbbeii Armig. de Hiſtoria Piſcium Libri quatuor, Juſſu & Sumptu Societatis Regiæ, Lond. editi. Totum opus recognovit,* amongſt Mr Ray's Letters [*E*]. This moſt worthy and learned perſon was cut off by an untimely death, July 3, 1672, when he was aged but 37 years, to the great reluctancy of all curious and inquiſitive perſons, eſpecially thoſe of the Royal Society, of which he was an eminent member and ornament; to the inexpreſſible ſorrow of his friends, and of all good men that knew him; and the grievous loſs of the commonwealth of learning. He was buried with his anceſtors, and a monument with an inſcription [*F*] was erected to his memory. We ſhall give his character below, in the words of the excellent Mr Ray (*c*) [*G*], who was beſt acquainted with his merit and virtues. By his lady Emma above-

(*c*) Preface to Mr Willughby's Ornithology, Eng. edit. Lond. 1670. fol.

cognovit, coaptavit, ſupplevit, Librum etiam Primum & Secundum integros adjecit Joh. Raius è Soc. Reg. By which title it appears, that Mr Ray, beſides digeſting the whole work, added the two entire firſt books. Dr Cromwell Mortimer cauſed the title-page of this book to be reprinted, in 1743, and ſubjoined at the end of it an Index of the fiſhes deſcribed or pictured in this work; and their names in Engliſh, Dutch, German, French, Italian, Portugueſe, &c. from Dr Tancred Robinſon's MS. notes in a copy of this book in the Royal Society's library; and from Mr Ray's Synopſis Piſcium; Dr Walter Charleton's Onomaſticon Zoicum; Dr Chr. Merrett's Pinax; Dr Nehem. Grew's Muſæum of the Royal Society; Sir Hans Sloane's Natural Hiſtory of Jamaica; M. Cateſby's Natural Hiſtory of Carolina, &c. With a view of the claſſes in which fiſhes are diſtributed. Labels of the names are paſted at the bottom or ſides of the figures.

[*E*] *A few other ſmall pieces of his are printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions*, &c.] Namely, Account of an Eclipſe ſeen at London, June 22, 1666 (3). Of a dwarf Oak from New England (4). Obſervations concerning Vegetation, and the running of the ſap (5). A Letter about the hatching a kind of Bee lodged in old willows (6). A Letter containing ſome conſiderable Obſervations about that kind of Waſps called Ichneumones, &c. (7) ... A few Letters to and from him are printed among Mr Ray's Philoſophical Letters.

(3) No. 15. p. 295.

(4) No. 58. p. 1700.

(5) No. 43. 48. 57. 70.

(6) No. 74. p. 2221.

(7) No. 76. p. 2279.

[*F*] *An inſcription*, &c.] It is as follows.

Propter jacet Franciſcus parentum optimorum filius verè magnus, ſi quid magni habet pietas, probitas, veracitas, incorrupta fides, rigida honeſti obſervantia, obſtinata ſobrietas, ſimplex ſolertia, ſumma & modeſta eruditio. Religio ſine ſuperſtitione, ſine faſtu nobilitas. *Aſſurgite quantum eſt hominum bonorum huic tam verendo nomini! Hic* cum in vivis eſſet, poſtquam peregre variarum Europæ nationum, linguarum, artium, morum, legum naturas indagâſſet, eaſdem domi excoluit, & perpolivit. Mathematicæ intimos receſſus aliiſq; inacceſſos penetravit, medicinæ varios ſinus perluſtravit, totam inſuper philoſophiam ita excuſſit, ut naturas ſuas & nomina omnibus reſtitueret. Hiſtoriam naturæ de integro pene concinnavit, eo acumine ut ſemper novus, ea diligentia ut ſemper ſibi conſtans, ea integritate ut ſemper fidelis naturæ interpres evaſerit: Duxit uxorem Emmam Bernard filiam ſecundam domini Hen. Bernard, quæ prolem ei enixa eſt Franciſcum, Caſſandram, & Thomam; & jam poſt ſingularem bene actæ vitæ exiſtimationem, triſte ſui deſiderium relinquens, adſcriptus eſt immortalibus tertio die Julii 1672. anno ætatis 37. quod ſupereſt votum abſolvat, tranſcribant patrem nati, & nati natorum, & qui naſcentur ab illis. Hoc monumentum officioſæ pietatis & memoriæ ergo devotiſſime conſecravit Thomas Willoughby, Bar'.

i. e. Near this place lies Francis ſon of the beſt parents, who was truly great, if there is any thing great in piety, probity, truth, ſincerity, ſtrict honeſty, ſobriety, a clear underſtanding without craft, and a conſummate erudition with the greateſt modeſty. Religion without ſuperſtition, nobility without pageantry. Riſe up all good men at this venerable name! After he had carefully ſurveyed all the nations of Europe, with their languages, arts, manners, and laws, he returned to his native country, where he digeſted and improved the knowledge he had acquired in foreign countries. He penetrated the myſteries of the mathematicks, which were inacceſſible to others. He thoroughly viewed the various depths of medicine; and ſo perfectly examined every branch of philoſophy, that he diſcoved the nature and fixed the names of all creatures. He had almoſt compoſed a Natural Hiſtory; with that ſagacity that he was always new; that exactneſs that he was always conſiſtent; and that faithfulneſs that he was always a true interpreter of nature. He married Emma Bernard, ſecond daughter of Sir Henry Bernard, by whom he had Francis, Caſſandra, and Thomas. Thus, after he had acted his part well upon the ſtage of life, he quitted it for immortality (to the regret of all his friends) the third day of July 1672. aged 37. All that remains for us, is to wiſh, that the ſons may imitate the father, and the ſons ſons, and thoſe who ſhall deſcend from them. This monument of piety and dutiful remembrance was conſecrated to him by Sir Thomas Willoughby, Bart.

[G] *We ſhall give his character below in the words of the excellent Mr Ray*, &c.] 'He was,' ſaith Mr Ray, 'endowed with excellent gifts and abilities both of body and mind, and bleſſed with a fair eſtate. Howbeit, as he did duly prize theſe advantages of birth, eſtate, and parts, ſo he did not content himſelf therewith, or value himſelf thereby, but laboured after what might render him more truly honourable, and more truly to be called his own, as being obtained by the concurrence at leaſt of his endeavours. Firſt then, as God had given him a quick apprehenſion, piercing wit, and ſound judgment, ſo by his great induſtry and conſtant uſe of theſe gifts, he did highly improve and advance them. He was from his childhood addicted to ſtudy, and ever ſince he came to the uſe of his reaſon ſo great a huſband of his time, as not willingly to loſe or let ſlip unoccupied the leaſt fragment of it, deteſting no vice more than idleneſs, which he looked upon as the parent and nurſe of almoſt all others. Nay, ſo exceſſive was he in the proſecution of his ſtudies, and other employments, without any intermiſſion or diverſion, that moſt of his friends were of opinion he did much weaken his body, and impair his health, by his inceſſant labours, and perpetual intention of mind upon buſineſs. However that be, hence it came to paſs that he attained very good ſkill in all parts of learning, and particularly got a deep inſight into thoſe ſciences which are moſt abſtruſe and impervious to vulgar capacities, I mean the moſt ſubtil parts of the mathematicks. Of his ſkill in natural philoſophy, chiefly the hiſtory of animals, I ſhall ſay no more, but that it hath not been my hap to meet with any man either in England, or beyond ſeas, of ſo general and comprehenſive knowledge therein. But what rendered him moſt commendable, was his eminent virtue and goodneſs. I cannot ſay, that I ever obſerved ſuch a confluence of excellent qualities in one perſon. For, notwithſtanding the forementioned advantages, which are wont to puff up mens minds with pride, he was ſo truly *humble*, that I have not known any man of the meaneſt fortune or birth exceed him in that virtue. He deſpiſed no man for his poverty or mean parentage; honoured all men, was affable to the meaneſt, not preferring himſelf before others, but condeſcending to them of low degree. He was ſo reſolutely *ſober* and *temperate*, that neither the importunity of company, or pleaſure of ſenſe, could ever tempt him to exceſs: of that exemplary *chaſtity* and *purity*, that his life condemns the diſſoluteneſs and corrupt practices of the preſent age, and demonſtrates the poſſibility of reſtraining and regulating thoſe motions and deſires, which of all others are wont to be moſt violent and inordinate: ſo ſcrupulouſly *juſt* and *righteous*, that he had rather a great deal ſuffer wrong than do any: ſo *true to his word and promiſe*, that a man might ſafely venture his eſtate and life too upon it; his word being, as an honeſt man's is ſaid to be, as good as his bond: ſo *faithful and conſtant to his friend* in all conditions, as well adverſe as proſperous, that one might be ſecure of him, and confident of his help and aſſiſtance, whatever diſtreſs or calamity might befal one; he never deſerting any man only becauſe fortune frowned upon him, as the common ſort of friends are wont to do. He was ſo diffuſe and comprehenſive in his *charity*, that he

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abovementioned he left two ſons, Francis and Thomas, and Caſſandra, late Ducheſs of Chandois. Francis, the eldeſt ſon, was created a Baronet April 7, 1677, but dying unmarried in 1688, in the 20th year of his age, the title and eſtate devolved on his brother Thomas, who was created Baron of Middleton, January 1, 1711. He departed this life April 2, 1729, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Francis, the preſent Lord Middleton.

‘ could heartily affect and embrace good men of all perſuaſions; good men, I ſay, to exclude ſuch opinions as are deſtructive of, or inconſiſtent with true goodneſs. To theſe I might add his *patience* and *ſubmiſſion* to the divine will, which did eminently appear in the time of his ſickneſs, when he profeſſed himſelf contented to leave the world, if it pleaſed God to have it ſo, though then in the height of his ſtrength and parts, and in the hot purſuit of uſeful ſtudies and deſigns, and in ſuch circumſtances as to his private affairs and concerns in the world, as rendered ſome continuance of life very deſirable to him, and would have tempted a man of ordinary virtue to expreſs ſome anger and diſcontent at the ſentence and expectation of death. And, laſtly, his due *fear and reverence of the Deity*, deep ſenſe of his goodneſs, and thankfulneſs for the ſame, ſincere piety in all his carriage towards him, and great abhorrency of whatever tended to his diſhonour.—— Thus much I thought fit to obſerve concerning his virtues, partly to do him right, by procuring him the honour due to his memory; and partly to provoke young gentlemen of this nation, by the propoſal of ſo illuſtrious an example of their own rank, to proſecute the ſtudy of ingenuous literature, and aſpire to true honour by the conſtant exerciſe of virtue.’

C

WOLLASTON [William] was born March 26, 1659 at Coton Clanford in Staffordſhire, where his father then reſided, a private gentleman of a ſmall fortune (*a*), being deſcended from an ancient and conſiderable family (*b*) in that county, where the elder branch always continued: but the ſecond, in proceſs of time, was tranſplanted into other counties. However, the head of it flouriſhed formerly at Oncot in the county of Stafford, though of late years at Shenton in Leiceſterſhire; and was poſſeſſed of a large eſtate lying in thoſe and other counties. Our author was a ſecond ſon of a third ſon of a ſecond ſon of a ſecond ſon (*c*); yet notwithſtanding this ſeries of younger brothers, his grandfather, who ſtands in the middle of it, had had a conſiderable eſtate both real and perſonal, together with an office of 700 l. per annum (*d*). And from a younger brother of the ſame branch ſprung Sir John Wollaſton, Lord Mayor of London, well known in that city at the time of the civil war (*e*). At nine years old, Mr Wollaſton was ſent to a maſter who had opened a Latin ſchool at Shenſton in Staffordſhire, where his father then reſided. Here our author continued near two years, and having received ſuch inſtruction as that perſon was capable of giving him, he was removed to Litchfield. He had been at this ſchool but a ſhort time when the Magiſtrates of the city, upon ſome quarrel, turned the maſter out of the ſchool-houſe. However, Mr Wollaſton with many of the ſcholars, followed the ejected maſter, and remained with him till he quitted his ſchool, which was about three years. After which the ſchiſm being ended, he returned into the free ſchool, and continued there about a year. The rudeneſs of a great ſchool was particularly diſagreeable to his natural diſpoſition; and what was ſtill worſe, he began now to be much troubled with the head-ach, which ſeems to have been conſtitutional in him: yet his uncommon attention to his book, and eagerneſs to improve, had now rendered him fit for the univerſity. Accordingly he was ſent to Cambridge, and admitted a penſioner at Sidney college, June 8th, 1674, in the ſixteenth year of his age. Here he was ſo circumſtanced as to labour under various diſadvantages. He was come up a country lad from a country ſchool; had no acquaintance in his college, nor even in the univerſity; few books or materials to work with; his allowance being by no means more than ſufficient for bare neceſſaries; neither had he ſufficient confidence to ſupply that defect by enquiring from others. Add to this, that his ſtate of health was not quite firm (*f*). However, under all theſe diſadvantages he acquired a great degree of reputation, and having taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts at the regular time, he offered himſelf a candidate for a fellowſhip in his college, but miſſed of that preferment. July 1681 he commenced Maſter of Arts, and about this time ſeems to have entered into Deacon's orders. On Michaelmas day following he left the univerſity, and having made a viſit to the then head of this branch of the family, his couſin Wollaſton of Shenton in Leiceſterſhire, he went to pay his duty to his father and mother at Bloxwyche, where they now lived: and not having ſeen them for many years before, he ſtaid with them till May or June 1682. But ſeeing no proſpect of preferment, he ſo far conformed himſelf to the circumſtances of his family, as about this time to become Aſſiſtant at Birmingham ſchool to the head-maſter, who readily embraced the opportunity of ſuch a coadjutor, and conſidered Mr Wollaſton as one who prudentially ſtooped to an employ below what he might reaſonably have pretended to. However, this inſtance of his humble induſtry was far from being diſpleaſing to his couſin of Shenton, who it ſeems had a great eſteem for the head maſter (*g*), and in a ſhort time he got a ſmall lecture at the diſtance of about two *miles* from Birmingham; but as he performed there the whole Sunday's duty, that fatigue, added to the buſineſs of a great free-ſchool for about four years, began to break his conſtitution [*A*]. But the old maſter being now turned out, in order to make way for a

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(*a*) Preface to the 7th edit. of Religion of Nature delineated, p. iv.

(*b*) See our author's epitaph in Remark [*G*].

(*c*) Pref. to the ſixth edition of Religion of Nature, &c. p. 5.

(*d*) Preface to 7th edit. p. vi.

(*e*) p. iv.

(*f*) Notwithſtanding this, the ſame author aſſures us, that he had very good ſtamina. Ibid. p. viii.

(*g*) Who we are told was a valuable and good old man. Id. Ib.

[*A*] *Began to break his conſtitution.*] During this ſpace he likewiſe ſuffered many anxieties, and underwent a great deal of trouble and uneaſineſs, in order to extricate two of his brothers from ſome inconveniences to which their own imprudencies had ſubjected them. And in the good offices which he did them

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particular perſon to ſucceed him, our author was choſen ſecond maſter only, under a pretence that he was too young to be at the head of ſo great a ſchool (*b*), but ſome of the Governors themſelves owned that he had wrong done him in this matter. However that be, 'tis certain, upon this occaſion he took prieſts orders in purſuance to the charter of that ſchool, which being interpreted likewiſe ſo as to oblige the maſters to take no church-preferment, he reſigned his lecture. This happened in the year 1686, and was a conſiderable eaſement to him. His new poſt was worth about 70l. per annum, which afforded him a tolerably competent ſubſiſtence. In the mean time the late chief maſter after his expulſion retired to his brother's houſe, which lying in the neighbourhood of Shenton, he once or twice waited upon Mr Wollaſton of Shenton, and undoubtedly informed him of the character, learning, converſation, and conduct of our author, which he was very capable of doing, becauſe they lived together till the time of this old gentleman's leaving Birmingham. Mr Wollaſton of Shenton having now lately loſt his only ſon*, and never intending (as appears from his whole conduct) to give his eſtate to his daughters, purſued his father's deſign of continuing it in the male line of his family, and reſolved to ſettle it upon our author's uncle and father, his own firſt couſins, and his neareſt male-relations, in the ſame proportions and manner exactly as it had been entailed on them by his father. And accordingly he made ſuch a ſettlement, ſubject however to a revocation. Our author all this while applied himſelf to his buſineſs; and never ſo much as waited upon his couſin, or employed any one to ſpeak or act any thing in his behalf (though many then blamed him for neglecting to do it): only one viſit he made him in the November before his death, which was upon a Saturday in the afternoon. He gave him a ſermon the next day, received his hearty thanks, and the next morning deſired leave to return to the duties of his ſtation; without ſpeaking or even inſinuating any thing in relation to his eſtate. His couſin diſmiſſed him with great kindneſs; and by his looks and manner ſeemed to have a PARTICULAR REGARD for him, but diſcovered nothing of his intention *by words*. However, he uſed to employ perſons privately to obſerve our author's behaviour (who little ſuſpected any ſuch matter) and his behaviour was found to be ſuch, that the ſtricter the obſervations were upon it, the more they turned to his advantage. In fine, Mr Wollaſton of Shenton became ſo thoroughly ſatisfied of our author's merit, that he revoked the forementioned ſettlement, and made a will in his favour [*B*]. In Auguſt following that gentleman fell ſick, and ſending ſecretly to our author to come over to him, as of his own accord, without any notice of his illneſs, he complied with the meſſage, and ſtaid ſome days at Shenton. But while he was gone home again, under a promiſe of returning, his couſin died, Auguſt 19, 1688. By his relation's will Mr Wollaſton found himſelf intitled to a very ample eſtate. However this change, ſudden and advantageous as it was to his affairs, wrought no change in his temper. The ſame firmneſs of mind which had ſupported him under the preſſures of a more adverſe fortune, enabled him to bear his proſperity with moderation: and his religion and philoſophy taught him to maintain a due equanimity under either extreme. In November following he came to London (*i*), and about a year after, on the 26th of that month 1689, he married Miſs Catherine Charlton, daughter of Mr Nicolas Charlton an eminent citizen of London, a fine woman with a good fortune, and a moſt excellent character. With this lady he ſettled in Charter-houſe Square in a private, retired, and ſtudious life. His carriage was nevertheleſs free and open. He aimed at ſolid and real content, rather than ſhew and grandeur, and manifeſted his diſlike of power and dignity by refuſing one of the higheſt preferments in the church, when it was offered to him (*k*). He had now books and leiſure, and he was reſolved to make uſe of them. He was perfectly acquainted with the elementary parts of learning, and with the learned languages, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, &c. He thought it neceſſary to add to theſe ſuch a degree of philology and criticiſm as ſeemed likely to be uſeful to him; and alſo mathematical ſciences, or at leaſt the fundamentals of them; the general philoſophy of nature; the hiſtory and antiquities of the more known and noted ſtates and kingdoms; and ſuch like erudition: and in order to attain the knowledge of true religion, and the diſcovery of truth, the points which he always had particularly in view, and to which he chiefly directed all his ſtudies, he diligently enquired into the idolatries of the heathens; and made himſelf maſter of the ſentiments, rites, and learning of the Jews; the hiſtory of the firſt ſettlement of Chriſtianity, and the opinions and practices introduced into it ſince. In the mean time he exerciſed and improved his mind by throwing off prejudices, uſing himſelf to clear images, obſerving the influence and extent of axioms, the nature and force of conſequences, and the method of inveſtigating truth. In general, he accuſtomed himſelf to much thinking as well as much reading. He likewiſe delighted in method and regula-

(*b*) In this ſchool there were three maſters and two aſſiſtants, beſides a writing-maſter. Ibid. p. ix.

* He died in 1685, as appears from his funeral ſermon preached by J. Cave, A. M. and publiſhed with the title of *Chriſtian tranquillity, or the government of the paſſions of joy and grief*, a ſermon upon the occaſion of the much lamented death of that hopeful young gentleman, Mr Fran. Wollaſton, an only ſon, and heir to a very fair eſtate. Preached at Shenton in Leiceſterſhire. Lond. 1685. 4to. Wood, vol. 2. col. 854.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 13.

(*k*) See the inſcription on his monument in Rem. [*G*].

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at this time we are aſſured that he ſeemed to have overacted his part, ſince he indulged his affection for them more than was conſiſtent with a due regard to his own welfare, as he was then circumſtanced (1).

[*B*] *And made a will in his favour.*] The circumſtances whereby Mr Wollaſton came into poſſeſſion of his eſtate, and the ſteps which led to it, as above-related, ſufficiently ſhew the abſolute groundleſneſs of that ſtory which having (merely on account of the marvellous in it) paſſed current and generally uncontroverted for many years, had obtained at the time of our author's deceaſe a kind of ſanction; that he was an abſolute ſtranger to the former poſſeſſor and his family, and happened to fall into his company by mere accident at an inn. An imagination ſo far from being true, or bearing any reſemblance, we ſee, to truth, that they were very near relations, and this very eſtate had been twice entailed upon Mr Wollaſton's uncle and father (2).

(1) Preface to the ſeventh edition of Religion of Nature delineated, p. 8, 9.

(2) Preface to the ſixth edition of Religion, &c. p. 8.

rity; and choſe to have his labours and refreſhments periodical, and that his family and friends ſhould obſerve the proper ſeaſons of their revolution. He was moſt remarkably chearful and lively in private converſation, and by that as ready, as by his treaſures of learning he was abundantly qualified, to be ſerviceable to all ſorts of people. This rendered his company agreeable, and himſelf worthy to be courted by the learned and virtuous. But a general acquaintance was what he never cultivated; and it grew (as is generally the caſe) more and more his averſion, ſo that he paſſed his days moſtly at home, with a few friends with whom he could enjoy an agreeable relaxation of mind, and receive all the advantages of a ſincere and open friendſhip *(l)*. Having thus fixed his reſolution to deſerve honours, but not to wear them, it was not long before he publiſhed a piece intitled, *The deſign of part of the book of Eccleſiaſtes, or the unreaſonableneſs of man's reſtleſs contentions for the preſent enjoyments, repreſented in an Engliſh poem*, in 8vo. But as he had never made poetry his buſineſs, ſo he was very ſenſible of the defects of this attempt in that way of writing, and was afterwards very deſirous to ſuppreſs it [*C*]. This poem was printed in the year 1690 *(m)*. Notwithſtanding he declined to accept of any public employment, yet his ſtudies were deſigned to be of public uſe, and his ſolitude was far from being employed in vain and trifling amuſements, terminating in himſelf alone [*D*]. But neither in this laſt view could his exceſſive retirement be without ſome inconveniences [*E*]; His intimates were dropping off, and their places remained unſupplied: his own

(l) Account of his life, &c. in the preface, ubi ſupra, p. 14, 15, 20.

(m) In 1703 he compoſed a little Latin grammar, which though he printed, was only for the uſe of his family.

[*C*] *And deſirous afterwards to ſuppreſs it.*] The publication of this piece ſeems to be entirely owing to the great ſatisfaction he had in contemplating the happy ſituation of his affairs, which put it into his power to gratify his own temper in the choice of a way of life the moſt agreeable to his nature. This, I think, is apparent, from his own account of the matter.—— 'The following poem,' ſays he (3), 'is not the effect 'of any extraordinary ſkill which I pretend to in po'etry, but was firſt began merely as the exerciſe and 'diverſion of a few hours, that I was not capable 'of ſpending better. For though, as you well ima'gine, I had never made poetry my buſineſs, nor 'ever intended to try whether I had any genius that 'way; yet I had in courſe, as others do, read ſome 'of the Latin and Greek authors, had now and then 'admired the performances of our own countrymen, 'had learned in ſome meaſure how to form ideas of 'things in my mind, and got ſome rude and more 'general conceptions of the nature of poeſy; which 'was enough for my purpoſe, who propounded but 'to fill up ſome odd and unſerviceable vacuities in 'my time, and by being employed about a proper 'ſubject to deceive them more inſenſibly; but I was 'not long permitted thus quietly to entertain myſelf; 'the ſame cauſes that diſabled me for better things, 'encreaſing upon me, and diſabling me for this too. 'So in ſhort the few indigeſted materials which I had 'collected among my own thoughts, in order to a 'poem, were thrown by and forgotten. In this ſtate of 'neglect they lay for ſome years, till lately, tumbling 'over ſome other trifles, I found them in the heap, 'and could not let them paſs, inconſiderable as they 'were, without a reflection upon thoſe circumſtances 'which put me upon this eſſay. At laſt, being once 'engaged in meditation, and led by it from one 'thing to another, I concluded to go on with what 'I had begun, and after my manner to finiſh it. This 'I have done, and which is more, *for ſome reaſon or* '*other* (forgive me, reader) have made it public too.' As he ſets out in this manner, ſo he concludes this account of the work in the ſame ſtrain; where, by way of objections, he has impartially repreſented the ſeveral defects in it; one of which, he ſays, is, that the the verſe, but eſpecially the rhymes, are weak, if not blundered. Upon this point he makes the following impartial declaration: 'I take not,' ſays he, 'any 'rhymes, much leſs my own, to be worth either de'fending or excuſing. For, as I confeſs myſelf auk'ward at making them, ſo am I ignorant of their 'excellence when they are made, and as they gave 'me more trouble than all the reſt, ſo have they done 'me that other miſchief of cramping my thoughts, 'and in great meaſure ſpoiling the verſe, though, as 'it luckily falls out, a naughty verſe is a leſs fault 'in ſatire than in any thing elſe. Had I been hardy 'enough (like ſome others, which too late I wiſh) to 'have broken a barbarous cuſtom, and freed myſelf 'from the troubleſome and modern bondage of *rhym*'*ing* (as Milton calls it), the buſineſs which now im'mediately follows had been ſomething better than 'it is.' In the ſame epiſtle we have his notions upon the ſubject of poetry in general. Hiſtory he ſuppoſes addreſſed to the underſtanding or apprehenſion; oratory directs itſelf not only to the underſtanding, but alſo to the judgment, or ſome paſſion apt to lead the perſon in whom it is raiſed, into aſſent. But poetry penetrates through all theſe to the admiration alſo, not only *informs* or *perſuades*, but exceedingly and above all delights us too, entertains our fancy and curdles our blood (4). This laſt effect of poetry ſeems rather to be the proper character of ſatire in particular, which was the ſpecies of his poem.

[*D*] *He was far from paſſing his time in trifling amuſements, terminating in himſelf alone.*] It is true, by his method of life he was rather qualified for private inſtruction, than accompliſhed for public addreſs and ſhew. But the latter was not his point. We are told, (5) he looked upon that ſpecious ſort of knowledge, which often gains a man the reputation of a ſcholar at a cheap rate, to be a falſe learning, and of no kind of ſervice to him, who was in queſt of real knowledge.—— He was of opinion too that a man might eaſily read too much, and he conſidered the *helluo librorum* and the true ſcholar as two very different characters. The love of truth and reaſon made him love free-thinking; and, as far as the world would bear it, free-ſpeaking too. This tended, he thought, to the diſcovery of error, though he was not inſenſible that this might render him leſs acceptable to many perſons, to thoſe who perhaps have juſt ſenſe enough to perceive their own weakneſs, or judge of things by the vogue they bear, or the reſpect they have to their own intereſt or party, or can bear neither the trouble of an honeſt enquiry themſelves, nor yet that another ſhould know what they do not know, and in ſhort, to every prejudiced perſon whatſoever. But he took all opportunities to aſſert ſeriouſly and inculcate ſtrenuouſly the being and perfections of God, his Providence both general and particular, the obligations we are under to adore him, the reaſonableneſs of all virtue, the immateriality and immortality of the ſoul, future rewards and puniſhments, and other high and eſſential points of natural religion, and of the Chriſtian revelation. In fine, to reaſon impartially, and to know where to ſtop, was the mark he always aimed at. And he loved truth not in ſpeculation only, but alſo in practice; for he loved punctual honeſty.

[*E*] *Neither could his exceſſive retirement be without ſome inconveniencies.*] We are told (6), that the general character of his nature was, tenderneſs and ſenſibility. Such a diſpoſition frequently makes a man ſeek for retirement as a neceſſary ſhelter from the diſappointments, vexations, and injuries which are unavoidable in an active life; but every one knows, that it is almoſt, if not altogether, as unavoidable for this tenderneſs not to be nurſed by ſolitude into an unmanly delicacy and unſociable ſoreneſs of ſenſibility. Nor does our author ſeem to have been exempted from this general frailty. For though this tenderneſs diſpoſed him to feel and compaſſionate the miſeries of others, inſomuch that he oftentimes ſuffered more perhaps in another man's caſe, than the ſufferer himſelf did in his own; though this tenderneſs always induced him to endeavour to ſatisfy and convince in caſes where he might have commanded moſt deſpotically and abſolutely,

(3) In the epiſtle to the reader, prefixed to the ſixth edition, ubi ſupra, p. 8. & ſeqq.

(4) Per ambages Deorumque miniſteria & fabuloſum ſententiarum tormentum præcipitandus eſt liber ſpiritus, ut potius furentis animi vaticinatio adpareat, quam religioſæ orationis ſub teſtibus fides.—— Petron. Arbiter Satyricon.

(5) By the author of a general account of his life, ubi ſupra, p. 16, 17.

(6) Ibid. p. 18.

own infirmities were increaſing: the frequent remiſſion of ſtudy growing more and more neceſſary; and his ſolitudes at the ſame time becoming leſs and leſs pleaſant and agreeable. But what decays ſoever he felt in his bodily ſtrength, it is certain nevertheleſs, that the clearneſs and perſpicuity of his thoughts continued in full vigour. However, perceiving his deſigns fruſtrated by the daily attacks of nature, and that it would be impoſſible to finiſh and complete them in the manner he wiſhed, he ſeems to have intended to deſtroy with his own hand the greateſt part of his works; and that thoſe few manuſcripts which were found after his death were indebted to the treachery of his memory for their preſervation [*F*]. For he had within the laſt two or three years of his life actually burnt ſeveral treatiſes, in the compoſition whereof he had beſtowed no ſmall quantity of time and pains (*n*). In the year 1720 he had the misfortune to loſe his wife, who died on the 21ſt of July that year. They had lived extremely happy in each other, and he was much afflicted with the loſs. He buried her in the ſame grave, where he himſelf then intended to be, and was afterwards, laid; and wrote an inſcription upon her monument, wherein he has perpetuated her fame by a very diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic [*G*]. In 1722 he

ſolutely; yet the ſame author intimates, that in theſe intervals he frequently, though unadviſedly, degenerated into chiding, when he intended only to explain and convince. To this indulged tenderneſs may alſo be aſcribed that exceſſive degree of diffidence of himſelf, which incapacitated him in a great meaſure for appearing in public at all but to his diſadvantage, which no doubt muſt render him in appearance inferior to thoſe, who exceeded him in nothing ſo much as in forwardneſs and ſo much conceit as is a neceſſary ſpur to action. Something of this might indeed be owing to the depreſſion of his ſpirits in his younger days. From the ſame cauſes (it is obſerved too) might ariſe his ſtrong apprehenſions of the unreaſonableneſs and injuſtice of thoſe, who were deſignedly the beginners of quarrels or abuſes, or invaded without provocation another's good name. The ſame tenderneſs rendered him in a high manner ſenſible of the deſertion, unkindneſs, and indifference of friends. The turn of the expreſſion evidently inſinuates, that his ſenſibility was carried to an exceſs of paſſion in both theſe inſtances; but were it not ſo, the words immediately following are full and explicit, which inform us, that he never indulged his paſſions to the hurt of any one. If in any reſpect he ſhewed that he was not ſo complete a ſtoic as to have eradicated his paſſions, or ſo perfect a philoſopher as never to be ſurprized by them, it was in the eſcape of a haſty word or expreſſion now and then, when he was put off his guard by hurries, indiſpoſitions, or ſuch like occaſions.—— Yet (we may eaſily believe) he was not always angry, when the urgency of buſineſs, the ſtraitneſs of time, the importunity of impertinent people, or the like, cauſed him to talk louder or quicker than ordinary; nor often, if at all, without ſufficient reaſon, nor ever ſo angry with any one elſe as with himſelf for having been ſo. In ſhort, if every one would reſtrain their anger within the ſame bounds as he did, there might be a haſty word or expreſſion dropt ſometimes upon provocation or indiſpoſition, but there would never be reſentment, wrath, or quarrel more in the world. So ſays the compiler of his character (7).— The juſt concluſion from all which is, That the fruit being always kept in the ſhade, and not brought into the public ſun-ſhine in the open field, never ripened into a full mellowneſs.

[*F*] *Thoſe few manuſcripts which were found after his death were indebted to the treachery of his memory for their preſervation.*] The following indeed happened to be ſpared; but from the place where they lay, and ſome other circumſtances, it is probable they owed their eſcape to mere forgetfulneſs. They are, 1. *An Hebrew grammar.* 2. *Tyrocinia Arabica & Syriaca.* 3. *Specimen Vocabularii Biblio-Hebraici, literis noſtratibus, quantum fert linguarum diſſonantia, deſcripti.* 4. *Formulæ quædam Gemarinæ.* 5. *De variis generibus pedum, metrorum, carminum, &c. apud Judæos, Græcos, & Latinos.* 6. *De vocum tonis monitio ad tyrones.* 7. *Rudimenta ad matheſin & philoſophiam ſpectantia.* 8. *Miſcellanea Philologica.* 9. *Opinions of the ancient Philoſophers.* 10. 'Ιȣδαΐκα; *ſive religionis & literaturæ Judaicæ Synopſis.* 11. *A collection of ſome antiquities and particulars in the hiſtory of mankind; tending to ſhew that men have not been here upon this earth from eternity, &c.* 12. *Some paſſages relating to the hiſtory of Chriſt, collected out of the primitive fathers.* 13. *A treatiſe relating to the Jews, of their antiquities, language, &c* (8). What renders it the more probable, and indeed almoſt beyond doubt, that he would have deſtroyed theſe likewiſe, if he had remembered them, is, that ſeveral of theſe which remain undeſtroyed, are only rudiments or rougher ſketches of what he afterwards reconſidered and carried on much farther, and which even after ſuch reviſal he nevertheleſs committed to the flames, as being ſtill, in his opinion, ſhort of that perfection, to which he deſired and had intended to bring them. So that his death abſolutely put an end to the expectation of ſeeing any more of his works in print, ſince it would be equally injurious to the author, and diſreſpectful to the public, if his family ſhould expoſe his more imperfect ſketches in print, after his death; when he himſelf had in his life-time deſtroyed ſeveral more finiſhed pieces, becauſe he judged them not ſufficiently accurate (9).

[*G*] *He has perpetuated her fame by a very diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic.*] The epitaph is as follows:

Hic, ad imum parietem, ſita eſt
CATHARINA,
GULIELMI WOLLASTON,
Hujus manerii Finburienſis Domini, &c.
Uxor κυριδία ac dilectiſſima:
E qua prolem ille numeroſam & pulchram
Suſcepit;
Ipſa olim pulcherrima.
Ob. Julii 21. A.C. 1720. Æt. 50.
Sepulchrumque occupavit
Conjugi ſecum commune futurum.
Ut qui conjunctiſſimi vixerunt,
Etiam mortui miſtis cineribus uniantur.

Over againſt this he put the following for himſelf, at the ſame time leaving blank ſpaces for the dates, which were filled up after his own deceaſe.

Nov. 6. 1724.
Juxta reliquias Catharinæ ſuæ
Ipſius GULIELMI WOLLASTON
Conditi ſunt cineres promiſſi.
Fuit is (ſi quis aveat ſcire)
Genere ortus perantiquo nec ignobili;
Academicis diſciplinis imbutus Cantabrigiæ,
Quibus ibi ſtuduit per annos plus ſeptem;
Hæreditate ampla, numine favente, auctus:
Valetudine tamen ſua parum firma,
Hominumque corruptis moribus & judiciis
Iniquis,
Diligenter expenſis ac æſtimatis,
Vitæ privatæ iter ſumpſit:
Suorum ſaluti & commodis proſpiciens;
Bonis literis animum excolens vel oblectans;
Spretis fama atque honoribus,
Etiam oblatis,
Veri conſcientia tacita contentus.
Cum vixiſſet ann. 65, di. 217,
Curſu quem Deus dederat peracto,
Fato ceſſit אע״ת ואן א״.

We

(*n*) Ibid. p. 21.

(9) P. 22. 26.

he printed a few copies of his treatiſe intitled, *The Religion of Nature delineated.* He had not completed his whole deſign, thoſe copies being only intended for private uſe in the proſecution of it. Accordingly he ſoon after (*o*) began to turn his thoughts to the third queſtion recited in the entrance of that treatiſe. However, in this deſign he had opportunity to make but a very ſmall progreſs. He was himſelf not without apprehenſions, that he ſhould not live to finiſh it; and about Midſummer 1723 he was prevailed upon by the inſtances and perſuaſions of his friends to ſet about reviſing and publiſhing what he had done of the work, which contained an anſwer to the two firſt of the propoſed queſtions; reſolving, as ſoon as that ſhould be done, to return to and finiſh his anſwer to the third queſtion (*p*). But in this he was diſappointed; for immediately after he had completed the reviſal and publication of the treatiſe as it appeared in 1724 [*H*], in 4to. an accident of breaking his arm increaſed his diſtempers, and haſtened his death, which happened October 29th the ſame year. His body was carried down to Great Finborough, and laid cloſe by the ſide of his deceaſed wife, according to his own deſire, expreſſed in the epitaphs above-mentioned. We are aſſured (*q*), that the picture of his life is moſt fully drawn in *The Religion of Nature delineated*; that there we may behold him in his real character, in the humble ſubmiſſion and reſignation of himſelf to the unerring will of the divine Being; in his true conjugal and paternal affection to his family; in his kind regard and benevolence towards his fellow creatures, according to their reſpective ſtations in life. For he himſelf ſteadily practiſed thoſe duties and obligations which he ſo earneſtly recommended to others. Accordingly his lateſt moments were calm and eaſy, ſuch as might be expected to cloſe a life ſpent like his. He left the world, as he ſojourned in it, quietly and reſignedly. Both the manner of his life, and that of his death are well worthy of imitation. The great demand for this book (of which more than ten thouſand were ſold in a very few years) and the public honours paid to the memory of the author, are ſufficient teſtimonies of its value. Yet it has not eſcaped the cenſure of a celebrated mercurial writer [*I*]. However, it muſt be owned, that another of

(*o*) July 1723.

(*p*) Theſe three queſtions are in the beginning of his book, p. 4.

(*q*) Pref. p. 23.

We need not take notice that the quality marked by the Greek word, which declares her a true virgin before marriage, is ſomething ſingular, and no where before (as I know of) mentioned in an epitaph. Every ſchool-boy knows it is fetched from Homer (10), where Agamemnon gives this excellence in Clytemneſtra as the principal motive of his preferring her to Briſeis, and being ſo ſatisfied in her as not to deſire any amorous exceſſes with another.

> ——*καὶ περ ϱα Κλυτεμνεςρης προβεβȣλα*
> *Κȣριδίης ἀλόχȣ*——

[*H*] *As it appeared in* 1724.] It has gone through ſeveral editions ſince that time. To the 7th, printed in 1750, which is the lateſt, there is added a tranſlation of the notes into Engliſh by Dr John Clarke, Dean of Saliſbury, who informs us (11), that this taſk was undertaken by him at the particular requeſt of her late Majeſty Queen Caroline for her own uſe. In this performance, which, as far as I have looked into it, ſeems in general to be juſt enough, only one paſſage occurred, where, if the tranſlator has given us the true ſenſe of the original, it ſeems to ſtand in need of ſome further opening, to let us ſee directly into the aptneſs of Mr Wollaſton's application. In p. 201. our author obſerves, that *we are not always certain who are good, and who are wicked.* This remark is illuſtrated by the following obſervation of Virgil,

> ——*Cadit & Riphæus juſtiſſimus unus*
> *Qui fuit in Teucris, & ſervantiſſimus æqui.*
> *Dîs aliter viſum!*——

Thus tranſlated by Dr Clarke, 'Riphæus alſo was 'ſlain, who was one of the moſt juſt men amongſt the 'Trojans, and a very ſtrict preſerver of equity; *but 'the Gods muſt be ſubmitted to.*' Here the word *muſt* throws the ſenſe aſide from Mr Wollaſton's intention; to prevent which I would add theſe words, '*who know 'better than we.*'

[*I*] *Has not eſcaped the cenſure of a celebrated mercurial writer.*] This is Mr William Warburton, now Biſhop of Glouceſter, who frankly ranks our author among thoſe who have not *founded morality in will*, but having clearly demonſtrated the natural eſſential differences of things, never gave themſelves any farther trouble, but delivered this as a proof of the moral difference. "One of our moſt celebrated writers," ſays he (12), [Dr Wollaſton] "hath not eſcaped this "delusion; who diſſatisfied with all the principles "with which the preceding writers of his party had "deduced the morality of actions, when he had de"monſtrated with greater clearneſs than any before "him the natural eſſential difference of things, un"luckily miſtook it for the moral difference, and "thence made the formal ratio of moral good and "evil to conſiſt in a conformity of mens actions to the "truth of the caſe, or otherwiſe. For it is a prin"ciple with him, that a true propoſition may be de"nied or affirmed to be what they are by deeds as "well as by expreſs words. But had both parties "been pleaſed to conſider this natural eſſential differ"ence of things, as what it muſt be confeſſed by both "to be, the rule that God hath given his creatures "to bring them to the knowledge of his will, the "diſpute had been at an end: and they had em"ployed this difference not as the atheiſt does, for the "foundation of morality, but as all true theiſts ſhould "do, for the medium to bring us to that only ſound "foundation, *the will and command of God.*" It may not be amiſs to ſet this matter in its true light, which I take to be as follows. Mr Wollaſton, in his ixth propoſition, ſection 1. where the definition referred to by this antagoniſt is found, expreſſes himſelf thus (13): *If the formal ratio of moral good and evil be made to conſiſt in a conformity of men's acts to the truth of the caſe, or the contrary, as I have here explained it, the diſtinction ſeems to be ſettled in a manner undeniable, intelligible, practicable.* This explanation is contained in the preceding propoſitions; in the fourth of which (14) he obſerves, that thoſe propoſitions which are true and expreſs things as they are, expreſs the relation between the ſubject and the attribute as it is.——If there is a ſupreme being upon whom the exiſtence of the world depends, and nothing can be in it but what he either cauſes or permits to be, then to own things to be as they are, is to own what he cauſes, or at leaſt permits to be thus cauſed or permitted; and this is to take things as he gives them, to go into his conſtitution of the world, and to ſubmit to his will revealed in the books of nature; to do this therefore muſt be agreeable to his will.——He proceeds afterwards in theſe words: As the owning of things in all our conduct to be as they are, is direct obedience; ſo the contrary not to own things to be what they are, is direct rebellion againſt him who is the author of nature. Farther, Mr Wollaſton's ixth propoſition is (15), If there be moral good and evil diſtinguiſhed as before, there is religion, and ſuch as may moſt properly be ſtiled natural. [Here] by religion, ſays he, I mean nothing elſe but an obligation to do what ought not to be omitted, and to forbear what ought not to be done. So that there muſt be religion if there are things of which ſome ought not to be done, ſome not to be omitted: but that there are ſuch, appears from what has been ſaid

(10) Iliad, lib. 1. lin. 116, 117.

(11) In an advertiſement at the end of the preface. Her Majeſty's great eſteem for the book, next to its own merit, raiſed the great demand for it mentioned in the text above.

(12) Divine Legation of Moſes, edit. 2d. p. 52, 53.

(13) p. 40. in the 7th ed. 8vo.

(14) p. 16. & ſeqq.

(15) p. 41.

of equal wit and learning, but of a more artful addreſs, has ſhewn more reſpect to our author's univerſal reputation [*K*]. He had by his wife eleven children, of whom four died

ſaid concerning moral good and evil; becauſe that which to omit would be evil, and which therefore being done would be good, or well done, ought certainly by the terms to be done, and ſo that which being done would be evil, and implies ſuch abſurdities and rebellion againſt the ſupreme being *as are mentioned under propoſition the IVth*, ought moſt undoubtedly not to be done.—Since things are ſo, there muſt be religion in nature, properly called the *religion of nature*, or *natural religion*, the great law of which religion, the law of nature, or rather of the Author of nature, is——After this he proceeds to treat of happineſs and reaſon, as neceſſary to a full explanation of his manner of thinking. Under this laſt head of reaſon, having ſhewn that our reaſon can diſcover truth, and perceive the will of God, he obſerves (16), that a Being who has ſuch a determining and governing power ſo placed in his nature, as to be eſſential to him, is a being certainly framed to be governed by that power. *It ſeems to be as much deſigned by nature, or rather the Author of nature*, that rational animals ſhould uſe their reaſon and ſteer by it, as &c. If then, continues he (17), a rational being as ſuch is under an obligation to obey reaſon, and this obedience or practice of reaſon coincides with the obſervation of truth, theſe things plainly follow. 1. *That what is ſaid, ſect. I. prop. IV. muſt be true with reſpect to ſuch a being*, for this further cauſe, becauſe to him nothing can be right that interferes with reaſon, and *vice verſa*. 2. That there is to a rational being ſuch a thing as religion, which may alſo upon this further account properly be called natural. For certainly to obey the law which the Author of his being has given him, is religion; and to obey the law which he has given or revealed to him by making it to reſult from the right uſe of his own natural faculties, muſt be to him his natural religion. 3. A careful obſervation of truth, the way to happineſs, and the practice of reaſon, are in the iſſue the ſame thing, and ſo at laſt natural religion is grounded upon this triple and ſtrict alliance or union of truth, happineſs, and reaſon. Having now, and not before, completed the explanation of his whole meaning, be begins ſect. Vth in theſe words: 'I have 'ſhewn in what the nature of moral good and evil 'conſiſts; viz. *a conformity or diſagreement to truth, 'and thoſe things that are coincident with it, reaſon 'and happineſs*.' Can any one now entertain the leaſt doubt but by the words, *a conformity to the truth of the caſe as I have explained it*, Mr Wollaſton comprehends, among others, that truth which ariſes from the relation betwixt man as a creature and the will of God as his Creator: without which relation, that is, if there was no God, the truth of the caſe would not be what it is; that reaſon can perceive this relation, and that this perception clearly indicates the deſign or will of God, who is the Author of it, that man ſhould be governed by it. So far Mr Wollaſton. Let us now ſee how this point is determined by his antagoniſt. After he has run through the whole argument, he ſums up the matter thus: *On the whole then, it appears from the ſtrongeſt and cleareſt deductions of reaſon, that will and will only can conſtitute obligation; and conſequently moral actions, that is, ſuch as deſerve rewards and puniſhments*. Yet when men reflect upon the affections of their own minds, and find there a ſenſe of right and wrong ſo ſtrongly impreſſed as to be attended with a conſciouſneſs; that the one deſerves reward, and the other puniſhment, even though there were no God; this ſo perplexes matters as to diſpoſe them, in oppoſition to all thoſe plain deductions, to place morality in the eſſential difference of things. But would they conſider that *that* very ſenſation, which ſo much miſleads us in judging of the true foundation of morality, is the plaineſt indication of *will*, which for the better ſupport of virtue ſo framed and conſtituted the human mind, a conſtitution utterly inconceivable on the ſuppoſition of no God; would they, I ſay, but conſider this, all the difficulty would vaniſh (18).—I confeſs, he muſt have a much clearer eyeſight than I am bleſſed with, who can perceive any other difference between theſe two celebrated authors in the point before us, than this, that according to the reaſoning of the former, the truth of the caſe neceſſarily includes the will of God the Author of nature, without which therefore any ſuppoſed obligation to act in conformity to that truth muſt be deficient; whilſt the latter pronounces that the will, and the will only of God the Creator, conſtitutes obligation. The atheiſt is in each view alike placed out of the rank of a moral agent; but Mr William Wollaſton, whoſe aim evidently was both to convince and perſuade the gainſayer, choſe to expreſs himſelf ſo, as to ſettle the point in a manner not only the moſt undeniable, but likewiſe the moſt intelligible, and at the ſame time the moſt practicable too; whereas Mr William Warburton, whoſe aim and whoſe only aim is clearly to confute the atheiſt, has with no leſs judgment perhaps in that view choſe to ſuit his expreſſion to the dogmatical preciſion of the ſchools: *Will and will only conſtitutes obligation* *.

[*K*] *Another ... has ſhewn more reſpect to our author's univerſal reputation.*] This is Dr Conyers Middleton, (19) who, in a letter to Dr Waterland, having (as he pretends) ſhewn his antagoniſt's weakneſs in anſwering the objections againſt revealed religion, advanced by the author of *Chriſtianity as old as the Creation*, obſerves, that the taſk he had undertaken of vindicating the particular texts of ſcripture from cavil and exception, 'or, ſays he,' 'reſcuing, as you call it, the word 'of God from reproach and blaſphemy, is much more 'likely to furniſh matter for new ſcandal, than extinguiſh the old: for this, as far as my experience has 'reached, has always been, and will for ever be, the 'conſequence of this method of defending religion; 'ſince it is built upon a wrong principle, and proceeds 'upon a ſyſtem that cannot be maintained, viz. that 'every ſingle paſſage of the ſcriptures we call canonical, muſt needs be received as the very word and 'as the voice of God himſelf. This notion, which 'you every where inculcate, as 'tis falſe in itſelf, ſo 'it muſt neceſſarily lead you into error and abſurdity, 'and expoſe you to the contempt and ridicule of all '*rational* men, who can never embrace an hypotheſis, 'however confidently aſſerted, which they ſee contrary 'to facts, and the plain conviction of their ſenſes.' He then proceeds to confirm this remark with the teſtimony of Mr Wollaſton, in theſe words: 'Tis the obſervation, ſays he, of a late grave author, much verſed in reflections of this kind, *that there is no greater cauſe of modern infidelity* (20), *than that ſome opinions and rites are carried to ſuch an immoderate height, as expoſes the abſurdity of them to all men of common ſenſe* (21); *who out of an indignation and an exceſſive renitence, not ſeparating that which is true from that which is falſe, are apt to fall into the contrary extreme, a contempt of all religion*.

But if this covert freethinker found it to his purpoſe to commend our author, we ſee another, who while he allows him to be a man of parts, learning, a philoſopher, and a geometrician, yet condemns his ſyſtem as a ſtrange *theiſm*, and has laboured through ſeveral pages to ridicule it, as being alike dogmatical and abſurd, as what he calls artificial theology. The high-ſpirited writer here underſtood, is the famous Henry late Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke (22), who was quick-ſighted enough to perceive that Mr Wollaſton's method of demonſtrating the religion of nature, clearly paves the way for the *religion of grace*, which it was his open purpoſe to diſcredit. Our author, in treating of the proofs for the immortality of the ſoul, has theſe words: Here I begin to be very ſenſible how much I want a guide. But as the religion of nature is my theme, I muſt at preſent content myſelf with that light, which nature affords; my buſineſs being, as it ſeems, only to ſhew what a heathen philoſopher without any other help, and almoſt αὐτοδίδακτος *, may be ſuppoſed to think. I hope that neither the doing of this, nor any thing elſe contained in this delineation, can be the leaſt prejudice to any other true religion; whatever is *immediately revealed from God*, muſt as well as any thing elſe be treated as being what it is, which cannot be, if it is not treated with the higheſt regard, believed, and obeyed. That, therefore, which has been ſo much inſiſted on by me, and is as it were the burden of my ſong, is ſo far from undermining true *revealed religion*, that it rather paves the way for its reception. This I take this opportunity to remark to you once for all (23). How comes it then to be aſſerted that he makes no mention of revealed religion, not even dropping the leaſt or moſt diſtant hint in its favour (24)? Mr Wollaſton indeed ſticks cloſe to his plan in anſwering the two died in his life time, the reſt ſurvived him. Four of his ſons were educated, as he had been, at Sydney College in Cambridge. The eldeſt, William Wollaſton, Eſq; who ſucceeded to his father's eſtate, reſides now at Finborough, and is one of the repreſentatives in parliament for Ipſwich *.

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(16) p. 88.

(17) Prop. xii. ſect. 3.

(19) Divine Legation of Moſes, ubi ſupra, p. 52. book i. ſect. iv.

* In ſhort, both theſe gentlemen follow Biſhop Saunderſon, whoſe words are, *Obligatio conſcientiæ eſt voluntas Dei qualitercunque revelata*. Saunders. de Oblig. Conſc.

(19) See his works, vol. 2. p. 167. 164, publiſhed in 4 vol. 4to. 1752. This letter was firſt publiſhed in December 1730.

(20) Mr Wollaſton ſays, one of the greateſt cauſes of modern irreligion.

(21) In the original it is, 'expoſe them to 'the view of almoſt every body, but them 'who raiſe 'them; not only gentlemen 'of the belles 'lettres, but 'even men of 'common ſenſe 'many times 'ſee through 'them, and then 'out of,' &c.—Religion of Nature delineated, p. 106. 7th edit. in 8vo. 1750.

(22) In his philoſophical works, fragment 18.

* Self-taught.

(23) Sect. ix. prop. 8. p. 399.

(24) *In Biographical Dict. vol. xi. under our author's article, edit. 1762, 8vo.*

* This was written during the laſt parliament of George II.

two firſt queſtions concerning natural religion; the conſideration of revealed religion moſt properly falling under the purpoſed anſwer to the third queſtion; namely, *How a man may qualify himſelf ſo as to be able to judge for himſelf of the other religions profeſſed in the world?*

Let it be added by way of *corollary* (to keep to our author's plan) that he found himſelf obliged expreſsly to recur to revelation for ſuch a proof of the ſoul's immortality as ſuperſeded all the arguments produced in ſupport of it by mere unaſſiſted reaſon; all which, after collecting them into one view, and urging them as he has done in the ſtrongeſt manner, are conſequently by this appeal implied to fall ſhort of giving that full ſatisfaction neceſſary to this grand baſis of all religion.

It is obſervable, that in proſecuting this important point, he was led, for the ſolution of ſome difficulties, to embrace, though not pertinaciouſly to maintain, the opinion (of Plato, if I miſtake not) that that the human ſoul is a cogitative ſubſtance clothed in a material *vehicle*, or rather united to it, and as it were inſeparably mixt, I had almoſt ſaid, continues he, incorporated with it; that theſe act in conjunction, that which affects the one affecting the other (25). This opinion he likewiſe thinks to have been eſpouſed or at leaſt countenanced by Mr Locke, where that philoſopher writes thus: *It is worth our conſideration, whether active power be not the proper attribute of ſpirit, and paſſive power of matter. Hence may be conjectured, that created ſpirits are not totally ſeparate from matter, becauſe they are both active and paſſive. Pure ſpirit,* viz. *God, is only active, pure matter is only paſſive; thoſe beings that are both active and paſſive, we may judge to partake of both* *. Mr Wollaſton afterwards calls this an *animated* vehicle (26), and ſuppoſes it not to be diſſolved with the groſs body by death, but to be immortalized, and to continue for ever united to the ſoul; and that by means of this vehicle the man continues to be the ſame perſon through all the changes which the groſs body undergoes in this life; 'that is,' ſays he, 'if I may uſe a ſchool term, the *egoity* is preſerved (27).' However, he is very far from ſuppoſing that this material vehicle, ſubtilized and refined as it may be, is capable of thinking. On the contrary, nobody has better than he ſhewn againſt Mr Locke, the utter impoſſibility of matter's being endued with that faculty, or that ſuch a power can be ſuperadded to any matter, however refined or ſubtilized: nor has any one better than he anſwered Mr Locke's objections againſt thinking's being eſſential to the ſoul.

(25) p. 363.

* Locke's Eſſay upon Human Underſtanding.

(26) p. 371.

(27) p. 373.

But after all, we muſt not conclude theſe remarks without taking notice of ſome notions advanced by our author incidentally in the courſe of his work, which may, perhaps, be thought not defenſible; as that "there were *animalcula* of every tribe originally "formed by the Almighty Parent, to be the *ſeed* of "all future generations of animals (28)." Again, in ſpeaking of the aſſiſtance and directions given to good men, and the infatuations to bad men, by the Deity, he ſays, "If any one ſhould object, that if "men are thus over-ruled in their actings, then they "are deprived of their liberty, &c. the anſwer is, "that though man is a free agent, he may not be free "as to every thing (29);" whereas, if I miſtake not, it is generally held by the advocates of free-will, that theſe influences of the Deity, if there be ſuch, are ſo directed, as no way to intrench upon the human liberty.

(28) p. 164.

(29) p. 165.

P

WOLSEY (or, as it is ſometimes written, WULCEY †) [THOMAS] Cardinal S. R. E. and Archbiſhop of York, Prime Miniſter to K. Henry VIII. a perſon who from a mean birth raiſed himſelf by very extraordinary abilities to all theſe high honours and dignities, and therefore juſtly claims a place in this collection. He was born in March 1471 at Ipſwich in Suffolk, of parents, whoſe obſcurity hath eluded the moſt diligent reſearches of the antiquarians [*A*]. But the boy diſcovering in his infancy a ſprightly genius, and a diſpoſition to learning, was put to a grammar ſchool, where he made a very extraordinary progreſs, and being ſent thence to Magdalen College in Oxford, he advanced in the academical ſtudies with equal quickneſs, and obtained his firſt degree of Bachelor of Arts in a ſmall time after his admiſſion, which being conferred upon him at the age of fifteen, procured him the appellation of the *boy bachelor (a)*. He was elected Fellow of his college ſoon after; and having commenced Maſter of Arts, was appointed maſter of the grammar ſchool, belonging and adjoining to the college; during which employ he had, among others under his care, three ſons of the Marquis of Dorſet [*B*], who afterwards, on his entering into holy orders, became his patron. In

1498

† See Knight's life of Eraſmus. p. 36. and Fiddes's life of Cardinal Wolſey, p. 2. note (*e*).

(*a*) Secret hiſt. of Card. Wolſey, by Cavendiſh, who ſays he had this laſt particular from the cardinal's own mouth, ch. 1.

[*A*] *Obſcure parents.*] The ſtory of his father being very mean, and a butcher, which had paſt current before, was at laſt contradicted by Dr Fiddes, who meeting with the laſt will of one Robert Wolſey of Ipſwich, wherein are the following paragraphs: *Item; I will that if Thomas my ſon be a prieſt within a year next after my deceaſe, then I will that he ſing for me and my friends by the ſpace of a year, and he to have for his ſalary ten marks. And if Thomas my ſon be not a prieſt, then I will that another honeſt prieſt ſing for me and my friends for the term aforeſaid, and he to have the ſalary of ten marks.*

Item, I will that Joan my wife have all my lands and tenements in the pariſh of St Nicolas in Ipſwich, and my free and bond land in the pariſh of Stoke. The reſidue of my goods not bequeathed, I give and bequeath to Joan my wife, Thomas my ſon, and Thomas Cady, who I make executors of this my teſtament, and do order Richard Farington ſupervíſor thereof.

This will, ſays Fiddes, is dated September 21, 1486, and the reference in it to his ſon Thomas, who is ſuppoſed to have been bred a ſcholar, and deſigned for a prieſt, renders it not ſo much probable as a matter paſt all doubt, if we may judge from the circumſtances of time and place, the agreement of names and perſonal characters, that this Robert was in fact the father of Thomas, afterwards Cardinal Wolſey; who, as he had no eccleſiaſtical preferment till the time of his being inſtituted to the rectory of Lymington in 1500, may very well be preſumed to have taken orders ſhortly after the date of this will, being at the time when it was executed in the 25th year of his age. Beſides, had there been any other Wolſey deſigned for holy orders of the ſame name, place, and age with the Cardinal, it is highly probable ſome account would have been preſerved of him in hiſtory or by tradition, by reaſon of his having at leaſt ſome diſtant relation in theſe ſeveral reſpects to ſo very eminent a perſon. In all probability he had neither brother nor ſiſter then living, there being no mention of other children, nor the leaſt proviſion made for any in the will, the tenor of which ſpeaks the teſtator to be poſſeſſed of a conſiderable eſtate for a plebeian at that time. Upon the whole, may not the whole matter be compromiſed by ſuppoſing Wolſey's father to have been both grazier and butcher, which is very common to this day? (1) It may not be impertinent to obſerve, that a baſs relief of the Cardinal's head in profile is carved, with a butcher's knife by the ſide, on the central board of the arch of the gateways into the butchery at Ipſwich. There is a tradition that it was built by the Cardinal, and it appears now to be very old, and being a timber building, may undoubtedly have ſtood from the Cardinal's time.

(1) Fiddes's life of Wolſey, p. 5. ed. 1723. fol.

[*B*] *Three ſons of the Marquis of Dorſet.*] Their names were John, Anthony, and Leonard. Their father

1498 he was made Burſar of his college [*C*]. About which time he became acquainted with Eraſmus [*D*], then at Oxford, with whom he concurred in encouraging what was then called the new learning, or the ſtudy of the Greek language (*b*) in that univerſity [*E*]. During the Chriſtmas holidays in 1499, he attended his three honourable ſcholars to

ther Thomas Grey was created a Marquis by Ed. IV. and upon Richard's mounting the throne he rerired into France; and being at the French court when the Earl of Richmond was ſoliciting their aſſiſtance, he voluntarily offered himſelf to remain there as one of the Earl's pledges. Upon Henry's ſucceſs the money being paid, the Marquis returned to England; where he had not been long before Henry grew jealous of him, on account of ſome expreſſions dropt in France relating to Henry's title. Being informed of the King's diſpleaſure, he ſet out for St Edmundſbury, where his Majeſty then was, with a deſign to juſtify himſelf, but was arreſted on the road, and carried to the Tower without being heard, where he remained till the defeat of Lambert Simnel, and the Queen's coronation ſoon after; when being releaſed without examination, he retired ere long into the country (2), and ſpent the greateſt part of the remainder of his time in a rural life. It was during this retirement that Wolſey became known to him.

From this nobleman deſcended the laſt Duke of Kent of the name, who was Marquis Grey May 30, 1740. His Grace having no male iſſue, his eldeſt daughter alſo, who married the Lord Glenorchy, having no male iſſue, left an only daughter, Jemima Campbell, who married the Honourable Philip York, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of Hardwick, late Lord Chancellor of England. She was created Marchioneſs Grey, and the title of Marquis Grey was limited upon her marriage to the heirs male of her body (3).

[*C*] *He was burſar of his college.*] While he had this office the tower of the college chapel was finiſhed, called Wolſey's Tower, which is univerſally admired for its beautiful ſimplicity and juſt proportion. It is ſaid, the burſar made uſe of violent means to ſupply himſelf from the college treaſury with the money neceſſary to carry on the building; but the charge muſt have no foundation, ſince though ſo heinous an offence, yet it never was, as we find, objected to him by his enemies. It is likely, ſays Dr Fiddes (4), if he did uſe any forcible means to come into the treaſury, he apprehended himſelf unjuſtly oppoſed, contrary to ſome previous truſt which the ſociety had repoſed in him, wherein yet they might think it convenient, by reaſon of the growing unexpected expences of the building, that he ſhould be reſtrained. Upon the whole, the moſt candid way of judging is to conſider that noble ſtructure as an early inſtance of Wolſey's great and enterprizing mind, and we may add, of his good taſte in architecture.

[*D*] *He became acquainted with Eraſmus.*] This great genius came to England the year before, and going to Oxford, fell there into the acquaintance, among others, of our Burſar of Magdalen college (5). Beſides the natural connection between them as men of learning, Eraſmus had been tutor at Paris to Thomas Grey, eldeſt ſon of the Marquis of Dorſet. From this beginning there grew a kind of friendſhip between them, which it ſoon became the intereſt of Eraſmus to cultivate. Accordingly we find him very early publiſhing a Latin tranſlation of Plutarch's tract concerning *the uſefulneſs that may be reaped from Enemies,* inſcribed to Wolſey, who he obſerved to a friend was riſing ſo faſt in favour and preferments, that he had been forced to change his addreſs three times. It was finiſhed when Wolſey was made Biſhop of Lincoln; Eraſmus was then at Cambridge, and repaired to London to pay his compliments upon the occaſion to the new Biſhop, who received him very kindly, and gave him hopes of the firſt vacant canonry at Tournay. This was performed afterwards, as is proved by an Epiſtle of one Molendinus, a canon there, to Eraſmus, quoted by Dr Knight, who however obſerves, that he was worked up by his friends ſo as to have no liking for it, which is confirmed by his never going to take poſſeſſion of it. The Cardinal therefore diſpoſed of it to another, promiſing to give Eraſmus ſomething more agreeable to his mind. It appears from a letter of Sir Thomas More to Eraſmus, that this was a preferment which would not have ſuited him, and that the Cardinal did him no ill office in taking it again. Beſides, about the ſame time a penſion was obtained for him by Wolſey to the value of two hundred florins, which apparently was pretty regularly paid, ſince Eraſmus complains of his having received only two hundred florins in 1517. Dr Knight had better grounds for his remark, that Eraſmus did not much depend upon the Cardinal, though he continued to pay his court to him. In a letter, dated from Baſil, February 3, 1516, to the Cardinal, he begins thus: I am very ſorry that I had not an opportunity of a longer and more particular conference with your Highneſs before I left England: my laſt refuge and the ſheet anchor of my felicity I had fixed in you; *extremam & ſacram anchoram, ut vocant, meæ felicitatis in Te fixeram.* But I was in haſte to publiſh St. Jerom.——He proceeds thus: There is a new Greek Teſtament printed as it was written by the Apoſtles, with a Latin tranſlation and annotations by me, and ſome other things.—He concludes in theſe terms: Therefore, when we have finiſhed theſe undertakings, we will haſten our return to England, eſpecially if your Eminency's goodneſs and generoſity will in the mean time be providing ſomething for me as a refreſhment both to my mind and body, after the fatigues I have undergone from theſe employments. May a good ſtate of health be enjoyed by your moſt reverend Lordſhip, to whom I wholly devote and dedicate myſelf. After all this talk of his deſign to publiſh St Jerom's works, the Cardinal might fairly expect to have ſeen it addreſſed to himſelf; but inſtead of this it came out that year with a dedication to Archbiſhop Warham, the Cardinal's profeſſed enemy. Indeed both this piece and his edition of the New Teſtament gave great offence to the zealots among the clergy, who ſpared not to tax Eraſmus with hereſy. Upon theſe accounts he might fairly think it proper to drop his attachment to his old friend: who 'tis acknowledged did not ſpare in return occaſionally to beſtow ſome of the choiceſt flowers of his ſarcaſtical rhetoric upon the Cardinal. So that, upon the whole, Dr Fiddes's remark upon it deſerved not that ſevere cenſure which is thrown upon it by Dr Knight; but we ſhall lay it before the reader for his judgment. ‘After all the advantageous things ſpoken by Eraſmus of the Cardinal, did he not at laſt expoſe him to the world in a new, perhaps a much truer light, as being no longer under the awe of his power and promiſes, or as having nothing more either to fear or hope from him? This, ſays the Doctor, is an exception, which may be naturally made, and I am willing to give it all the force I can; but at the ſame time recommend it to be conſidered how far a change of fortune in our patrons and friends is commonly apt, though that is an effect which ought not to follow in generous minds, to cauſe a change both in our ſentiments and behaviour towards them, and eſpecially if we have thought ourſelves much neglected or very ill uſed by them.

[*E*] *He concurred with Eraſmus in encouraging the ſtudy of Greek.*] We have ventured to aſſert this upon the authority of Mr Wood (6), notwithſtanding the following animadverſion of Dr Knight (7). ‘Though the Oxford hiſtorian,’ ſays he, ‘mentions Eraſmus as teaching Greek at Oxford, and living there many years at different times, yet, by all that I can find, it is probable that he never went there after his firſt coming to England in 1498, or made no ſtay there. By his own account, he had not Greek enough to ſet up for a teacher, even ſome years after his leaving England for the firſt time. He purſued thoſe ſtudies at Paris, as ſoon as he left England; and ſays in one of his letters, that his application to Greek had almoſt killed him, and that he had no money to buy books, or to retain a maſter. He ſpeaks of a Profeſſor of Greek at Paris, one George Hermonymus, a ſurly old blockhead, who was neither willing nor able to teach it. He was therefore forced to make his own way, by tranſlating Greek writers. In a letter to Colet [Dean of St Paul's] in 1504, he ſays, that he had cloſely applied himſelf to Greek for the three laſt years.’ Was Eraſmus's heart ſet ſo much upon acquiring the Greek language, that he purſued that ſtudy as ſoon as he left England, is it not then more than probable that he encouraged it before at Oxford?

which

(*b*) Dr Fiddes, in his life of the cardinal, obſerves, that this gained Wolſey great reputation there.

(2) The Marquis being a Yorkiſt, it is probable would not have been ſo eaſily diſcharged, had there been any proof againſt him.

(3) Peerage of England under the article of Grey Duke of Kent.

(4) Ch. 1.

(5) Knight's life of Eraſmus, p. 28.

(6) Hiſt. & Ant. Oxon. l. 1.

(7) Life of Eraſmus.

to their father's houſe, when the Marquis was ſo much pleaſed with his converſation, that he preſented him to the rectory of Lymington in Somerſetſhire, which was in his gift, and became vacant in the beginning of the following year 1500. This was the firſt preferment he had in the church, and he left the univerſity in conſequence thereof, and reſided upon his cure, where he repaired and beautified both the church and the parſonage-houſe. But a piece of ill conduct [*F*] in 1502 drew upon him the diſpleaſure of Sir Amyas Pawlet, then a juſtice of peace in the neighbourhood, who carried his anger ſo high as to ſet the Rector in the public ſtocks of the town. This rude treatment, added to the loſs of his patron the Marquis, who died in September the preceding year, put him upon thinking of a removal from Lymington (*c*). It is obſerved, that he had a natural dignity of manner and aſpect (*d*), which was very ſerviceable to his preferment. Accordingly he was received not long after by Dr Dean, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as one of his domeſtic chaplains. In this ſituation he quickly became a great favourite, and by his means obtained from Pope Alexander the grant of a diſpenſation to hold two benefices, in 1503. Upon the death of the Archbiſhop on the 15th of February that year, he was appointed Chaplain to Sir John Nanfan (*e*), who being Treaſurer of Calais, then in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, took Mr Wolſey in his retinue to that place, and in a little time, being much advanced in years, committed to him the whole care and management of his office, and upon his return to England recommended him to his Majeſty [King Henry VII.] ſo effectually, that the King made him one of his chaplains *. This was a ſtep he had much wiſhed for, and it was ſoon improved by him. Before the end of December 1504, he obtained from Pope Julius II. another diſpenſation to hold a third preferment; and the following year was preſented to the rectory of Redgrave in the dioceſe of Norwich. In the mean time he made his court ſo ſucceſsfully to two favourites of his Majeſty, that they ſpoke of him with high commendations of his wit and eloquence, learning and aſſiduity, to their maſter, who thereupon ſent for him, and propoſed ſeveral queſtions to him about his affairs, his anſwers to which ſatisfying the King of his abilities, his Majeſty reſolved to entruſt him with a ſecret negotiation for ſettling ſome points previous to his projected marriage with Margaret, Ducheſs Dowager of Savoy, the Emperor Maximilian's only daughter, and relict of Philip King of Caſtile. Whilſt his inſtructions were drawing up, he had frequent acceſs to the King and council, to whom he gave freſh proofs of his capacity for political affairs. He executed this embaſſy with ſurprizing diſpatch [*G*], for which he received particular thanks from Henry, who on February the 2d next year gave him the Deanery of Lincoln; to which were added in the beginning of 1509 firſt the prebend of Walton Brinhold, and then that of Stowe in the ſame church, and was prevented from giving him farther marks of his favour by his death, which happened on the 22d April that year (*f*). But this loſs was abundantly repaired by his ſon and ſucceſſor Henry VIII. The Biſhop of Wincheſter, who had recommended him to the father, began now to caſt his eye upon him as a perſon that might be ſerviceable to himſelf in his preſent ſituation. This prelate ob-

(*c*) However, he did not reſign the living till 1509. Ib.

(*d*) This is not ill expreſſed in his ſtatue over the gateway to the grand entrance into the hall at Chriſt-Church, erected at the expence of Sir Jon. Trelawney, ſome time Biſhop of Wincheſter.

(*e*) Sir John, who was a Somerſetſhire man, might probably know or have heard of him while he reſided at Lymington, which is in that county.

* Lord Herbert ſays, he was chaplain to the houſhold.

(*f*) Gen. Hiſt. of England.

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which is all that is aſſerted in the text; to which may be added however in reſpect of his teaching it there, that Greek was ſo very little, if at all known then, that a very ſlender acquaintance with it would be ſufficient to initiate others therein (8).

[*F*] *A piece of ill conduct.*] Wolſey being of a free and ſociable temper, went with ſome of his neighbours to a fair in an adjacent town, where it is ſaid his drinking to exceſs created ſome diſorder, which was puniſhed by the Knight in this ignominious durance. Biſhop Godwin ſays, Sir Amyas treated Wolſey in this ſcandalous manner for little or no occaſion; and Dr Fiddes thinks, he could not well juſtify it. Whatever judgment may be paſſed thereupon, we find the affront was remembered by Wolſey, who, when he came to be Chancellor, ſent for the Knight, and ſeverely reprimanded him for it, and confined him within the bounds of the Temple for five or ſix years (9); which Dr Fiddes allows was extending his authority too far: and indeed in point of generoſity it might have been forgot, eſpecially after it had been followed by ſuch a prodigious train of the higheſt preferments; and in point of prudence ſuch a neglect of it would have helped to bury it in oblivion.

[*G*] *He executed this affair with ſurprizing diſpatch.*] He ſet forward from Richmond, where Henry then was, at four in the afternoon on a Sunday, and ſoon came to London, where he found a barge ready to carry him to Graveſend; arriving there in leſs than three hours, he immediately took poſt horſes, and reached Dover the next morning: the paſſage-boat being juſt going off for Calais, he was ſo lucky as to get thither before noon, from whence he got to Bruges on Tueſday morning. The Emperor receiving notice of his arrival, inſtantly gave him audience, to whom Wolſey delivering his credentials, preſſed his return might be expedited; upon which Maximilian gave him his anſwer the ſame night, wherein every thing he had propoſed on the part of his maſter was agreed to. Upon this, early on Wedneſday morning he took poſt for Calais, where he came at the opening of the gates, and found the paſſage-boat ready to put to ſea; he embarked therein, and in a ſhort time landed at Dover; where poſt horſes being ready, he arrived ſafe that night at Richmond, where he repoſed himſelf after ſo fatiguing a journey. On Thurſday morning he attended at court; as ſoon as he ſaw his Majeſty he threw himſelf at his feet. Henry was diſpleaſed to ſee him, and ſuppoſing he had protracted his departure, began to reprove him for the dilatory execution of his orders. On which Wolſey, to the King's great ſurprize, addreſſed himſelf to his Majeſty in the following words: If it may pleaſe your Highneſs, I have already been with the Emperor, and diſpatched your affairs, I truſt, to your Grace's contentation; and then preſented his letters of credence. *But, on ſecond thoughts,* ſaid the King, *I found that ſomewhat was omitted in your orders, and have ſent a meſſenger after you with fuller inſtructions.* 'I met the meſſenger,' replied Wolſey, 'on the road in my return; but having 'reflected on that omiſſion, I ventured of myſelf to 'execute what I knew muſt be abſolutely neceſſary to 'your Majeſty's ſervice, preſuming to ſupply the defect 'of my diſpatches in that particular, and I humbly aſk 'pardon for having exceeded my commiſſion.' His Majeſty pleaſed with the expedient, and in general with the ſucceſs of his negotiation, readily excuſed him, gave him his royal thanks, and commanded him to attend after dinner; when he reported his embaſſy to the King in council with ſuch a graceful deportment, and ſo eloquent language, that he received the utmoſt applauſe: all declaring him to be a perſon of ſuch capacity and diligence, that he deſerved to be further employed (10).

(8) See Sir Tho. More's article.

(9) Here he ſought to mitigate the reſentment of this great miniſter, and to prepare a way for the recovery of his liberty by adorning the gatehouſe next the ſtreet with the arms, the hat, and other badges of diſtinction proper to him as cardinal. Fiddes, p. 7. This gate was taken down and rebuilt by Sir Chriſt. Wren in 1684, without the former ornaments.

(10) Gen. Hiſt. of England.

ſerving, that the Earl of Surrey had totally eclipſed him in favour, reſolved to introduce Wolſey into the young Prince's familiarity, in hopes that he might rival Surrey in his inſinuating arts, and yet be contented to act in the cabinet a part ſubordinate to Fox himſelf, who had promoted him. From this juncture we are to conſider Wolſey as a ſtateſman. In a very little time he gained ſuch an aſcendant in Henry's good graces, that he ſupplanted both Surrey in his favour, and Fox in his truſt and confidence. Being admitted to the King's parties of pleaſure, he took the lead in every jovial converſation, and promoted all that frolick and entertainment which he found ſuitable to the age and inclination of the young monarch; neither his own years, which were little ſhort of forty, nor his character as a clergyman, were any reſtraint upon him, or engaged him to check by any uſeleſs ſeverities the gaiety in which Henry, who had ſome ſmall propenſion to debauchery, paſſed his careleſs hours. During the intervals of amuſement he introduced buſineſs and ſtate affairs, and inſinuated thoſe maxims of conduct, which he was deſirous his Maſter ſhould adopt. He obſerved to him, that while he entruſted his affairs to the hands of his father's counſellors, he had indeed the advantage of employing men of wiſdom and experience, but men who owed not their promotion to his favour, and who ſcarce thought themſelves accountable to him for the exerciſe of their authority. That by the factious cabals and jealouſies which prevailed among them, they more obſtructed the advancement of his affairs, than promoted it by the knowledge which age and practice had conferred upon them; and while he thought proper to paſs his time in thoſe pleaſures to which his age and royal fortune invited him, and in thoſe ſtudies which in time would enable him to ſway the ſcepter with abſolute authority, his beſt ſyſtem of government would be to intruſt his authority in the hands of ſome one perſon, who was the creature of his will, and who could entertain no view but of promoting his ſervice; and that if this miniſter had alſo the ſame reliſh for pleaſure with him, and the ſame taſte for ſcience, he could the more eaſily account to him for his whole conduct, and introduce his maſter into the knowledge of public buſineſs; and thus without tedious conſtraint or application, initiate himſelf into the ſcience of government. Henry entered into all the views of Wolſey, and finding no one ſo capable of executing this plan of adminiſtration, as the perſon who propoſed it, he ſoon advanced his favourite from being the companion of his careleſs hours, to be a member of his council, and from being a member of his council to be his ſole and abſolute miniſter *(g)*. In the mean time, upon this King's acceſſion to the throne, he was made Almoner to his Majeſty, who upon the conviction of Empſons of high treaſon, gave him that ravenous miniſter's houſe, which was near his own palace of Bridewell, Fleet-ſtreet, London. In November 1510, he was taken into the privy council, and appointed Reporter of the proceedings in the ſtar-chamber; and on the 29th of the ſame month the King preſented him to the rectory of Turrington in the dioceſe of Exeter, and on February 17th following he was made Canon of Windſor, and Regiſtrary of the moſt noble order of the Garter. In Nov. 1512 he was collated to the prebend of Bugthorp in the church of York, by the recommendation of Cardinal Bainbridge, Archbiſhop of the ſee, and upon the death of the Dean ſoon after, he ſucceeded him in the Deanery of that church (*h*). It was about this time that he became the King's firſt favourite, and had the chief management of all public affairs. The Duke of Norfolk finding the King's money almoſt all exhauſted by projects and pleaſures, while his inclinations for expence ſtill continued, was glad to reſign his office of treaſurer, and retire from court. His rival, Fox Biſhop of Wincheſter, profited nought by his obeyſance; but partly overcome by years and infirmities, partly diſguſted at the aſcendant acquired by Wolſey, withdrew himſelf to the care of his dioceſe. The Duke of Suffolk had alſo taken offence, that the King by the Cardinal's perſuaſion had refuſed to pay a debt which he had contracted during his abode in France, and thenceforth affected to live in privacy. Theſe incidents left Wolſey to enjoy without a rival the whole power and favour of the King, and put into his hands every ſpecies of authority. In vain did Fox before his retirement warn the King not to ſuffer the ſervant to be greater than his maſter; Henry replied, *that he knew well how to retain all his ſubjects in their obedience*; but he continued ſtill an abſolute deference in every thing to the direction and counſels of the cardinal. The public tranquillity was ſo well eſtabliſhed, the obedience of the people ſo entire, the general adminiſtration of juſtice by the Cardinal's means ſo exact, that no domeſtic occurrences happened ſo remarkable as to diſturb the repoſe of the King and his miniſter. They might even have diſpenſed with themſelves for giving any ſtrict attention to foreign affairs, were it poſſible for man to enjoy any ſtation in abſolute tranquillity, or to abſtain from projects and enterprizes, however frivolous and unneceſſary *(i)*. He was alſo this year made Dean of Hereford, and Chancellor of the order of the garter. In 1513 he obtained the Biſhopric of Tournay in Flanders [*H*], and before the end of the year ſucceeded to that of Lincoln, in the room

(*g*) Hiſt. of England, as before.

(*h*) Fiddes.

(*i*) Hume's Hiſt. of England, under Henry VIII.

[*H*] *He obtained the biſhoprick of Tournay in Flanders.*] This followed upon the battle of the Spurs, when Tournay ſurrendering to the King, the French Biſhop refuſed to ſwear fealty to him, upon which his Majeſty made Wolſey Biſhop, who had attended him in this expedition. However, he met with great difficulties in holding it; the Pope declaring for or againſt him, as his affairs proved ſucceſsful or otherwiſe in Italy. *Wolſey, upon his return to England, appointed* Dr Sampſon§ *his Vicar-general; who being a friend to* Eraſmus, *recommended him as a Canon to* Wolſey, *who is ſaid to have preſerved to that church its ancient privileges, for which the Canons ſent him a letter of thanks in* 1515. But when Dr Sampſon went

§ See ſome account of this perſon (who became afterwards a Biſhop, and a privy-counſellor) in Knight's *life of Eraſmus*, p. 43. and Burnett's *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, book iii. p. 149.

of Dr William Smith * deceaſed, to which he was conſecrated March 26, 1514. Cardinal Bainbridge dying that year, our minion was promoted to the ſee of York on the 5th of Auguſt, and had a bull of abſolution granted to him by the Pope in October following. Sept. 7th 1515 he was created a Cardinal of S. R. E. by the title of Cardinal of St Cecile beyond the Tiber †. This was done by the Pope manifeſtly in the view of engaging in his intereſt a perſon who had ſo great an influence over the King, and ſure never churchman, under colour of exacting regard to religion, carried to a more exorbitant height the ſtate and dignity of that character. His train conſiſted of eight hundred ſervants, of whom many were Knights and Gentlemen: ſome even of the nobility put their children into his family, as a place of education [*I*]; and in order to ingratiate them with their patron, allowed them to bear offices as his ſervants. At the ſame time, whoever was diſtinguiſhed by any art or ſcience, paid court to the Cardinal, and none paid court in vain: Literature, which was then in its infancy, found in him a generous patron, and both by his inſtitutions and private rewards he gave encouragement to every branch of erudition. But he did not content himſelf with this munificence which gained him the approbation of the wiſe; he ſtrove to dazzle the eyes of the populace by the ſplendor of his equipage and furniture, the coſtly embroideries of his liveries, and the luſtre of his apparel. He was the firſt clergyman in England who wore ſilk and gold, not only on his habit, but alſo on his ſaddles and the trappings of his horſes. He cauſed his Cardinal's hat to be borne aloft by a perſon of rank; and when he came to the King's chapel, permitted it to be laid in no place but on the altar. A prieſt, the talleſt and moſt comely he could find, carried before him a pillar of ſilver, on whoſe top was placed a croſs. And not content with this parade, to which he thought himſelf intitled as Cardinal, he provided another prieſt of equal ſtature and beauty, who marched along, bearing the croſs of York, even in the dioceſe of Canterbury, contrary to the ancient rule and agreement between the prelates of thoſe royal ſees (*k*). He had alſo a penſion of three thouſand livres granted to him this year by Charles King of Spain, having before obtained the conditional grant of a penſion of ten thouſand ducats out of the Duchy of Milan [*K*]. In November the ſame year he was made the Pope's Legate a latere;

[*L*]

in his maſter's name to ſome towns in Flanders belonging to his dioceſe in order to get in the Biſhop's dues, he found but odd treatment from the officers of the town; the Biſhop Elect, as he was then called, claiming the property of what Sampſon endeavoured to collect. With this he acquainted his Lordſhip; and in the concluſion of his letter ſays, that if his Grace would quietly enjoy the adminiſtration, he muſt get the French King to write to his Biſhop not to oppoſe; for if the officers ſaw their maſter's letter in his favour, they would immediately obey. Though Biſhop Wolſey had obtained the Pope's brief to confirm him in this biſhoprick, yet the officers objected to certain paſſages in the brief, which would make a lawſuit convenient. What further encreaſed the trouble, Adrian Biſhop of Bath and Wells, the King's Orator at Rome, ſuffered a bull to be obtained in favour of the French Biſhop, in order to reſtore him to the biſhoprick; ſo that now in a peremptory manner he demanded the revenues, threatening to excommunicate all ſuch as refuſed to comply with his demands, ſeeing the bull was directed to all Chriſtian Princes to aſſiſt him with their forces to put him into poſſeſſion of this biſhoprick, under pain of excommunication. Upon this Dr Sampſon applied to Wolſey again, repreſenting, that if the bull was not ſet aſide or ſuppreſſed, he could be of no further ſervice there. Wolſey was ſurprized; and the King ſent a letter to the Pope, aſſuring him, that his troops would by no means think themſelves obliged to execute ſo unjuſt a ſentence; declared the Pope's proceedings to be contrary to the laws of God and man; and charged the Biſhop of Bath not only with negligence, but infidelity; and in caſe he did not take care to procure a revocation of the bull, the Biſhop was given to underſtand, that he ſhould be ſuperſeded by one who would have more regard to the truſt repoſed in him. Then his Majeſty directed Wolſey to apply to the Bp of Worceſter to get the bull revoked, who ſhortly after obtained another bull, which ſuperſeded the French Biſhop's. This laſt bull had its deſired effect, and at length Wolſey was made eaſy in the enjoyment of the biſhoprick. He held it till 1518, when the town being delivered up to the French, that monarch's ambaſſadors in England gave their maſter's letters patent, whereby he bound himſelf to pay the Cardinal an annual penſion of twelve thouſand livres Tournoiſe, to ſatisfy him for the loſs of the biſhoprick (11).

[*I*] *He received ſeveral noblemen for education.*] Among others that were ſo placed was the Lord Percy, eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Northumberland, who was one of thoſe that uſually waited on the Cardinal to court; by which means the young Lord had frequent opportunities of converſing with the maids of honour, particularly with the Lady Anne Boleyn, whoſe favour and affections Percy ſoon ſo far gained, that ſhe agreed privately to marry him; which coming to Henry's ear, was ſo highly reſented by him, that he charged the Cardinal to ſend for his pupil's father to court, formally to break the contract. This affair terminated in the young Lord's receiving a ſevere reprimand from the Earl his father in the preſence of ſeveral of the Cardinal's gentlemen, and it was with much difficulty that he regained his father's favour. However, he ſhortly after quitted the Cardinal's family, retired into the country, and lived private for ſome time. The Lady Anne was alſo after this diſmiſſed the court, and ſent to one of her father's ſeats in the country, the contract being diſſolved by the Cardinal, as having been made without the King's or the young Lord's father's knowledge; and his Lordſhip ſhortly after married a daughter of the Earl of Shrewſbury. Anne Boleyn took the breach of this match ſo heinouſly, that ſhe vowed, if ever it lay in her power, to do the Cardinal ſome diſpleaſure; which ſhe afterwards made good, being, as is well known, the chief inſtrument of his ruin (12).

[*K*] *A penſion of the dutchy of Milan.*] This was ſtipulated in a treaty with Franciſcus Sforza, to aſſiſt him in recovering that dutchy from the French King. Henry was to have a yearly tribute, and Wolſey was to have 10,000 ducats yearly for his part, as appears from the original contract preſerved in the Cotton library; whereas it is aſſerted to be eighteen thouſand by Polydore Virgil. But the unfairneſs of that deputy collector of the Pope's annates to Wolſey is well known and generally allowed, and therefore needs not our animadverſion. The reader who has not already ſeen it, will be pleaſed with the following letter wrote by him, when he was in the Tower, to the Cardinal; the original is ſaid to be in the Exchequer record office, and has been thus tranſlated into Engliſh.

To the Moſt Reverend Lord my God the moſt
worthy Cardinal Wolſey.

'Moſt great and moſt Reverend Pontiff, and moſt 'firm Pillar of the Church of God, humble commendations. And I your ſervant, who ſtill am buried 'in the ſhadow of death, have heard of your extraordinary fame, with how much applauſe of all men your 'moſt reverend Lordſhip has been raiſed to the high 'Cardinalate here. So great is your vertue, that you 'reflect more luſtre and dignity on that ſupreme Order, than you receive therefrom. I among the reſt 'do rejoyce and am heartily pleaſed; but [illegible] it

your

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* One of the two joint Founders of Brazen Noſe College, Oxford.

† Fiddes.

(*k*) The people made merry with the cardinal's oſtentation, and ſaid, they were now ſenſible that one croſs alone was not ſufficient for the expiation of his ſins and offences. Hume's hiſt.

(11) Fiddes, as before.

(12) Hume, ubi ſupra.

[*L*] and, December 22d, Lord High Chancellor of England, upon the reſignation of Archbiſhop Warham [*M*]. In the beginning of the year 1518 he attended Queen Katharine

‘ ſhall be lawful for me in his Majeſty's preſence to adore you, then will my ſoul be in raptures with thee, O God of my comfort. Moſt reverend Lord God of forgiveneſs, God of pity, at length extend your mercy on your poor ſervant. Your benignity lately forgave my crime, vouchſafe out of the bowels of your mercy to forgive the penitent likewiſe, that your gifts may be as your moſt reverend Lordſhip.

‘ Now the time approaches, when our Redeemer Chriſt deſcended from the heavens to reconcile ſinners to God the Father; vouchſafe, moſt great Prelate, in the ſame manner to help me from the ſhades of death in this ſeaſon of Grace by the right hand of your clemency, and to reſtore one to holy light, that on the Lord's birth I being by your mercy regenerated, may be able to return thanks and praiſe to the ſame Lord Jeſus, with tranquillity of mind and a cheerful heart for your moſt reverend Lordſhip, as I ſhall conſtantly do, while life remains.

‘ Therefore, moſt good and reverend Lord, have mercy on me ſpeedily, who am afflicted and in great diſtreſs. See me, O Thou who canſt ſave for ever. Have mercy, draw near. Amen.

‘ Your Moſt Reverend Lordſhip's
‘ Humble creature,
‘ POLYDORE.’

The cauſe of this collector's impriſonment, Mr Rapin tells us, was this: Wolſey having employed Hadrian to ſollicit for the purple in his name, and finding Hadrian, inſtead of ſerving him, had done him ill offices, he was ſo incenſed thereat, that on ſome ſlight pretence he committed Polydore, Hadrian's deputy in England, to the Tower; and then prevailed upon the King to write with his own hand to the Pope, deſiring him to appoint another collector in Hadrian's room. It is proper to acquaint the reader, that it was not the Cardinal, but the King, who committed Polydore to the Tower (13).

(13) Gen. Hiſtories of Engl.

[*L*] *He was made Legate and Chancellor, on the reſignation of Warham.*] Cardinal Campeggio had been ſent Legate into England, in order to procure a tythe from the clergy, for enabling the Pope to oppoſe the progreſs of the Turks. The danger was real, and formidable to all Chriſtendom, but had been ſo often made uſe of to ſerve the intereſted purpoſes of the court of Rome, that they had loſt all influence on the minds of the people. The clergy refuſed to comply with Leo's demand; Campeggio was recalled; and the King deſired of the Pope, that Wolſey, who had joined in this capacity, might be alone inveſted with the legatine power, together with a right of viſiting all the clergy and monaſteries, and even with ſuſpending the whole laws of the church during a twelvemonth. Wolſey having received this new dignity, made a new diſplay of that ſtate and parade, to which he was naturally addicted. On ſolemn feaſt-days he was not content without ſaying maſs after the manner of the Pope himſelf: not only he had Biſhops and Abbots to ſerve him, he even engaged the firſt nobility to give him water and the towel: he affected a rank ſuperior to what had been claimed by any churchman in England. Warham, the Primate, having wrote him a letter, wherein he ſubſcribed himſelf *your loving brother*, Wolſey complained of his preſumption in thus challenging an equality with him. When Warham was told of the offence he had given, he made light of it; *Know ye not*, ſaid he, *that this man is drunk with too much proſperity?* ——But Wolſey carried the matter much further than pomp and oſtentation; he erected an office which he called the Legantine court, and as he was now, by means of the Pope's commiſſion and the King's favour, inveſted with all power both eccleſiaſtical and civil, no man knew what bounds were to be ſet to this new tribunal; he conferred on it a ſpecies of inquiſitorial and cenſorial powers even over the laity, and directed it to enquire into all matters of conſcience, into all conduct which had given ſcandal, into all actions, which, though they eſcaped trial, might appear contrary to good policy. Offence was juſtly taken at this tribunal, which was really unbounded; and the people were the more diſguſted, when they ſaw a perſon who indulged himſelf in the licences of pleaſure ſo ſevere in reproving the leaſt appearance of immorality in others. But to render his court more obnoxious, he made one John Allen the judge of it, a perſon of a ſcandalous life, whom he himſelf as Chancellor had condemned for perjury. As this man exacted fines from every one whom he was pleaſed to find guilty, or take bribes to drop proſecution, many concluded with ſome appearance of reaſon that he ſhared with the Cardinal thoſe wages of iniquity; the clergy, and particularly the monks, were expoſed to this tyranny; and as the libertiniſm of their lives even gave a juſt handle againſt them, they were obliged to buy an indemnity by paying large ſums to the legate or his judge. Not contented with this authority, Wolſey aſſumed the power of all the biſhop's courts, particularly that of judging of wills and teſtaments, and his deciſions in thoſe important points were ſometimes not a little arbitrary; as if he himſelf were Pope, and as if the Pope could diſpoſe abſolutely of every eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, he preſented to whatever priories or benefices he pleaſed, without regard to the right of election in the monks, or of patronage in the nobility and gentry. This whole narration has been copied by all the hiſtorians from the author cited in the margin (14). Here are many circumſtances, however, very ſuſpicious, both becauſe of the obvious partiality of the hiſtorian, and becauſe the parliament, when they ſtrictly examined Wolſey's conduct, could find no proof for any material crime he had committed (15). No one durſt carry to the King any complaint againſt theſe uſurpations of Wolſey, till Archbiſhop Warham informed him of the diſcontent of the people. Henry profeſſed his ignorance of the whole matter. *A man*, ſays he, *is not ſo blind any where as in his own houſe. But do you, Father*, added he to the Primate, *go to Wolſey, and tell him, if any thing be amiſs, that he mend it.* A reproof of this kind was not likely to be effectual. It alſo ſerved to augment Wolſey's enmity to Warham. But one *London* having proſecuted Allen, the Legate's Judge, in a court of law, and convicted him of malverſation and iniquity, the clamour at laſt reached the King's ears, and he expreſſed ſuch diſpleaſure at the Cardinal, as made him ever after more cautious in exerting his authority (16).

(14) Polydore Virgil.

(15) Fiddes's piece entitled, A vindication of the Cardinal from certain popular imputations.

(16) Hume in the reign of Henry VIII.

[*M*] *He was made Lord High Chancellor upon the reſignation of Warham.*] Mr Rapin having ſet forth the Cardinal's unexampled magnificence and ſtate, and obſerved that every body ſpoke of it with indignation, goes on thus: ‘ The Archbiſhop was no leſs offended than the reſt; but what gave him moſt offence was to ſee the croſs carried before the Cardinal, tho', he was in the province of Canterbury. This quarrel could not be decided but by the King's expreſs commands to the Archbiſhops of York not to have the croſs carried before them in the other province; but Wolſey, who thought himſelf much above his predeceſſors, purpoſed to revive the conteſt, in contempt of that prohibition. Warham, who was of a peaceable temper, eaſily perceived that any attempt of his to hinder it would be to no purpoſe, ſince Wolſey had an abſolute ſway over the King. Wherefore, not to have the object before his eyes, he deſired the King's leave to reſign the chancellorſhip (17).’ In anſwer to this let us hear what is alledged by Dr Fiddes. ‘ There ‘ are,’ ſays the Doctor, ‘ two conſiderable teſtimonies from Eraſmus's great friends, Sir Thomas More and Ammonius, relating to the Cardinal's wiſe and equitable conduct as Chancellor of England, that may be here moſt conveniently cited, and eſpecially as they tend to remove a prejudice which has been entertained againſt the Cardinal, as if he had uſed ſome indiſcreet methods towards ſuperſeding Archbiſhop Warham in that high office. Sir Thomas More's words are theſe: *The Archbiſhop of Canterbury hath at length reſigned the office of Chancellor, which burthen, as you know, he had ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to lay down for ſome years; and the long-wiſhed-for retreat being now obtained, he enjoys a moſt pleaſant receſs in his ſtudies, with the agreeable reflection of having acquitted himſelf ſo honourably in that high ſtation. The Cardinal of York*, proceeds Sir Thomas, *ſucceeds him, who diſcharges the duties of that poſt ſo conſpicuouſly, as to ſurpaſs the hopes of all, notwithſtanding the great opinion they had of his other eminent qualities, and what is more rare, to give ſo much pleaſure and ſatisfaction after ſo excellent a predeceſſor. Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis officio Cancellarii, cujus onus jam aliquot, ut ſcis, annos mirum quam laborabat excutere,*

(17) Rapin in the ſame reign.

tharine to Oxford, when he acquainted that univerſity with his intention of founding ſeveral public lectures, which he ſoon afterwards carried into execution [*N*]. The ſame
year

tere, tandem exſolutus eſt, & deſideratam jam diu ſeceſſum nactus, gratiſſimo inter literas otio, & negotiorum bene a ſe geſtorum recordatione fruitur. Princeps ei Cardinalem ſuffecit Eboracenſem, qui ita ſe gerit, ut ſpem quoq; omnium quanquam pro reliquis ejus virtutibus maximam longe exuperet. Morus Eraſmo. Ammonius writes to Eraſmus to the ſame effect in regard to the foregoing articles, and ſays, *Your Archbiſhop, with the King's good leave, has laid down his poſt, which that of York, after much importunity, has accepted, and behaves moſt beautifully. Tuus Cantuarienſis, cum bona Regis venia, magiſtratu ſe abdicavit, quem Eboracenſis impenſe rogatus ſuſcepit, & pulcherrime gerit. Andreas Ammonius Eraſmo.* Though the words of theſe two gentlemen may not be judged deciſive in the Cardinal's favour, yet it won't, I believe, be denied, that they have given the moſt candid account of the matter; for which reaſon we thought proper to give them a place here. 'Upon the other diſpute, proceeds Dr Fiddes, about precedency to the Abp of Canterbury aſſumed by the Cardinal, it has been obſerved, that even from our own hiſtories it appears, Archbiſhops formerly took place of Cardinals; and we find that Cardinals, though Legates, yielded the precedency to Biſhops, which was obſerved in the Council of Renne. But this was afterwards altered. When Kemp, Archbiſhop of York, was made Cardinal, he claimed in the Houſe of Lords the precedence of Chichely, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; the latter refuſing to comply with the demand, it was referred to the Pope, who determined it in favour of Kemp. Accordingly Cavendiſh informs us, that Wolſey having obtained to be Cardinal, thereby got the better of Warham in this point: however, Warham being Chancellor, took place in the Houſe of Peers, of which he is Speaker. This appears from the Journals of the Houſe, 7 Henry VIII. and Biſhop Burnet produceth an inſtance, wherein Wolſey after he was made Chancellor gave place to Warham. This is in a letter written to the Pope in 1530, which the Cardinal ſubſcribed before Warham; and though, as Harmer obſerves, he was not then Chancellor, which the Biſhop inſinuates, having reſigned the ſeals October 17, 1529, yet he was ſtill Cardinal. But the truth is, he was at that time neither in a condition nor temper to inſiſt upon punctilios (18).'

[*N*] *He founded ſeveral Lectures at Oxford.*] There were ſeven of them. 1. Theology, whereof one Thomas Brynknell was the firſt reader, nominated by himſelf, whoſe ſucceſſor he had been as Maſter of Magdalen college ſchool, and he afterwards was recommended to Henry VIII. by the Univerſity to write againſt Luther, and accordingly wrote a piece intitled *Tractatus contra Doctrinam Martini Lutheri*, which is commended in one of the Univerſity public Regiſters. The Univerſity makes honourable mention of him in a letter to the Cardinal, and at the ſame time acquaint his Eminency, that they are not able to expreſs the benefit of his lectures in general, and more particularly of the theological one. 2. Civil Law. It is not known who was the firſt lecturer upon this. Mr Wood ſays, it was read in 1523, as well as that of rhetoric, by Ludovicus Vives. 3. Phyſic. The firſt reader was Thomas Muſgrave, A. M. 4. Philoſophy. The initial letters of the firſt reader's name are L. B. which is all that could be diſcovered of him. 5. Mathematics. The firſt reader was one Richard Cateler, a native of Holland, and educated in the colleges of Wyrtenberg and Cologn, who is ſaid to have been a perſon of ſo great probity and goodneſs, that he deſerved a better fortune than is commonly ſhared by mathematicians; at the ſame time he was ſo great a maſter of his art, that he deſerved to be called ſo κατ' ἐξοχὴν. 6. The Greek language. Calphurnius, a native of Greece, was firſt appointed by the Cardinal to this province. This Profeſſor firſt taught the pronunciation of the language at Oxford as it is now read. 7. Rhetoric and Humanity. The firſt reader was Clement, who was ſucceeded by Lupſet. Clement was tutor to Sir Thomas More's children, and Lupſet has been already taken notice of in theſe memoirs*; we ſhall only add thereto a remark of Dr Knight, 'that he never arrived at any great preferment, which probably his 'dying young might prevent, or elſe the frowns of 'Card. Wolſey;' a cenſure paſſed without ſo much as any grounds pretended for it, might have for his own ſake been better ſpared. It is certain, the Univerſity wrote a letter of thanks to the Cardinal in 1521, for having given them Lupſet, in which are theſe words: *Immortalis beneficii loco accepimus quod benigniſſima tua beneficentia in communem rei literariæ uſum dignato ſit Lupſetum ad nos remittere, quem etſi ſemper habuimus chariſſimum, nunc tamen, quia a Tua Majeſtate amanter commendatum, multo arctius amplectimur.* This laſt expreſſion was egregious flattery; but the Cantabrigians alſo in one of their addreſſes to the Cardinal call him *præſens Numen.* This lecture was alſo read, as well as that of the Civil Law, in purſuance of the founder's requeſt, by Joannes Ludovicus Vives, a Spaniard of Valentia, of whom we have the following account; that he was born in March 1492, and having learned grammar and claſſical learning in his own country, he went to Paris to ſtudy logic and philoſophy. But theſe being taught there upon the method of the ſchoolmen, whoſe ſophiſtical diſputes were not agreeable to him, he went to Louvain, and there in 1519 publiſhed a book againſt them, intitled *Contra Pſeudo-Dialecticos.* At Louvain he applied himſelf intirely to the Belles Lettres, and became very conſummate therein; and his reputation was ſo great, that in July 1517, though then at Louvain, he was appointed Fellow of Corpus Chriſti college in Oxford by the founder; his fame being ſpread over England, as well on account of his great parts and learning, as for the peculiar reſpect and favour with which Queen Katherine of Spain honoured him; in 1521 he was choſen Preceptor to William de Croy, the young Cardinal of Toledo, who died that year. In 1522 he dedicated his Commentary upon St Auguſtine *De civitate Dei* to Henry VIII. which was ſo acceptable to that Prince, that Cardinal Wolſey by his order invited him over to England: he came in 1523, and going to his fellowſhip at Oxford (19), he there read in his college, at the Cardinal's requeſt, his lectures of humanity and civil law, at which Henry VIII. and Queen Katherine honoured him with their preſence as auditors; and being conſtituted tutor to the Princeſs Mary, who reſided there, for the Latin tongue, for whoſe uſe he wrote *De ratione ſtudii puerilis*, which he addreſſed to his patroneſs, Queen Katherine, in 1523; as he did the ſame year another *De inſtitutione Fœminæ Chriſtianæ*, written by her command. Afterwards he went to Bruges in Flanders; and returned the year following to Oxford, where he continued his lectures: but preſuming to ſpeak and write againſt the King's divorce from Queen Katherine, Henry impriſoned him for ſix months. As ſoon as he obtained his liberty he returned to the Netherlands, and reſided at Bruges, where he married, and taught polite literature till his death, which is ſaid to have happened, though not certain, in 1544; he was buried in the church of St Donatus there. His works were printed in two tomes, folio, at Baſil 1555. but without his Commentary on St Auſtin, which has been publiſhed ſeparately, though never well. However it is perhaps at preſent the moſt uſeful of his works, and contains a great deal of ſacred and profane learning (20). He was much eſteemed by Eraſmus and Sir Thomas More. 'He is one of thoſe,' ſays Eraſmus to More, 'whoſe 'glory will eclipſe mine. He is a true philoſopher, 'and a deſpiſer of fortune; and he is fit to beat the 'ſcholaſtics at their own weapons, which he under'ſtands perfectly well.' And indeed he has given an eſſay of his abilities in this way. He was undoubtedly one of the moſt learned men of his age; ſome have affected to make him and Budæus and Eraſmus the triumvir, as it were, in the then republic of letters. They aſcribed to each thoſe peculiar qualities in which they ſuppoſed each to excel, as wit to Budæus, eloquence to Eraſmus, judgment to Vives, and learning to them all. But Du Pin does not approve of this diviſion: 'Eraſmus,' he ſays, 'was doubtleſs a man 'of a finer wit, more extenſive learning, and of a 'more ſolid judgment than Vives; Budæus had more 'ſkill in the languages and in profane learning than 'either of them; and Vives excelled in grammar, 'rhetoric, and logic.' But however Du Pin may ſeem to degrade Vives upon the compariſon with Eraſmus and Budæus, yet he has not been backward in doing juſtice to his real merit. 'Vives,' ſays he, 'was not 'only excellent in polite letters, a judicious critic year on the 6th of May he received two grants of an extraordinary power in reſpect to Letters Patent under the Great Seal [*O*]; and in October following he was conſtituted Bailiff of the honour of Cheſhunt in Hertfordſhire. On the 3d of Auguſt preceding the Pope had granted him the adminiſtration of the Biſhoprick of Bath and Wells, the temporalities of which ſee he received from the King the ſame month. The Cardinal was very inſtrumental in procuring the eſtabliſhment of the College of Phyſicians this year [*P*]. In 1519 he erected a Legantine court at Weſtminſter, and behaved in ſuch an arbitrary manner therein, as is condemned both by the Lord Herbert, and Mr Collier; and Polydore Virgil complaining of it to the King, his Majeſty gave him a check for it *(l)*: however, in reforming the abuſes among the clergy, he is commended. He likewiſe received the ſons of ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen into his family for education, and made George Cavendiſh of Suffolk his gentleman uſher. The whole regulation of the interview between the two kings of England and France this year was entruſted to his appointment by both thoſe ſovereign princes. On the 29th of July 1520 the Pope granted him a penſion of two thouſand ducats upon the biſhopric of Placentia, and conſtituted him perpetual adminiſtrator of the ſee of Badajos, without prejudice to what he had or ſhould have for the future. This year an account was alſo taken by his order of the ſeveral pariſhes in England [*Q*]. In the beginning of the year 1521 he procured Luther's doctrine to be condemned in an aſſembly of divines held at his own houſe for that purpoſe [*R*]. On the 7th of December the ſame year the temporalities of the rich abbey of

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(18) Fiddes, ch. xii.

* In vol. 5. p. 3387. Remark [*E*].

(19) He tranſlated into Latin Iſocrates's Nicocles, and dedicated it to the cardinal in an epiſtle dated at Oxford 1523. He was incorporated L L. D. October 26, the ſame year.—Wood's Faſti, vol. i. col. 36.

(20) Ath. Oxon. vol. I. col. 63, 64, 65. Niceron's memoirs, &c. Tom. xxi. Jortin's Life of Eraſmus, Vol. I. p. 206, 207, 208.

(l) See an account of the proceedings in this court in Remark [*L*].

‘ and an eminent philoſopher; but he applied himſelf alſo to divinity, and was ſucceſsful in it. If the critics admire his books *De cauſis corruptarum artium*, and *De tradendis diſciplinis*, on account of the profane learning that appears in them, and the ſolidity of his judgment in thoſe matters, the divines ought no leſs to eſteem his books *De veritate fidei Chriſtianæ*, and his commentary upon St Auguſtine *De civitate Dei*; in which he ſhewed that he underſtood his religion thoroughly (21).' The characters of theſe ſeveral lecturers are therefore drawn more at length, as being ſo many conſpicuous proofs of the founder's care and concern for the uſefulneſs of his benefaction in particular, as well as inſtances of that encouragement to learning in general, of which he is univerſally allowed to have been a promoter. And in that ſpirit, at the ſame time that he declared to the univerſity his intention of founding theſe lectures, he concluded his ſpeech with his deſire of having their ſtatutes reduced to a better form; to which he received a moſt reſpectful anſwer; and letters were directed to Archbiſhop Warham, their Chancellor, upon it. The Archbiſhop was then in the univerſity, and returned an anſwer, applauding the Cardinal's overtures for founding new lectures, but diſſented from his propoſal relating to the reformation of their ſtatutes; which anſwer being no way pleaſing to the univerſity, they renewed their application to him; whereupon he complied with their requeſt, and on the 1ſt of June, in a full convocation, an ample decrèe was paſſed, that the ſtatutes of the univerſity ſhould be put into the Cardinal's hands to be completed, reformed, changed, or expunged, as he in his diſcretion ſhould think proper. However, this deſign was never carried into execution, though the Cardinal obtained ſeveral privileges and immunities for them; all which they enjoy to this day, except one, of exempting them from a public tax, which was infringed in King William's time, by comprehending them in the land and malt-tax. After all, it is natural to aſk, concerning the Cardinal's lectures, what is become of theſe noble and truly valuable foundations? to which we have the following anſwer; ‘ They are now, alas,' ſays Dr Fiddes (22), ‘ no where to be found, nor ſo much as the ruins or any ſcattered remains of them, unleſs in the hands of thoſe perſons to whom the profit was leaſt intended by the Founder. In ſhort,' continues this writer, ‘ they were ſwallowed up in the ruins of that great man, and in the devaſtation which after his fall was made of things appropriated to pious uſes. Whence it appears, that whatever ſalaries he paid theſe lecturers, yet he never ſettled any eſtate upon the lectureſhips by deed; which perhaps was obſerved by Archbiſhop Laud, who happily by ſuch a deed preſerved his Arabic lecture from falling a ſacrifice.'

(21) Du Pin's Bibliothec. Eccleſ. Antiq. 16. century.

(22) Ch. xxvi. book ii.

[*O*] *Extraordinary letters patents.*] Theſe were dated May the 6th. In the firſt he was impowered to grant letters patents of denizon to be made out under the great ſeal to ſuch perſon or perſons as ſhould at any time ſue to him for the ſame, without any other warrant. In the other he is authorized to make out letters patents under the great ſeal, of all congé d'elires, royal aſſents, and reſtitutions of temporalities as well of archbpricks, monaſteries, abbeys, priories, as of all other religious houſes within the King's realm of England and Wales, and the marches of the ſame, to ſuch perſons as ſhould afterwards in due form ſue for the ſame; and that by virtue of the ſame powers, the Cardinal ſhould cauſe from time to time to be made out commiſſions, and writs of *dedimus poteſtatem*, to ſuch as ſhould think convenient, to take the homages and fealty of all manner of perſons, as well Archbiſhops and Biſhops as other perſons, due unto the crown for the ſaid temporalities.

[*P*] *The college of phyſicians in London.*] This appears from the preamble to their original charter, which in Engliſh runs thus: ‘ Whereas we judge it the duty of our kingly office to conſult the happineſs of our people, firſt, by ſeaſonably putting a ſtop to the endeavours of the wicked; we have thought it neceſſary to check the boldneſs of thoſe unſkilful men, who profeſs phyſic more out of avarice, than any confidence of a ſafe conſcience, to the great damage of the ignorant and credulous people.

‘ Wherefore imitating in part the example of well regulated cities in Italy and ſeveral other nations, and partly moved thereto by the earneſt requeſt of the following grave and learned men, Thomas Linacre and Ferdinand de Victoria, our phyſicians; Nicholas Halſewel, John Francis, and Robert Yaxley, phyſicians; but chiefly by the moſt reverend Father in Chriſt, Lord Thomas, Cardinal Prieſt of the holy church of Rome, with the title of St Cecile beyond the Tiber, Archbp of York, and of our kingdom of England our moſt dear chancellor; We will and command that a perpetual college be founded for grave and learned men publicly to practiſe phyſic in our ſaid city and the ſuburbs thereof, and ſix miles round it, &c. (23)' In memorial of this favour the college have placed a fine picture of the Cardinal next to that of his Majeſty, done by Hans Holben; and to the liſt of their benefactors, next to the article relating to the King, is the following, *Cardinalis Wolſeius, Archiepiſcopus Eboracenſis, apud Regem Hen. VIII. diligenter interceſſit ad collegium fundendum.*

(23) A copy of the original Latin may be ſeen in Goodall's Royal College of Phyſicians, p. 6. & ſeqq. Edit. 1684. 4to.

[*Q*] *An account of the pariſhes in England.*] By this account there appeared to be 9407 churches; but Biſhop Gibſon obſerves, that there were, in his time, no more than 9282. ‘ I know not,' ſays he, ‘ how this difference ſhould ariſe, unleſs it be, that ſome were demoliſhed in the laſt ages, and that chapels parochial were omitted (24).'

(24) Gibſon's Camden.

[*R*] *He procured Luther's doctrine to be condemned, &c.*] He alſo publiſhed Pope Leo's bull againſt Luther, and ordered it to be every where publiſhed. He likewiſe required all perſons, under pain of excommunication, to bring in all Luther's books that were in their hands. He enumerated forty two of Luther's errors. ‘ This,' ſays Biſhop Burnet (25), ‘ ſhews the apprehenſions they were under of the ſpreading of Luther's books and doctrine. All people were ſo ſenſible at this time of the corruptions, that every motion towards a reformation was readily hearkened to every where. Corruption was the common

(25) Hiſt. of the Reformation, b. 3. p. 25.

St Albans was veſted in him [*S*]. This year he attended the Queen on a viſit which her Majeſty made to Cambridge, of which univerſity he had been choſen Chancellor in 1514 upon the reſignation of Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter, who had been elected into that dignity for life. Wolſey accepted the choice by a letter dated June the 2d that year, and held the place till a little before his death, when he was ſucceeded by Thomas Lord Cromwell. Soon after his return from Cambridge, he went abroad in the character of the King's Lieutenant [*T*]. The ſame year he received a new bull, prolonging his Legantineſhip, for two years after another bull, which had greatly enlarged his power [*U*], from Pope Leo X.: Upon whoſe demiſe, December this year, 1521, he ſtood candidate for the papal chair in 1522, and ſent Dr Pace, Dean of St Paul's, to manage that affair; but Adrian was choſen before the Dean arrived at Rome. However, the ſame year, the Emperor ſettled a penſion upon him of nine thouſand crowns of gold; and Dr Ruthal, Biſhop of Durham, dying next year, 1523, he was made Biſhop of that ſee [*W*]; upon which he reſigned the adminiſtration of Bath and Wells. The ſame year he iſſued a mandate to remove the Convocation of the province of Canterbury from St Paul's to Weſt-

'ſubject of complaint, and in the commiſſion given 'to thoſe whom the King ſent to repreſent himſelf 'and his church in the council of Lateran, *the reformation of the head and members* is mentioned as that 'which was expected from that council. This was 'ſo much at that time in all mens mouths, that one 'of the beſt men in that age, Colet, Dean of St 'Paul's, being to open the convocation with a ſermon, made that the ſubject of it all.' The council of Conſtance begun in 1512 and ended in 1517. The Cardinal was then in the height of his power and favour with the King, and therefore no doubt adviſed this reformation of the head and members. His averſion and contempt of the Monks on account of their ignorance and corruption is notorious; yet we do not find that he ever proceeded to perſecution againſt them. It cannot be denied, that his ſpirit was not of that kind. One article of his impeachment is, that he was remiſs in hunting and puniſhing heretics, and rather diſpoſed to ſcreen them, by means of which connivance Lutheraniſm had got ground; this is obſerved by his apologiſt Fiddes (25), and in reality is one of the moſt favourable things that can be ſaid for him.

[*S*] *The rich Abbey of St Albans was veſted in him.*] It is not known when he was firſt appointed Abbot. Some have thought it was in 1516; it is certain that he had it in 1518, ſince by the patent for granting him the temporalities of the See of Bath and Wells, dated the 28th of Auguſt that year, he has liberty of holding the ſame ſee with the Abbotſhip of St Albans and other eccleſiaſtical livings in commendam with York.—— Thoſe who have ſaid he was deprived of this abbey by præmunire, ſeem to be miſtaken; ſince from a manuſcript of St Albans in the archdeacon's office of inſtitutions there appears one William Wakefield inducted the 9th of September 1530, into the vicarage of St Peters in the town of St Albans by the Cardinal's licence and authority; and this was not long before his death. However, there can be no doubt but he was by the præmunire deprived of the temporalities, though not of the ſpiritualities (26).

[*T*] *He went abroad in the character of the King's Lieutenant.*] Cavendiſh, who gives a particular detail of this promotion, tells us, among other things, that juſt before his departure from Calais, he ſummoned his train, and made a ſpeech to them to be very careful of behaving to him as the King's Lieutenant with the exacteſt reverence in reſpect to his maſter's honour before the Frenchmen; and inſtructed them in the nature of the French, 'who,' ſays he, 'at their firſt 'meeting will be as familiar with you, as if they had 'known you by long acquaintance, and will commune with you in the French tongue, as if you knew 'every word; therefore uſe them in a kind manner, 'and be as familiar with them as they are with you. 'If they ſpeak to you in their native tongue, ſpeak to 'them in Engliſh; for if you underſtand not them, no 'more ſhall they you.' Then turning to one of the gentlemen who was a Welſhman, '*Rice*,' quoth he merrily, '*ſpeak thou Welſh to them, and doubt not but 'thy ſpeech will be more difficult to them, than their 'French ſhall be to thee* (27).'

[*U*] *Another bull which greatly enlarged his power.*] By this bull he was empowered to make fifty Knights, fifty Counts Palatine, and as many Acolites and Chaplains, forty Notaries apoſtolic, who ſhould have the ſame privileges as thoſe had that were made by the Pope, to legitimate baſtards, give degrees by acts of law, phyſic, and divinity, and grant all ſorts of diſpenſations (29).

[*W*] *Upon the death of Dr Ruthal, he was made Biſhop of Durham.*] Biſhop Ruthal was born at Cirenceſter in Glouceſterſhire, where he founded a free ſchool, giving a houſe and ſeven pounds a year for the maintenance of a maſter. Though he was bred at Oxford, and took his degree there of D. D. yet being incorporated to that degree at Cambridge in 1500, he was elected Chancellor of that univerſity in 1503, (30) being then Archdeacon of Glouceſter. In the beginning of September 1505 he was made Dean of Saliſbury. He was eſteemed a very learned and experienced gentleman in political affairs, and was made ſecretary to Henry VII. who, a little before his death, nominated him to the ſee of Durham upon the tranſlation of Bainbridge to York, and made him a privy counſellor, and he was continued both Secretary and privy counſellor to Henry VIII. who confirmed his father's nomination of him to Durham, to which ſee being elected, the temporalities were reſtored to him, 3d July 1 Henry VIII. A. D. 1509. He was afterwards made Lord Privy Seal, and was eſteemed to be admirably well read in both the laws. He died in February 1522-3, and was buried in St John Baptiſt's chapel in Weſtminſter Abbey. He is ſaid to have been a munificent benefactor to the palace of Aukland, belonging to his ſee, by Godwin (31), who relates the following remarkable ſtory of him, which as it concerns our Cardinal, is the reaſon of giving this ſuccinct account of him.— He was deſired, ſays Godwin, by Henry VIII. to write his opinion of the ſtate of the kingdom in general, and more eſpecially that part of it which more immediately concerned the crown. The Biſhop executed the King's command, wrote his opinion in a fair hand, and bound it up in a volume. As he was thus employed at the King's inſtance to ſtate the condition of the kingdom, he bethought himſelf of looking into the ſtate of his own concerns, and got a ſecond volume bound up in the ſame manner as the firſt, wherein he wrote an exact inventory of all his eſtates both real and perſonal, which, it is ſaid, amounted to no leſs a ſum than 100000 l. ſterling. The King ſent to him for his book, which his Majeſty was very impatient to ſee. But by a fatal miſtake he delivered the book containing the inventory of his own eſtate, inſtead of that he had written by the King's order. Wolſey carried the book to the King, and told his Majeſty, that though he would not meet with the account he expected, yet he would find the particulars of Biſhop Ruthal's eſtate, and where to apply for money in caſe he wanted.—— Godwin obſerves, that the miſtake fell ſo heavy on the Biſhop's ſpirits, that it haſtened his death: and the miniſter's behaviour cannot by any means be defended, who evidently offered this ſacrifice to his own ends. It is not ſaid whether the King did take advantage of the information: 'but this,' ſays Dr Knight (32), 'we are ſure of, that not a great while 'after, in the ſame net that the Cardinal laid for others, 'were his own feet taken: for his whole ſubſtance, 'and the vaſt treaſure he had amaſſed together, 'were all ſeized for the King's uſe, and he himſelf 'died with grief.' A reflection, if not cruel in itſelf, yet unaptly on this occaſion obtruded, with an

injudi-

(25) B. 2. ch. 19.

(26) Fiddes and Hume.

(27) Fiddes.

(29) Hume, ubi ſupra.

(30) Archbiſhop Parker's Antiq. Britan. where his arms are quartered with thoſe of Durham.

(31) De præſul. under his article.

(32) Life of Eraſmus.

Weſtminſter [*X*]. Upon the death of Pope Adrian in September this year, the Cardinal made freſh applications for the popedom, but met with a ſecond rebuff [*Y*]. Clement VII. of the houſe of Medici, was elected by the concurrence of the imperial party. Our Cardinal thereupon perceiving the inſincerity of the Emperor towards him, concluded that Prince would never ſecond his pretenſions to the papal chair. This was highly reſented by him as an injury; and he began from thence to eſtrange himſelf from the imperial court, and to pave the way for an union between his maſter and the French King. Mean while he diſſembled his reſentment; and after congratulating the new Pope upon his promotion, he applied for a continuation of the legantine power, which the two former Popes had conferred upon him. Clement knowing the importance of gaining his friendſhip, granted him a commiſſion for life, empowering him to viſit and reform religious houſes; ſo that by theſe and other unuſual acceſſion of powers he in a manner transferred to him the whole papal authority in England, and he was actually revered there as Pope (*m*). In 1525 he undertook the care of conducting a loan for his Majeſty's ſervice, which gave great offence to the nation [*Z*]. The ſame year the Cardinal ſent

(*m*) Hume, ubi ſupra.

Dr

injudicious inſinuation of its being an inſtance of the divine *Nemeſis*. The Doctor could not find that the King made any uſe of the information; the faireſt inference from whence is, that it was not given with any malevolent deſign, eſpecially if we conſider the Cardinal's influence over his Majeſty at that time.— Better is the remark made upon it by Mr Jortin, though no friend to the Cardinal's memory, in theſe words: ‘ Whilſt we deteſt,’ ſays he, ‘ the treachery of the Cardinal, we cannot afford much pity to the Biſhop with his hundred thouſand pounds. If he had made a wiſe uſe of them like Archbiſhop Warham, who had the honour and the glory to live and die poor, they would have been beyond the reach of the King and Cardinal,

‘ *Extra fortunam eſt quicquid donatur amicis,*
‘ *Quas dederis ſolas ſemper habebis opes.*

‘ Even a pagan could ſay this (33).’

(33) Jortin's Life of Eraſmus, vol. I. p. 472.

[*X*] *He iſſued a mandate to remove the convocation, &c.*] 'Tis ſaid, that by his legatine power he firſt removed the convocation, held at St Paul's at the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's call, and called the Archbiſhop and clergy to meet at Weſtminſter, a ſight never before ſeen in England. Upon which Skelton the poet made this diſtich,

Gentle Paul, lay down thy ſword,
For Peter of Weſtminſter hath ſhaved thy beard.

And Dr Fiddes obſerves (34), that this was thought ſo ſingular a ſtep, that it would render all the proceedings of the aſſembly invalid, wherefore they did not ſit many days before they returned to St Paul's. Archbiſhop Parker (35) repreſents this fact not only as without a precedent, but alſo as importing a crime of a moſt enormous nature; *inauditi exempli flagitium* are his words. This cenſure, ſays Dr Fiddes (36), might have been expreſſed in gentler terms; for that the cardinal had thought himſelf really inveſted with the power which he pretended to exerciſe, or deſired to exerciſe, judging, that in ſuch a character he ſhould be more able at the head of the convocation to do the King greater ſervice in managing for the ſupply. After which the Doctor concludes this extraordinary remark in the following words. ‘ It having,’ ſays he, ‘ been agreed on all hands, that Wolſey as Archbiſhop had no ſeat in the convocation ſummoned by Warham, though it is urged by ſome, that he might have ſat there as Abbot of St Albans.’ Both the pleas here alledged by the Doctor are inexcuſable, and the latter deteſtable, being grounded on a conceſſion of that abandoned ſpirit which has marked out the Cardinal ever ſince as a flagrant pattern of a wicked miniſter, ready to ſacrifice every thing to the will of the ſovereign. We muſt own this is more like the orator at the bar pleading for his client, than of the judicious panegyriſt. The impotence and futility of his words renders the Cardinal more conſpicuouſly odious, and himſelf contemptible. The following letter to a noble lord gives a good idea of what was talked of this ſtep of Wolſey's at that time. Having given his lordſhip an account of the method of carrying the loan in the houſe of commons, he proceeds thus: ‘ Alſo in the convocation among the prieſts the day of their appearance, as ſoon as maſs of the Holy Ghoſt at Paul's was done, my Lord Cardinal cited them to appear before his convocation at Weſtminſter, which they did, and there was another maſs of the Holy Ghoſt; and within ſix or ſeven days the prieſts proved, that all my Lord Cardinal's convocation ſhould do, would be void, becauſe their ſummons was to appear before my Lord of Canterbury; which thing ſo eſpied, my Lord Cardinal hath addreſſed a new citation into every country, commanding the prieſts to appear before him eight days after the aſcenſion: and then I think they ſhall have a third maſs of the Holy Ghoſt. I pray God the Holy Ghoſt be among them and us both. I do tremble to remember the end of all theſe high and new enterprizes; for oftentimes it hath been ſeen, that to a new enterprize there followeth a new manner and ſtrange ſequel. God of his mercy ſend his grace unto ſuch new faſhions, that it may be for the beſt (37).’

(34) B. 2. ch. 20.

(35) De Antiquitate Eccleſiæ Britannicæ.

(36) Ubi ſupra,

(37) Wolſey's life and times, vol. 3. p. 2589.

[*Y*] *He met with a ſecond rebuff.*] On this occaſion his agents were Dr Tho. Hannibal and John Clerk, the King's orators at Rome, who ſent him an account of the reaſons alledged againſt his election: That he would never go to Rome in perſon: that he was *nimis potens*, too powerful, and that he was not old enough, (38) reaſons which demonſtrate nothing ſo much as they do the ſuperiority of his competitor's intereſt in the conclave. The Cardinal was greatly mortified by this ſecond diſappointment, inſomuch that imputing it to the remiſſneſs of Dean Pace, who was Ambaſſador at Venice, he never forgave him, as we have already obſerved (39).

(38) Ath. Oxon. vol. 1. col. 667.

(39) In Remark [*C*] under Cardinal Pole's article, vol. v. p. 3386.

[*Z*] *A loan for his Majeſty's ſervice.*] In the execution of it he begun with the convocation, in hopes their example would influence the parliament to give a large ſupply. He demanded a moiety of their eccleſiaſtical revenues, to be paid in five years, viz. two ſhillings in the pound for five years, and obtained it, though not without ſome difficulty. Afterwards he went, attended by ſeveral of the nobility and prelates to the houſe of commons, and in a long and elaborate ſpeech laid before them the public neceſſity, the danger of an invaſion from Scotland, the affronts received from France, the league in which the King was engaged with the Pope and the Emperor, and he demanded a grant of 800,000l. divided into four yearly payments, a ſum computed from the late ſurvey or valuation to be equivalent to 4s. in the pound of one year's revenue, or 1s. in the pound yearly according to the diviſion propoſed; ſo large a grant was unuſual from the commons, and though the extraordinary demand was ſeconded by Sir T. More the Speaker, and ſeveral other members attached to the court, the houſe could not be prevailed with to comply; they voted only 2s. in the pound on all poſſeſſed of 20l. per annum and upwards, and 1s. on all poſſeſſed of 40s. a year, and on all the reſt of the ſubjects above 16 years of age a groat a head. This laſt ſum was divided into two yearly payments, the former into four yearly payments, and was not therefore at the utmoſt above 6d. in the pound. The grant of the commons was about the moiety of the ſum demanded, and the Cardinal therefore, much mortified with the diſappointment, came again to the houſe, and deſired to reaſon with ſuch as refuſed to comply with the King's requeſt. He was told, that it was the rule of the houſe never to reaſon, but among themſelves, and his deſire was rejected. The commons however enlarged a little their former grant, and voted an impoſition of 3s. a pound on all poſſeſſed of

50l.

Dr Longland, Biſhop of Lincoln, to Oxford, to acquaint that univerſity with his reſolution to found a college there. In 1527 he went Ambaſſador to France, and obtained a commiſſion empowering the Maſter of the Rolls to hear cauſes in Chancery in his abſence [*AA*]. After his return home he was conſtituted the Pope's Vicar General. The ſame

50l. a year and upwards. We are told by Hall (40), that the cardinal endeavoured to frighten the citizens of London into this loan, and told them plainly, that it were better that ſome ſhould ſuffer indigence, than that the King at this time ſhould lack; *and therefore,* ſays he, *beware, and reſiſt not, nor trifle not in this caſe, for it may fortune to coſt ſome people their heads.* And all agree that the King ſent for Edward Montague, who had a conſiderable influence on the houſe, and ſaid, *Ho man, will they not ſuffer my bill to paſs?* and laying his hand on Montague's head, who was then on his knees before him, *Get my bill paſſed by tomorrow, or elſe tomorrow this head of yours will be off.* In vindication of the Cardinal it has been alledged, that whatever part he might have acted in the council, yet it was an act of council to which the judges too acceded, and therefore cannot be imputed to him ſolely. Nor, continues this writer, does his taking the management of it, purſuant to the directions of the council, make at all againſt him, but is rather an inſtance of his courage and frankneſs, in that he did not meanly put others upon doing that which himſelf was aſhamed of. But as this is no more than a colouring of the author's own invention, it may as juſtly be aſſerted as a ſtrong preſumption, that the council was governed by him in giving their opinions, and were no more than his tools to give a ſeeming ſanction to a manifeſt act of oppreſſion. 'Tis a well-known maxim in oratory, not to make uſe of an argument which may be fairly turned againſt us. Well but, may the adverſaries to his memory ſay, where was his integrity to his country? Where his mighty wiſdom and foreſight, if he could not perceive this to be, if not altogether an oppreſſion, a wide ſtep however towards it? As to the firſt, we ſay, he is not to be blamed if he acted agreeably to his own and the judgment of others, who ought to have known the conſtitution. The anſwer to this is obvious, that ſuch ignorance of the conſtitution in a firſt miniſter is itſelf a crime. As to the ſecond proceeds our author, granting he was overbiaſſed by the repeated importunities of his Maſter, which we cannot but think was the caſe, notwithſtanding the King's diſclamation and pleading ignorance afterwards, it is plain he uſed a great deal of clemency in the exerciſe of his commiſſion, and no ways urged it to the detriment of the people, which certainly he had power enough to have done, had he had alſo the will. That the King was privy to the loan, notwithſtanding he diſclaimed it, is evident eſpecially from his anſwer to Anne Boleyn, on her bitter inveighing againſt the Cardinal on account of the loan. *Well, well,* quoth the King, *for that matter there was no blame in him, for I know that matter better than you or any one elſe.* But as to the Cardinal's clemency in exerciſing this commiſſion, the contrary is as evident, both from what Grafton tells us, that all accuſed the Cardinal and his adherents as the ſubverters of the laws and liberties of England, and particularly from his behaviour with regard to the people of Reading; who, though they refuſed to pay what was demanded, yet, to ſhew their affection to the King, offered twenty pence in the pound, which being communicated to the Cardinal, was rejected by him, and Lord Lyle the commiſſioner ordered to abide by his firſt commiſſion, as were the other commiſſioners throughout England. Upon the whole, as there was no room for defending the Cardinal's adminiſtration in theſe times; the beſt method was taken by his more ſkilful apologiſt Dr Fiddes, who ſilently dropping it, ſhifts the ſcene, and preſents us with the more amiable repreſentation of his character in another reſpect (41), as will be ſeen preſently.

[*AA*] *A commiſſion to the Maſter of the Rolls to hear cauſes in his abſence.*] As this commiſſion was made the precedent ever after, and ſtill continues the ſame, only varying the form as the occaſion requires, it may not be amiſs to preſent the reader with it, as follows:

‘ The King to his beloved and faithful John Taylor, Clerk, Maſter and Keeper of the Rolls of our Chancery, *&c.*

‘ Know ye, that whereas the moſt reverend Father in Chriſt, Thomas, by divine permiſſion, Cardinal, Prieſt, &c. has been employed for the ſake of the peace and tranquility of our kingdom and ſubjects of England, and for the intereſt, profit, and utility of the public, in which poſt he conſtantly exiſts: and conſidering and piouſly compaſſionating the inſupportable cares, labours, and fatigues, which he on that account undergoes and ſuffers, and leaſt ſuch ſingular fortitude of mind and body ſhould be too much impaired, which God avert, through ſuch fatigues, and he not able to attend in good health as uſual to our moſt neceſſary affairs with his chiefeſt care: Being therefore willing, that juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered to all and every of our ſubjects, and fully confiding in your fidelity and circumſpection, we have appointed you the aforeſaid John Taylor, &c. by virtue of theſe preſents, granting unto you power and authority to hear all and every the cauſes, diſputes, and complaints whatever of our ſubjects depending before us in our chancery, or already moved or to be moved therein, and by the ſaid Lord Chancellor committed to you, or any of you (but not to leſs than four however) and that for the future ſhall be committed to you from time to time, to be heard, examined, and ſcrutinized with due regard according to the allegations and proofs, and your own ſound diſcretion to diſcuſs and finally determine, and to command a full execution thereof. Therefore we command, that with regard to the premiſes you truly and diligently act and execute every thing with effect. By the tenor of theſe preſents, We give it as a firm command to all and ſingular our officers, miniſters, and ſubjects, whom it may concern, that in all and ſingular the premiſes they be intent and obedient in the executhereof, as it becometh. In teſtimony whereof, &c.

‘ Witneſs the King at Weſtminſter, this eleventh Day of June.’

Some time ago a diſpute aroſe, whether the Maſter of the Rolls had a judicial authority to hear cauſes and make orders in Chancery in the abſence of the Lord Chancellor, without a commiſſion. The matter was introduced to the public in a book printed in Trinity term 1726, under the title of *The hiſtory of the chancery,* wherein the author aſſerts, that his honour could not hear cauſes in court without a deſignation from the Chancellor, unleſs by commiſſion. An anſwer to this was publiſhed, intituled *A diſcourſe of the judicial authority belonging to the office of the Maſter of the Rolls,* wherein the author affirms, that the Maſter of the Rolls could hear cauſes, and make orders in chancery by virtue of his office, without any ſpecial commiſſion; and ſets forth many caſes in ſupport of his argument. This produced another piece by way of reply, ſaid to be written by one of the maſters of the court, intituled, *The legal judicature in chancery ſtated,* and therein the author among other things endeavours to prove, that the Maſter of the Rolls was no judge either in law or equity, but that what judicial power he could lawfully exerciſe, was by being one of the twelve Maſters in Chancery, or by virtue of the King's commiſſion. The controverſy being drawn to this length, in order to prevent any inconvenience to the public, an act of parliament was paſſed 3 George 9. 11. intituled, *An act to put an end to certain diſputes touching orders and decrees made in the court of chancery;* in which was recited, ‘ that whereas divers queſtions and diſputes had ariſen touching the authority of the Maſter of the Rolls in the high court of chancery; for putting an end to all diſputes concerning the ſame, it was enacted, that all orders and decrees made by the then preſent Maſter of the Rolls, or any of his predeceſſors, or any thereafter to be made by the ſaid Maſter of the Rolls, or any of his ſucceſſors, except ſuch orders and decrees as ſhould be made only by the Lord Chancellor, &c. ſhould be deemed and taken to be valid orders by the ſaid court, ſubject nevertheleſs to be diſcharged, revoked, or altered by the Lord Chancellor, &c. and that no ſuch

(40) In his chronicle.

(41) Hume, ubi ſupra.

ſame year he founded his college at Ipſwich [*BB*]. In 1528 he made a preſent of his palace at Hampton Court to his Majeſty: he began to build it ſoon after his promotion to the ſee of York in 1514, and it was now juſt finiſhed, and completely furniſhed. The King gave him in return Richmond palace to reſide in. Upon the death of Biſhop Fox, this year, the Cardinal ſucceeded him in the biſhoprick of Wincheſter; whereupon he reſigned that of Durham, the profits and revenues of which were given to Anne Boleyn for one year, while it continued in abeyance. The Cardinal was joined this year, 1528, with Cardinal Campejus to ſit in judgment on the important cauſe of Queen Katharine's divorce, which after ſeveral hearings was at laſt evoked to Rome in 1529. Our Minion had long foreſeen this meaſure as the ſure forerunner of his own ruin. He had always deſired for Katharine's ſucceſſor in the partnerſhip of the royal bed a French Princeſs, rather than Anne Boleyn, yet he had employed himſelf with the utmoſt earneſtneſs to bring the divorce to a happy iſſue. He was not therefore to be blamed for the unproſperous event, which the Pope's partiality had produced (*n*). But he had ſufficient experience of the extreme ardor and impatience of his maſter's temper, which could bear no contradiction, and who was wont, without examination or diſtinction, to make his miniſters anſwer for the iſſue of thoſe tranſactions with which they were entruſted. Anne Boleyn alſo, who was prepoſſeſſed againſt him, had imputed to him the failure of her hopes; and as ſhe was now returned to court, whence ſhe had been removed from a regard to decency during the trial before the Legates, ſhe had naturally acquired an additional influence on the King's mind, and ſhe ſerved much to fortify his prejudice againſt the Cardinal. Thus the Queen and her partizans, judging of him by the part which he had openly acted, had expreſſed the higheſt animoſity againſt him [*CC*]; and the moſt oppoſite factions ſeemed now to combine in the ruin of the haughty miniſter. The high opinion itſelf, which the King had entertained of his capacity, tended to haſten his downfal; while his Majeſty imputed the bad ſucceſs of his miniſter's undertakings not to fortune or miſtake, but to the malignity or infidelity of his intentions. The blow, however, fell not inſtantly on his head. The King, who poſſibly could not juſtify by any good reaſon his alienation from his ancient favourite, ſeems to have remained ſome time in ſuſpence, and received him, if not with all his former kindneſs, yet with the appearance of truſt and regard. But it is found almoſt impoſſible for a high confidence and affection to receive the leaſt diminution without ſink-

(*n*) Id. ibid.

‘ order or decree ſhould be enrolled, till the ſame
‘ be firſt ſigned by the Lord Chancellor, &c.’

[*BB*] *He founded his college at Ipſwich.*] This, which is called a college according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, was in reality no more than what we now call a grammar ſchool, and in that ſenſe we find him giving particular directions for Lilly's grammar, then lately publiſhed, to be made uſe of therein: to which purpoſe he wrote a Latin preface, a tranſlation of which and of the old title runs thus;

‘ *Rudiments of Grammar, and a method of teaching, not*
‘ *ſo much preſcribed for the uſe of the ſchool of Ip-*
‘ *ſwich, happily founded by the Moſt Reverend Lord*
‘ *Thomas, Cardinal of York, as for all the ſchools*
‘ *throughout England.*

‘ Thomas, Cardinal of York, to the Maſters of Ip-
‘ ſwich School, greeting.

‘ We imagine nobody can be ignorant of the care,
‘ ſtudy, and induſtry of mind, with which we have
‘ hitherto directed our labours, not for our own pri-
‘ vate intereſt, but that of our country, and all our
‘ citizens, which we have very much at heart, and
‘ in which particular we ſhall deem ourſelves to have
‘ been moſt amply gratified, if by any divine bleſſing
‘ we ſhall improve the minds of the people. Where-
‘ fore being filled with the utmoſt zeal to promote
‘ learning and piety in our native place, which ſhe
‘ claims of us as a certain right, we have founded a
‘ Latin ſchool, no ways inelegant, as a teſtimony of
‘ our chief regard for them. But as it would be im-
‘ perfect to erect a ſchool, however magnificent, un-
‘ leſs attended by learned maſters, we have every way
‘ ſtudied to give the government thereof to two cho-
‘ ſen and approved teachers, under whoſe tuition Bri-
‘ tiſh youth may by degrees from their earlieſt years
‘ imbibe both morals and letters, well knowing that
‘ the hopes of the republick ariſe from their minds
‘ being then framed aright; and that the ſame may
‘ more happily and ſpeedily be brought to bear, we
‘ have taken all manner of care, that ye ſhould have
‘ ſuch books as are moſt neceſſary for the inſtruc-
‘ tion of them. In this our new ſchool, whereof ye
‘ are maſters, ye muſt teach the boys by turns and
‘ diligently exerciſe them in the rudiments and me-
‘ thod of learning, that they may afterwards be ad-
‘ vanced to the moſt elegant literature and the beſt of
‘ morals. To this purpoſe if ye labour with equal
‘ care to our ſatisfaction, ye ſhall not only deſerve our
‘ great favours for your pains, but render it alſo hap-
‘ py for your ſucceſſors. Fare ye well.’

‘ From our palace, A. D.
‘ 1528. Kal. Sept.’

[*CC*] *The Queen expreſſed the higheſt animoſity againſt him.*] One of many good reaſons why Eraſmus thought the cardinal deſerved the character he has left him in ſome of his epiſtles, we may preſume very juſtly, ſays Dr Knight, was his uſing this lady [Queen Katharine] ſo very barbarouſly: And indeed, proceeds this writer, her ſhort though pithy ſpeech to him, when the cardinal urged her to ſubmiſſion to the King's pleaſure, has more of this truth in it, than all the laboured character that has been lately given him [by Dr Fiddes] and becauſe it is omitted in his life, give me leave to inſert it here. Her ſtout and prudent anſwer was in the following words: *Of theſe my miſeries I can accuſe none but you my lord of York, becauſe I could not away with your monſtrous pride, exceſſive riot, whoredom, and intolerable oppreſſion; therefore do I now ſuffer: and becauſe my nephew the Emperor did not gratify your implacable ambition to advance you to the Papacy, you threatened to be revenged on him and his friends. And you have performed your promiſe. You have been the plotter of the wars againſt him, and raiſed this doubt againſt me* (42). To paſs over the virulence with which this remark is embittered, it may be obſerved, that one very good reaſon may be alledged for Fiddes's ſilence upon this ſpeech, that Biſhop Burnet, no friend to the cardinal's memory, had given his opinion, that the King's ſcruples were much ancienter, and alſo acquitted the cardinal abſolutely of this reproach (43). It is allowed, that he declined giving his judgment of the divorce, when preſſed to it by his Majeſty, which, conſidering the reaſon to apprehend Anne Boleyn's growing power, and the King's known careſſing of her at this time, may well be ſuppoſed to be againſt the divorce, and ſo it was conſtrued both by the King and alſo by his miſtreſs, who made an effectual uſe of it to his ruin. Upon the whole it will ſcarcely be denied, that his fate was hard: he had the ill luck to incur the diſpleaſure both of the wife and the miſtreſs, without any ill intention to either, and both concurred in his ruin.

(42) Knight's life of Eraſmus.

(43) Hiſt. of the reformation, ubi ſupra.

ing into abſolute indifference, and even running into the oppoſite extreme of hatred and averſion. The King was now determined to bring on the ruin of the Cardinal with almoſt as much precipitation as he had formerly employed in his elevation. The Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were ſent to require the great ſeal from him; and on his ſcrupling to deliver it without a more expreſs warrant, the King ſent him a letter; upon which it was ſurrendered, and delivered by his Majeſty to Sir Thomas More. Wolſey was ordered to depart from York place; a palace which he had built in London, and which, though it really belonged to the ſee of York, was ſeized by his Majeſty, and became afterwards the reſidence of the Kings of England, under the title of Whitehall (*o*). All his furniture and plate was converted to the King's uſe; and indeed their riches and ſplendour befitted rather a royal than a private fortune. The walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold or cloth of ſilver: he had a cupboard of plate of maſſy gold, and there were found ten thouſand pieces of fine holland belonging to him. All the reſt of his riches and furniture were in proportion; and his opulence was probably no ſmall inducement to the violent proſecution againſt him. He was ordered to retire to Eſher, [*DD*] a country ſeat which he poſſeſſed near Hampton Court. The world, who had paid him ſuch abject court during his proſperity, now entirely deſerted him in this fatal reverſe of all his fortunes: he himſelf was much dejected with the change, and from the ſame turn of mind which had prompted him to be ſo vainly elevated with his grandeur, he felt the blow of adverſity with double rigour. The leaſt appearance of his return to favour, threw him into tranſports of joy, unbecoming a man. The King had ſoftened during ſome time the blows which at firſt overwhelmed him; he granted him his protection, and left him in poſſeſſion of the ſees of York and Wincheſter; and he even ſent him a gracious meſſage, accompanied with a ring, as a teſtimony of his affection. Wolſey, who was on horſeback, when the meſſenger met him, immediately alighted, and throwing himſelf on his knees in the dirt, received in that humble poſture theſe marks of his Majeſty's gracious diſpoſition towards him. But his enemies, who dreaded his return to court, never ceaſed plying the King with accounts of his ſeveral offences; and Anne Boleyn in particular, who bore him no kindneſs, contributed her endeavours, in conjunction with her uncle the Duke of Norfolk, to exclude him from all hopes of being reinſtated in his former authority: he diſmiſſed, therefore, his numerous retinue; and, as he was a kind and beneficent maſter, the ſeparation paſſed not without a plentiful effuſion of tears on both ſides. The King's heart, notwithſtanding ſome gleams of kindneſs, ſeemed totally hardened to his old favourite: he ordered him to be indicted in the Star-chamber, where ſentence was paſſed upon him; and not contented with this ſeverity, he abandoned him to all the rigour of the parliament, which now after a long interval was again aſſembled. The Houſe of Lords voted a long charge againſt him conſiſting of forty-four articles [*EE*], and accompanied it with an application to the King for his baniſhment, and his removal from all authority. Little oppoſition was made to this charge in the Upper Houſe; no evidence of any part of it was ſo much as called for, and as it conſiſts chiefly of general accuſations, it was ſcarce ſuſceptible of any. The articles being ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, Thomas Cromwell, formerly a ſervant to the Cardinal, and who had been raiſed by him from a very low ſtation, defended his unfortunate patron with ſo much ſpirit, generoſity, and courage, as acquired him great honour, and laid the foundation of that favour which he afterwards enjoyed with the King. Wolſey's enemies finding that either his innocence or his caution prevented them from having any juſt ground of accuſing him, had recourſe to a very extraordinary expedient. An indictment was lodged againſt him, that contrary to a ſtatute of Richard II. commonly called the Statute of Proviſors, he had procured bulls from Rome; particularly that of inveſting him with the legantine power, which he had exerciſed with very extenſive authority. He confeſſed the indictment, pleaded ignorance of the ſtatute, and threw himſelf on the King's mercy. He was perhaps within reach of the law; but beſides that the ſtatute was fallen altogether into diſuſe, nothing could be more rigorous and ſevere, than to impute unto him as a crime what he had publicly during a courſe of ſo many years practiſed with the conſent and approbation of the King, and the acquieſcence of the parliament and kingdom; not to mention what he always aſſerted, and what can ſcarce be doubted of, that he had obtained the royal licence in the moſt formal manner, which, had he not been apprehenſive of the dangers attending any oppoſition to Henry's lawleſs will, he might have pleaded in his own defence (*p*). The judges ſentence, however, was pronounced againſt him, that he was out of the King's protection, his lands and goods

(*o*) Fiddes.

(*p*) Hume.

[*EE*] *He was ordered to retire to Eſher.*] This was a ſeat belonging to the ſee of Wincheſter. The Cardinal upon his firſt coming to the biſhopric had ordered it to be repaired, and ſome parts rebuilt, propoſing to make this his retreat, when the King reſided at Hampton Court, and ſuch expedition was made in finiſhing it, that it ſoon made a conſiderable figure. In ſhort, what remains of this edifice is another monunument of the cardinal's excellent taſte in architecture. It fell afterwards into lay hands; however, the ſtructure was preſerved with great exactneſs, and was put into ſuch order by the late poſſeſſor, the right honourable Henry Pelham, eſq; as to be accounted a building well worth the ſight and obſervance of the curious.

[*EE*] *A charge of* 44 *articles.*] As theſe are to be ſeen in the general hiſtories of England, it would be an abuſe of the reader's patience to tranſcribe them here. Dr Fiddes * has given a comment upon ſeveral of them, wherein not only their groundleſſneſs and futility, but even their abſurdity, is ſufficiently ſhewn. The truth is, the whole tenor of them demonſtrates nothing ſo much as the abſolute deſpotick ſway of the King, and the obſequious ſervility of his parliament.

* In an eſſay towards a vindication of cardinal Wolſey from certain popular imputations. Life of Cardinal Wolſey, p. 185. 2d edit.

forfeited, and that his perſon might be committed to cuſtody. It was in purſuance of this ſentence that he was ordered to quit York place, which, as is before obſerved, was ſeized by the King, together with all the magnificently rich furniture. But this proſecution, though not diſagreeable to the King, was carried no further. The Cardinal reſigned it on the King's command, December the 18th this year [*FF*]; and ſoon afterwards falling dangerouſly ill, he was attended by Dr Butts, the King's phyſician, by eſpecial order of his Majeſty, who even granted him, on the 12th of February, a remarkably full and complete pardon for all offences [*GG*], reſtored part of his plate and furniture, as alſo the revenues of his archbiſhoprick, and ſtill continued from time to time to drop expreſſions of favour and compaſſion towards him. But whoever looks into the hiſtory of thoſe times, will find that the King was at this juncture puſhed to extremity both againſt the Pope and againſt the eccleſiaſtical order. This was naturally very diſagreeable to the Cardinal; and as his Majeſty foreſaw his oppoſition to both, this has been aſſigned as the moſt probable reaſon for his continuing to perſecute his ancient favourite with ſo much rigour. After he had remained ſome time at Eſher, he was allowed in 1530 to remove to Richmond, a palace which he had received from the King as a preſent in return for Hampton-Court; but the courtiers dreading ſtill his near neighbourhood, prayed an order for him to remove to his palace at York. The Cardinal knew it was in vain to reſiſt. He went firſt to the ſeat of that Archbiſhopric at Southwell, from whence in the latter end of the ſummer he paſſed to Scrooby, and arriving on the 27th of September at Cawood Caſtle, he fixed his reſidence at that manſion, where he rendered himſelf extremely popular to the neighbourhood by his affability and hoſpitality, but he was not ſuffered to continue long unmoleſted in this retreat. The Earl of Northumberland received orders, without regard to his eccleſiaſtical character, to arreſt him for high treaſon, and to conduct him to London, in order for his trial. The arreſt was executed upon him in the latter end of October; in purſuance whereof he was taken into the cuſtody of Sir Peter Welſh, with whom he ſet out on the firſt of November for London; but on the road, partly from the fatigue of the journey, partly from the agitation of his anxious mind, he was ſeized with a diſorder which turned to a dyſentery, and was not able without ſome difficulty to reach as far as Leiceſter Abbey. When the Abbot and Monks advanced to receive him with much reſpect and ceremony, he told them, That he was come to lay his bones among them; and he immediately took his bed, whence he never roſe more. A little before he expired, he addreſſed himſelf in the following words to Sir William Kingſton, Conſtable of the Tower, who had him in cuſtody: "I pray you, have me heartily recommended unto his Majeſty, and beſeech "him in my behalf to call to remembrance all matters that have paſſed between us "from the beginning, eſpecially with regard to his buſineſs with the Queen, and then "he will know in his conſcience, whether I have offended him. He is a Prince of a "moſt royal courage, and hath a princely heart, and rather than he will miſs or want "any part of his will, he will endanger the one half of his kingdom: I do aſſure you, "that I have often kneeled before him, ſometimes for three hours together, to perſuade him "from his will and appetite, but could not prevail. Had I but ſerved God as diligently as "I have ſerved the King, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs; but this is "the juſt reward that I muſt receive for my indulgent pains and ſtudy, not regarding my "ſervice to my God, but only to my Prince. Therefore let me adviſe you, if you be one of the "Privy Council, as by your wiſdom you are fit, take care what you put into the King's "head, for you can never put it out again." Thus died this famous Cardinal, whoſe character ſeems to have contained as ſingular varieties as the fortune to which he was expoſed.

[*FF*] *He reſigned York place.*] Soon after judgment was paſſed upon the præmunire, Judge Shelley was ſent to Eſher with this demand, at the ſame time producing a deed of reſignation, which he deſired the cardinal to ſign. This demand greatly ſtruck the cardinal, who alledged, that as York Houſe belonged to his ſee, it was not his to diſpoſe of, and told him, he hoped the judges would not expoſe their reputation by putting his Majeſty upon any illegal methods; but if the King inſiſted upon it, let the ſin lie at his door, and ſo ſigned the deed (45). York place, as is ſaid above, was the Archbiſhop of York's houſe; the cardinal found it greatly out of repair, when it came into his poſſeſſion with that ſee, on account of the Archbiſhop's reſidence at Rome. The King had not long got it into his hands, when he built a manſion at St James's, and for the ſervice of both the palaces incloſed that ſpot of ground which is now called the Park, and then built the gate that lately ſtood near the treaſury, but was taken down a few years ago, to which he added a gallery for the royal family to ſit in to behold the juſtings and other military exerciſes in the tilt yard, ſo called from the tiltings therein practiſed. Soon after Henry erected, contiguous to the aforeſaid gate, a tennis court, cock-pit, and places to bowl in, the form of which only remains, the reſt being converted into dwelling houſes and offices for the privy council and ſecretaries of ſtate. The royal banquetting-houſe was built by King James I. as a part of his intended palace. But York place, together with the long gallery added by Henry VIII. was burnt in 1694 (46).

(45) Fiddes, b. 3. ch. xii.

(46) Stowe and Maitland.

[*GG*] *The King granted him a remarkably full pardon.*] Lord Coke (47), ſpeaking of this pardon, expreſſes himſelf thus: The moſt learned and beneficial pardons which we have read, were that to William of Wickham, Biſhop of Wincheſter (for a good man will never refuſe God and the King's pardon, becauſe every one does often offend both of them) and the other to Thomas Wolſey, which are learnedly and curiouſly penned. See the words. *Articuli pardonationis Reverendiſſimi Patris Tho. Cardinalis, &c. 21 Hen. 8. Feb. 12. Omnimodæ Proditiones, tum majores quam minores, Proditionum miſpriſiones, & aliæ miſpriſiones, Legum ſubverſiones, & earum illicitæ extenſiones. Outlegarum quæcunque Intruſiones & Ingreſſus in Temporalia Archiepiſcopatuum, Epiſcopatuum, Abbatiarum, Prioratuum, ſive aliarum Domorum Religioſarum infra regnum Angliæ. Proviſiones Bullarum circa executionem Officii Legationis de Latere contra formam ſtatuti de Proviſoribus. Conceſſo quod præfatus Thomas Cardinalis omni pardonatione & gratia gaudeat Populo Regni Angliæ in aliquo Parliamento conceſſa. Donato Archiepiſcopatus Eboracenſis cum pertinentiis* (48).

(47) In his 4th inſtitute.

(48) Cotton Library, Julius 1. fol. 271.

A. D. 1529.

The obſtinacy and violence of the King's temper may alleviate much of the blame which ſome of his favourite miniſters have undergone; and when we conſider, that the ſubſequent part of his reign was much more unfortunate and criminal than that which was directed by Wolſey's counſels, we ſhall be inclined to ſuſpect of partiality thoſe hiſtorians who endeavoured to load his memory with ſuch violent reproaches. If in his train of politicks he ſometimes employed his influence over the King for his private purpoſes, rather than his maſter's intereſt, which he boaſted he had really at heart, we muſt remember, that he had in view the papal throne, which, had he attained to, it would have enabled him to make his maſter a ſuitable return for his greateſt favours. The Cardinal d'Amboiſe, whoſe memory is precious in France, always made this apology for his own conduct, which was in ſome reſpect ſimilar to Wolſey's. And we have reaſon to think the King was well acquainted with the motives by which his miniſter was influenced: He regretted very much his death, when informed of it, and always ſpoke favourably of his memory; a proof that humour more than reaſon, or any diſcovery of treachery, had occaſioned his laſt perſecution againſt him (*q*).

(*q*) Idem, ibid.

WOOD, or A WOOD, [ANTHONY], the famous Oxford Antiquary, was deſcended from a gentleman's family [*A*] in that city, and born in the pariſh of St John Baptiſt de Merton, December 17, 1632 (*a*). Having learned to read the Bible, he was firſt put to a private Latin ſchool in 1640, but removed to that at New-college the next year; and, on account of the diſturbances there occaſioned by the civil war, he was ſent to another ſchool at Thame in 1644. Here his diligence was remarkable, and he was always ambitious of being firſt at ſchool in a morning; he was much retired, walked moſtly alone, addicted to melancholy, and frequently walked in his ſleep (*b*). In 1646 he returned home to his mother [*B*], who put him under the tuition of his brother Edward, of Trinity college, to whom he went once or twice a day for inſtruction; and, May 26, 1647, he was matriculated into the univerſity as a gentleman's ſon, and entered, October 18 following, a Poſtmaſter of Merton college; and in the beginning of 1650 was made one of the Bible-clerks there (*c*). Having a ſtrong inclination to muſic, he ſet himſelf to practiſe on the violin in 1651; but as he had no maſter, his performance was ſomewhat ſurprizing [*C*]. He went out A. B. July 6, 1652 [*D*]. This degree intitling

(*a*) Life of A. Wood written by himſelf, printed at the end of Caii Vind. Acad. Oxon. vol. II. p. 438, 439.

(*b*) Idem, 443. & 451, 452.

(*c*) Id. p. 467. & 479. Theſe were better than the Poſtmaſters then, but now the laſt have been improved by benefactions ſince.

[*A*] *Deſcended of a gentleman's family.*] At the ſummer aſſizes held at the Guildhall in Oxford, July 1634, appeared with a commiſſion from the King two officers of arms to take an account of all the arms and pedigrees of the gentry of Oxfordſhire. The commiſſion was read in open court, and, among others, Mr Wood's father was warned to appear with his arms and pedigree (1); but he, pleading the privilege of the univerſity, and ſo conſequently exempted, he pretended (but falſe) *e curia Mareſchalli*, did not appear in his own behalf, though in the behalf of the Petties of Tetſworth, his wife's family. This conduct of his father was afterwards much lamented by his ſon Anthony, becauſe what the old gentleman knew of his family died with him in our author's youth; who tells us his grandfather, Richard Wood, came out of Lancaſhire about the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and was brought to Iſlington near London by Robert Wood his uncle and godfather, who giving him good breeding, he ever after lived in good faſhion. The poſterity of the ſaid Robert, who have lands and tenements to this day, live at Kingſton upon Thames in Surrey; where and elſewhere they have an eſtate of 2000 l. per ann. and have been ſeveral times offered the degree of Bart. Thomas Wood, our author's father, was born at Iſlington, in January 1580, bred in grammar learning there, became a ſtudent in Broadgate's hall, now Pembroke college, ann. 1600, and afterwards one of the clerks of Corpus Chirſti college, and as ſuch was admitted A. B. March 15, 1603. In 1618 he was created LL. B. and had ſome employment in that faculty, having married before he was A. B. Margaret daughter of Hugh Wood of Kent, of the family of the Woods of Waterbury in that county. She was an ancient and rich maid, and with her portion, and 500 l. left him by his parents, he purchaſed ſeveral eſtates, and among others the houſe oppoſite to Merton college, where our author was born (2).

[*B*] *His mother.*] His father, after the death of his firſt wife before mentioned, which happened at Tetſworth (3), 14 July 1621, married Mary Petty, our author's mother, who bringing him a conſiderable fortune, he grew rich, and was fined in October 1630 for refuſing the honour of knighthood. The fine was called Knighthood-money, paid by all perſons of 40 l. per ann. that refuſed to come in and be dubbed knights (4). This ſecond wife's mother, our author's grandmother, named Penelope, was daughter of Richard Taverner, Lord of Wood-Eaton in Oxfordſhire, by his ſecond wife Mary daughter of Sir John Harcourt, Knt. of the ancient and noble family of the Harcourts of Stanton Harcourt in the ſame county. She was born at Wood Eaton in September 1566, and about the age of 21 was married to our author's grandfather, Robert Petty, then Lord of Wyfald or Wiveold, and of other lands near Henly in Oxfordſhire, beſides a leaſe from Eton college of a very good farm at Cotiford near Biceſter in the ſame county (5).

[*C*] *His performance was ſurpriſing.*] He tuned the ſtrings of his inſtrument by fourths; but in 1653 he hired a maſter, who wondering how he could play ſo many tunes as he did by fourths, taught him the uſual way by tuning in fifths (6), and by that means he acquired, in the ſpace of three years, ſome genuine ſkill in the art, and became a member of the muſic club in Oxford.

[*D*] *He went out A. B.*] He had performed all the uſual exerciſes for this degree, as *Generals*, &c. One of theſe was peculiar to his college, and ſo entertaining and jocoſe, that it deſerves not to be forgotten. On Candlemas-day or before, according as Shrove-Tueſday fell out, every freſh man had warning given him to provide his ſpeech to be ſpoken in the public hall, before the Undergraduates and ſervants, on the following Shrove-Tueſday evening; on which day the Fellows riſing from ſupper ſooner than uſual, left the hall to the liberty of the Undergraduates, but with an admonition that all things ſhould be carried in good order *. While they were at ſupper, the cook was making the leſſer braſs pot full of cawdle, at the freſh mens charge, which, after the Fellows were gone, was brought up and ſet before the fire in the hall. Then every freſh man, according to ſeniority, was to pluck off his gown and band, and, if poſſible, to make himſelf look like a ſcoundrel. This done, they were ſucceſſively conducted to the high table, and there made to ſtand on a form placed thereon, from whence they were to ſpeak their ſpeech with an audible voice to the company, which if well done, the ſpeaker was to have a cup of cawdle, and no ſalted drink; if indifferently, ſome cawdle and ſome ſalted drink; but if dull, nothing was given him but ſalted drink, or ſalt put into college beer, with tucks † to boot. Afterwards when they were to be admitted into the fraternity,

(1) This original pedigree was communicated to Mr Wood by Edward Harley Earl of Oxford. Life of A. Wood, p. 440.

(2) Idem, ibid. & p. 448, 449.

(3) Her huſband had purchaſed a conſiderable eſtate there. Id. ibid.

(4) Gen. Hiſt. of England.

(5) Idem, p. 444.

(6) Ibid. p. 486, 490, 491.

* This admonition was given by the Principal of the Undergraduates and Poſtmaſters.

† That is, the ſenior ſet the nail of his thumb juſt under the lip, and by the help of his other fingers under the chin gave him a mark which ſometimes would produce blood.

intitling him to the uſe of the compartment for arts in the public library of the univerſity, he lighted on *Burton's Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire*, *Guillim's Diſplay of Heraldry*, which particularly ſtruck his fancy, and he began to draw and trick out arms with his pen; in ſhort, heraldry, muſic, and painting engaged his whole attention, and he applied himſelf cloſely to thoſe ſtudies, againſt the will of his relations, who adviſed ſuch as might be more beneficial; but this was his nature, mixed with a generoſity of mind, and an abhorrence of all that was ſervile, ſneaking, or advantageous for lucre ſake *(d)*. By his ſedulous and cloſe ſtudying in the public library, and by converſing with books not uſed by the vulgar ſtudents, eſpecially manuſcripts, he was taken notice of by Mr Thomas Barlow, the Head Keeper of the ſaid library, who began thereupon to expreſs ſome kindneſs towards him, and to offer him his aſſiſting hand (*e*). In December 1655 he commenced A. M. and the beginning of March he publiſhed five ſermons of his brother Edward Wood, preached before the univerſity, with a dedication to Dr Jonathan Goddard, then Warden of Merton college. In the ſummer of 1656 came to Oxford *The Antiquities of Warwickſhire*, &c. by W. Dugdale. This was accounted the beſt treatiſe of its kind, and Mr Wood's affections were entirely melted and raviſhed with it, inſomuch that what with muſic and other rare books that he found in the Bodleyan library, his life was a perfect *Elyſium (f)*. In the latter end of October this year he began to ſurvey and tranſcribe the monumental inſcriptions and arms in the ſeveral pariſh churches and college chapels within the city and univerſity of Oxford (*g*). In 1659, upon the marriage of Robert his eldeſt brother then living, he reſigned the intereſt he had in that third part of the paternal inheritance lying in Oxford, without any conſideration [*E*]. After the reſtoration, he obtained leave of Dr Wallis, July 30, 1660, to conſult the univerſity regiſters, monuments, and writings in the ſchools tower (*b*), to the end that he might advance his eſurient genius in antiquities, eſpecially in thoſe of the ſaid univerſity. Here he laid the foundation of his *Hiſtoria & Antiquitates Univ. Oxon* *. He

was

(d) Id. p. 492.

(*e*) Id. p. 494.

(f) Id. p. 500. among other rare books he peruſed all the MS. collections of Leland, repoſed in the archives of Bodley's Library, with which he was exceedingly delighted, and collected much from them.

(g) Ibid.

(*b*) Ibid. and p. 533 and 566.

* This was done at the requeſt of Dr Ralph Bathurſt, on purpoſe to promote his generous deſign. Id. p. 532. See Dr Bathurſt's article in the Supplement.

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nity, the ſenior cook adminiſtred unto them an oath over an old ſhoe, part of which ran thus, *Item, Tu jurabis, quod* Penniles Bench ‡ *non viſitabis, &c.* After which ſpoken with gravity, the freſh man kiſſed the ſhoe, put on his gown and band, and took his place among the ſeniors. Mr Wood has given us part of his ſpeech on this occaſion mirthful enough; which begins thus:

‘ Moſt Reverend Seniors,

‘ May it pleaſe your Gravities to admit into your ‘ preſence a kitten of the muſes, and a meer frog of ‘ Helicon, to croak the cataracts of his plumbeous ‘ cerebroſity before your ſagacious Ingenuities. Perhaps you may expect, that I ſhould thunder out demi-cannon words, and level my ſulphureous throat ‘ againſt my Fellows of the Tyrocinian Crew: but ‘ this being the univerſal judgment of we freſh-water ‘ Academians, behold, as ſo many Stygian Furies, ‘ or Ghoſts riſen out of their winding-ſheets, we preſent ourſelves before your tribunal; and therefore ‘ I will not ſublimate nor tonitruate words, nor ſwell ‘ into gigantic ſtrains: ſuch towering ebullitions do ‘ not exuberate in my Aganippe, being at the loweſt ‘ ebb. I have been no chairman in the committee ‘ of Apollo's creatures; neither was I ever admitted ‘ into the cabinet councils of the Pierian Dames, that ‘ my brains ſhould evaporate into high hyperboles, ‘ or that I ſhould baſtinado the times with the ſharp ‘ ſatire of a magic pen. Indeed I am but a freſh-water ‘ ſoldier under the banners of Phœbus, and therefore ‘ cannot as yet ſet quart pots or double jugs in battalia, or make a good ſhot in ſack and claret, or ‘ give fire to the piſtoletto tobacco-pipe charged with ‘ its Indian powder; and therefore, having but poor ‘ ſkill in ſuch ſervice, I were about to turn Heliconian ‘ Dragooner, but as I were mounting of my dapper ‘ nag Pegaſus, behold Shrove Tueſday night arreſted ‘ me, greeting me in the name of this honourable ‘ convocation, to appear before their tribunal, and ‘ make anſwer for myſelf; which, moſt wiſe Seniors, ‘ ſhall be in this wiſe.

‘ I am none of thoſe May-pole freſh-men, that are ‘ tall cedars before they come to be planted in the ‘ academian garden, who feed with the paps of Ariſtotle at twenty or thirty years of age, and ſuck at ‘ the dugs of their mother the univerſity, though ‘ they be high Coloſſuſes and youths rampant.

‘ Theſe are they, who come newly from a bag-pudding and a good brown loaf, to deal with a ‘ penny commons, as an elephant with a poor fly, ‘ tumbles and toſſes it, and at laſt gives him a chop; ‘ that tug as hard for a Poſtmaſter's place, as a dog at ‘ mutton.

‘ I am none of the univerſity blood-hounds, that ‘ ſeek for preferment, and whoſe noſes are as acute ‘ as their ears, that lie perdue for places, and who, ‘ good ſaints, do groan till the viſitation comes. ‘ Theſe are they that eſteem a tavern as bad as purgatory, and wine more ſuperſtitious than holy water: and therefore I hope this honourable convocation will not ſuffer one of that tribe to taſte of the ‘ ſack, leſt they ſhould be troubled with a *vertigo*, ‘ and their heads turn *round*.

‘ I never came out of the country of Lapland. I ‘ am not of the number of beaſts; I mean thoſe greedy ‘ dogs and kitchen hunters, who 'noint their chops ‘ every night with greaſe, and rob the cook of his ‘ fees,’ &c.

Thus he went forward with ſmart reflections on the reſt of the freſh-men and ſome of the ſervants, which might have been ſet down, had not the ſpeech been borrowed of him by ſeveral of the ſeniors, who embezzled it. His ſpeech ended, he was taken down by one of the Bachelor Commoners, who, with other Bachelors and the Senior Undergraduates, made him drink a good diſh of cawdle, put on his gown and band, placed him among the Seniors, and gave him ſack (7).

[*E*] *He reſigned his intereſt in a third part of his paternal inheritance.*] His father by his will left all his eſtate, except that at Tetſworth, to the longeſt liver of his children. Robert therefore could not ſettle a jointure upon his wife by reaſon three of the children were then living. Our author afterwards did the like to his younger brother Chriſtopher, at his requeſt; which he declares did in a manner prove his own ruin, for he could hardly get his own ſhare from the children of his brethren (8). His eldeſt brother Thomas, who was a ſtudent of Chriſtchurch, took up arms in the King's cauſe; but being concerned in the Cavalier plot in 1658, run into Ireland, and inliſting in the regiment of Colonel Ingoldſby, was at the ſiege and ſtorming of Drogheda, where the aſſailants entering the town, and killing all the enemy who had fled into the church, they afterwards went into the vaults underneath, where all the flower and choice of the women had hid themſelves. One of theſe, a moſt beautiful virgin, arrayed in coſtly and gorgeous apparel, kneeled down to Thomas Wood, with tears and prayers to ſave her life. Being ſtruck with a profound pity, he took her under his arm, went with her out of the church, intending to put her over the works to ſhift for herſelf; but a ſoldier perceiving his intentions, ran his ſword up her belly from the fundament: whereupon Mr Wood ſeeing her gaſping, took away her money, jewels, &c. and flung her down over the works. In 1680, when the parliament ſat

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‡ A ſeat joining to Carfax Church, where butter-women and huckſters uſed to ſit. N. B. The reſt of the oath is forgotten.

(7) Life of Antony Wood, p. 466—472, where he tells us, that this cuſtom had been obſerved in the college time out of mind, to initiate the freſhmen; but between that time and the reſtoration of King Charles II. it was diſuſed, and is now abſolutely forgotten.

(8) Idem, p. 525.

was ſo exceedingly delighted with the place and the choice records therein, and took ſo much pains for carrying on the work, leſt the keys ſhould be taken from him, as occaſioned a great alteration in his perſon, which was obſerved by his acquaintance. Yet he was very chearful and healthy; and nothing troubled him more than the intermiſſion of his labours by eating, drinking, ſleeping, and ſometimes by company, which he could not avoid. After ſome time, Dr Wallis ſeeing his diligence, gave him leave to carry home ſuch books and writings as he wanted, which he did; but, on the eighteenth of March, 1664, he took an oath before a public notary not to embezzle or purloin any of the ſaid regiſters or muniments. During this interval, he aſſiſted Dr Wallis in the deſign of incorporating the brewers, innholders, bakers, alehouſes, maltſters, &c. (*l*) In 1663 he began a courſe of chymiſtry with the noted chymiſt and Roſicrucian Peter Sthael, of Straſburg in Royal Pruſſia [*F*]. June 13, 1667, our author went to London, carrying letters of recommendation with him from Dr Thomas Barlow, Provoſt of Queen's college, to Sir William Dugdale; by which means he obtained leave to peruſe ſome manuſcripts in the Cotton library, and the records in the Tower (*m*). He returned to Oxford June 29, and on the 18th of July he began to peruſe the rent-rolls, &c. in Chriſt Church treaſury over the Cloiſter there [*G*]. January 26, 1669, he was ſuddenly diſmiſſed from his lodging without ſufficient warning, which reduced him to ſuch ſtraits as greatly impaired his health, and a noiſe came into his ears, which brought a deafneſs the next year that continued till his death (*n*). In the interim, Auguſt 25th this year, going to London to the inſtallation of the Duke of Ormond into the Chancellorſhip of the Univerſity, he was introduced to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury at Lambeth by Dr Fell, with this compliment: *If it pleaſe your Grace, here is a Maſter of Arts that you muſt take notice of. He hath done the Univerſity a great deal of honour by a book that he hath written.* To which the Archbiſhop in anſwer ſaid, *He was glad there was ſuch a perſon in the Univerſity, that had a generous mind to ſuch a work*, bid him proceed in his ſtudies, *that he ſhould be encouraged, and want nothing that was equal to his deſerts* *. After his return to Oxford the Univerſity offered him an hundred pounds for the copy of his Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Univerſity: October 22d, he accepted it, and received the money March 29th the following year §. This purchaſe was made in the deſign of tranſlating it, for the uſe of foreigners, into Latin, and the verſion was accordingly performed under the inſpection of Dr Fell [*H*], and publiſhed in 1674 in folio, under the title of *Hiſtoria & Antiquitates Univerſitatis Oxonienſis, duobus voluminibus comprehenſa.* He after-

(*l*) Id. p. 535. the univerſity paid him for his labour.

(*m*) p. 571.

(*n*) p. 585.

* p. 587. The Duke of Ormond was inſtalled at Worceſter-houſe in the Strand.

§ p. 592.

at Oxford, Col. Ingoldſby told our antiquary, that his brother Thomas was a good ſoldier, ſtout and venturous; and being a good buffoon, his company was deſired and loved by the officers of his regiment (9).

[*F*] *He went through a courſe with Peter Sthael.*] This Peter Sthael, who was a Lutheran, and a great hater of women, was brought to Oxford by the Honourable Mr Robert Boyle, ann. 1659. His ſcholars were chiefly John Lock, Sir Joſeph Williamſon, Dr Wallis, Sir Chriſtopher Wren, Dr Thomas Millington, and many others, beſides our author. In 1664 Mr Sthael was called to London, and became Operator to the Royal Society. Continuing there till 1670, he returned to Oxford in November that year, and had ſeveral claſſes ſucceſſively. Afterwards going to London again, he died there about 1675, and was buried in the church of St Clements Danes, within the liberty of Weſtminſter (10).

[*G*] *He peruſed the Rent rolls of Chriſtchurch college.*] Here he found a great many evidences which belonged to St Frideſwide's priory, but no rent-rolls of their lands and tenements. There were many evidences and rent-rolls that belonged to Oſney abbey, and innumerable broken writings and rolls which belonged to the priories and nunneries that were diſſolved by the means of Cardinal Wolſey, toward the erection of his college. But the ſaid college being not ſettled by law, when the Cardinal fell, all the lands which were appointed for its endowment came into the King's hands; ſo that between the Cardinal's fall and the ſettlement of the college by the King, which was three years at leaſt, moſt of the lands of the ſaid diſſolved priories and nunneries being ſold to or begged of the King by hungry courtiers, who had only the King's grant for them without the ancient evidences belonging to them, thoſe evidences remained ſtill in Cardinal now Chriſtchurch college. From theſe evidences our antiquary furniſhed Sir William Dugdale with many things which he inſerted in his third volume of *Monaſticon Anglicanum.*

John Willis, younger brother to Dr Thomas Willis the famous phyſician, was then Chapter Clerk of Chriſtchurch; and he then deſigning to make a Repertory of records belonging to the ſaid church, choſe that time for the purpoſe, that he might have the aſſiſtance of our antiquary, which he freely imparted, and demonſtrated to him, from ſeveral evidences, what encroachments that church had ſuffered in many places in Oxford on their lands and tenements, which formerly belonged to St Frideſwyde and Oſney (11).

[*H*] *The verſion was performed under the inſpection of Dr Fell.*] Mr Wood makes heavy complaints of the injury done to his book in this tranſlation (12); other complaints are alſo made by Sir Peter Pett and Dr Barlow (13). Not to mention other particular alterations which are well known, there is a remarkable one taken notice of in the article in this work (14) of Sir Thomas Pope, founder of Trinity college, which was written by Mr Warton, the preſent Profeſſor of Poetry at Oxford, and Fellow of that college, who having occaſion to examine the original Engliſh in the tower of the ſchools as written fair and intended for the preſs by the author, obſerves, 'that ſome few 'particulars, not the leaſt important or entertaining, 'are omitted in the Latin tranſlation.——I can'not omit,' proceeds the ſame gentleman, 'this 'opportunity of lamenting that Dr Fell ever propoſed 'a tranſlation of Wood's Engliſh work, which would 'have been infinitely more pleaſing in the plain na'tural dreſs of its artleſs but accurate author. The 'tranſlation in general, it is allowed, is full of miſ'takes; it is alſo ſtiff and unpleaſing, perpetually 'diſguſting the reader with the affected phraſeology. 'Dr Fell's reaſon for procuring it to be tranſlated 'was, that a complete account of the univerſity might 'be circulated abroad. But there are many particu'lars unavoidably ariſing from the ſubject, which read 'ridiculous, and are ſometimes unintelligible in La'tin. Beſides, the circumſtantial minuteneſs of local 'deſcription with which the work abounds, ſo inter'eſting and agreeable to an Engliſh reader, and to 'perſons familiarly acquainted with the ſpot, all ap'pear ſuperfluous, inſignificant, and tedious to fo'reigners. A more general and compendious detail 'might have been abſtracted from it, and tranſlated 'for the purpoſe of foreign readers; while the author's 'original Engliſh ſhould have been publiſhed, in con'formity to his firſt idea, not only for the univerſal 'convenience, but the more particular and critical in'formation of his countrymen (15).

(9) Id. p. 485.

(10) Id. p. 560.

(11) p. 576, 577.

(12) p. 594, 602, and Ath. Oxon. vol. 2. col. 853, 2d edition.

(13) See his genuine Remains, &c. pp. 183. publiſhed by Sir Peter Pett.

(14) Biog. Brit. vol. 5. p. 3403. Rem. [*P*].

(15) Life of Ralph Bathurſt, p. 146, 147. edit. 1761, 8vo.

wards undertook his *Athenæ Oxonienſes* [*I*], which was publiſhed at London in 1691, in folio. Soon after the publication our author was attacked by the Univerſity, in defence of Lord Clarendon, Chancellor of the Univerſity, and proſecuted in the Vice-chancellor's court (*o*). He was animadverted on likewiſe by Biſhop Burnet, in his letter to the Biſhop of Coventry and Lichfield; whereupon he publiſhed at London in 1693, quarto, *A vindication of the Hiſtoriographer of the Univerſity of Oxford and his works, from the reproaches of the Lord Biſhop of Saliſbury in his letter to the Lord Biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield, concerning a book lately publiſhed, called,* A Specimen of ſome errors and defects in the Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England, by Anthony Harmer. *Written by E. D. To which is added the Hiſtoriographer's Anſwer to certain Animadverſions made in the before-mentioned* Hiſtory of the Reformation *to that part of* Hiſtoria & Antiquitates Univerſitatis Oxon. *which treats of the divorce of Queen Catharine from King Henry the Eighth.* Mr Wood ſurvived this laſt book only a few years. He was ſeized with a total ſuppreſſion of urine in the end of October 1695, which carried him out of this world November 29 following, and he was buried the next day, having written the minuteſt particulars about his funeral. His behaviour was very well during his illneſs; he was very patient and quiet, eſpecially towards the latter end. He ſent for a clergyman to pray with him, received the ſacrament, aſked pardon of all that he had injured, and deſired the prayers of all the public congregations. He was a very ſtrong luſty man aged ſixty-five years, and was twenty-two hours a dying. He had his ſenſes intire to the laſt, and full time to ſettle all his concerns to his content. He ſorted that vaſt multitude of papers, notes, letters, &c. in his ſtudy, and ordered about two buſhels-full for the fire as he was expiring, which was accordingly done before his face (*p*). He alſo gave great charge to burn any looſe reflecting notes. He gave his books and papers to the univerſity of Oxford, to be placed next his friend Sir W. Dugdale's manuſcripts; and they are placed accordingly in the *Aſhmolean Muſæum*, and muſt needs be very valuable to any of his taſte and temper (*q*). He has given us himſelf the principal part of his character, eſpecially as an author: That he is a perſon who delights to converſe more with the dead than with the living, and has neither intereſt nor inclination to flatter or diſgrace any man or community of men of whatever denomination; that he lived as it were dead to the world, and utterly unknown in perſon to the generality of ſcholars in Oxford; that he is ſo great an admirer of a ſolitary and retired life, that he frequents no aſſemblies of the ſaid univerſity, hath no companion in bed or at board, in his ſtudies, walks, or journeys, nor holds communication with any, unleſs with ſome, and thoſe very few, of generous and noble ſpirits, that have in ſome meaſure been promoters of this work [the *Athen. Oxon.*] And indeed, all things conſidered, he is but a degree different from an Aſcetic, as ſpending all or moſt part of his time, whether by day or night, in reading, writing, and divine contemplation (*r*). In 1721 came out the ſecond edition of the *Athen. Oxon. very much corrected, and enlarged with the addition of above five hundred new lives, from the author's original manuſcript* (*s*). And an attempt towards the continuation of it, by Dr Richard Rawlinſon, is in the library of St John's college, Oxford (*t*).

[*I*] *The firſt edition of his* Athen. Oxon.] To this edition was prefixed an account of the author, drawn up by himſelf, with his head in a border on the top; which is inſerted but in a very few copies, and thoſe moſt commonly preſents from the author himſelf. A multitude of additions and corrections, by Dr Humphreys, Biſhop of Bangor, to this edition, were ſent to Mr Hearne † by Mr Baker of St John's college, Cambridge; whoſe feeble attempt of the like kind for that univerſity undoubtedly reflects the higheſt honour upon Mr Wood's performance *.

WOODWARD [John], Founder of a phyſiological lecture in the univerſity of Cambridge, and Profeſſor of Phyſic at Greſham-college in London, was deſcended of a good family in Glouceſterſhire (*a*), though born in the county of Derby, where that branch of the family whence he ſprung had ſettled above a century before his birth, which happened May 1ſt, 1661. Being deſigned for trade by his father, he was taken from a country ſchool, and put apprentice at the age of fifteen to a linen-draper, as it is ſaid, in London; but the bent of his inclination being turned more to books than buſineſs, he quitted the ſhop in a few years (*b*), reſolving to cultivate his genius in the literary way. He had plied his book diligently at ſchool, and now puſhing his ſtudies vigorouſly on to philoſophical objects, he made ſuch a remarkable progreſs therein, as brought him into the notice of ſome eminent perſons in the learned world (*c*). Among others, he obtained, about the year 1684, the honour of a particular acquaintance with that diſtinguiſhed ſcholar and phyſician Dr Peter Barwick, which proved a ſingular advantage to him. The Doctor was ſo much pleaſed with his ingenuity and application, that in 1687 he took him into his family, in the view of giving him more conſtant inſtructions, eſpecially in phyſic and anatomy; and after four years entertainment in his houſe, recommended him under a very extraordinary character to the phyſic profeſſorſhip at Greſham-college [*A*]; upon which he was elected thereto on the 13th of July 1692 (*d*)

[*A*] *Dr Barwick recommended him to Greſham College.*] The Doctor's teſtimonial runs in theſe terms: 'I do hereby certify, that I have been particularly 'well acquainted with the life and ſtudies of Mr John

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(*o*) See an account of the proceedings againſt him in the *Curious Miſcellanies*, edit. 1714, 8vo.

(*p*) Viz. by Mr Biſſe and Mr Tanner the learned antiquary, afterwards Biſhop of St Aſaph, to whom he bequeathed the cuſtody of his more private papers, with an injuction not not to open them for ſeven years.

(*q*) Letter of Ar. Charlett, Rector of Univerſity College to Archbiſhop Teniſon, publiſhed by T. Hearne in the appendix to his edition of *Johannis confratris & monachi Glaſtonienſis Chronicon*, Oxf. 1726, 8vo.

(*r*) Epiſtle to the reader before the firſt edition of Athen. Oxon. in 1691, 2 vol. folio.

(*s*) This edition was publiſhed by Dr Tanner. See his article, in Rem. [*F*].

(*t*) See Dr Rawlinſon's *will* printed in 1756 or thereabouts.

† They are inſerted after our author's life, p. 637—678.

* See Maſters's hiſt. of Corpus Chriſti College at Cambridge. In the preface.

(*a*) His mother was deſcended from the family of the Burdetts. Ward's Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 285.

(*b*) See Remark [*A*].

(*c*) Dr Barwick's certificate in Rem. [*A*].

(*d*) Ward, as before.

In the mean time, during his reſidence with this generous friend and patron, it happened that Sir Ralph Dutton, who had married his daughter, on an invitation of his father in law to his ſeat at Sherburne in Glouceſterſhire, deſired him to bring our ſtudent in his company. This lucky accident firſt gave our author the hint of turning his thoughts to that branch of natural philoſophy, in which he made ſo conſpicuous a figure [*B*]. It was in this viſit that thoſe obſervations occurred to him upon ſhells and foſſils, which became the darling employment of his whole life afterwards. Fired with this ſubject, he travelled over the greateſt part of England in the proſecution of it, ſearching all places, and taking a careful and exact view of things on all hands as they preſented; and by this means having acquired a competent knowledge of the preſent ſtate and condition of the earth as well within the entrails as upon the ſurface of it, he proceeded to caſt his ſeveral obſervations into a proper method, and he publiſhed the whole in 1695, 8vo. under the title of *An Eſſay towards a Natural Hiſtory of the Earth and terreſtrial Bodies, eſpecially minerals; as alſo of the Sea, Rivers, and Springs. With an Account of the univerſal Deluge, and of the Effects that it had upon the Earth* [C]. Purſuing the ſubject of the formation

‘ Woodward for above theſe eight years. I know him to be of a virtuous life and ſober converſation. He ſtudied phyſic in my family almoſt four years. Before he came to me he had made a very great progreſs in learning; and ever ſince he hath proſecuted his ſtudies with ſo much induſtry and ſucceſs, that he hath made the greateſt advance, not only in phyſick, anatomy, botany, and other parts of naturall philoſophy, but likewiſe in hiſtory, geography, mathematicks, philologie, and all other uſeful learning, of any man I ever knew of his age. Nor am I ſingular in this opinion of him; he being to my certain knowledge very much reſpected merely upon this account by perſons of the greateſt judgment and learning; many of whom would, as well as myſelf, teſtifie perſonally, were there occaſion, much more than I have here in writing (1).

‘ Witneſs my hand this twenty-fourth day of September, 1692.

‘ PE. BARWICK.’

Our author was then in the 28th year of his age, and by what is ſaid of him in this certificate it appears that he could not have been diverted from the courſe of his ſtudies by other buſineſs above two or three years at moſt.

[*B*] *This journey proved the means of his firſt ſearches into foſſils.*] This we have from his own pen: ‘ The country,’ ſays he, ‘ about Sherborne and the neighbouring parts of Glouceſterſhire, to which I made frequent excurſions, abounding with ſtone, and there being quarries of this laid open almoſt every where, I began to viſit theſe, in order to inform myſelf of the nature, the ſituation, and the condition of the ſtone. In making theſe obſervations I ſoon found there was incorporated with the ſand of moſt of the ſtone thereabouts great plenty and variety of ſea-ſhells, with other marine productions: I took notice of the like lying looſe in the fields on the ploughed lands ſo thick, that I have ſcarcely obſerved pebbles or flints more frequent and numerous on the ploughed lands of thoſe countries that moſt abound with them. This was a ſpeculation new to me, and what I judged of ſo great moment, that I reſolved to purſue it through the other remoter parts of the kingdom, which I afterwards did, made obſervations upon all ſorts of foſſils, collected ſuch as I thought remarkable, and ſent them up to London (2).’

[C] *An Eſſay towards the natural hiſtory of the Earth,* &c.] In the preceding remark we have given the firſt occaſion that gave birth to this eſſay. The reſolution he took to bring it to perfection, by travelling throughout the kingdom, was great and noble. In the purſuit whereof he viſited himſelf far the greateſt part of England, ſearching all places, and taking an exact view of things on all hands, as they preſented, in order to inform himſelf of the preſent condition of the earth, and all bodies contained in it, as far as either grottoes, and other noctural caverns or mines, quarries, coal-pits, and the like, led him into the interior parts, nor did he neglect the exterior ſurface and ſuch productions as any where occurred, plants, inſects, ſea, river, and land-ſhells. He extended theſe obſervations alſo to the fluids, as well as thoſe within, the water of mines, grottoes, &c. as thoſe upon the ſurface, the ſea, rivers, and ſprings. But his principal intention being to get as complete and ſatisfactory an information of the whole mineral kingdom as he could, to that end he made ſtrict enquiry wherever he came of all places where the entrails of the earth were laid open, and wherever he had a notion of any conſiderable natural ſpelunca or grottoes, any ſinking of wells, or digging for earths, clays, marles, ſand, gravel, chalk, bole, ſtone, ores of metals, or the like, he forthwith hath recourſe thereto, where taking notice of every obſervable circumſtance from the ſurface quite down to the bottom of the pit, he entered it carefully into a journal: and out of theſe notes he compiled a ſet of obſervations, of which he has given us the chief as follows.— That the earth appears to be wholly compoſed of *ſtrata* lying on each other; that thoſe *ſtrata* which lie deepeſt, are ordinarily thickeſt, thoſe that lie above being gradually thinner quite up to the ſurface; that there are ſea-ſhells and teeth and bones of fiſhes found repoſited in theſe ſeveral *ſtrata*, not only in the more looſe chalk, clay, and marle, but even in the moſt ſolid and the reſt.— That theſe marine bodies are incorporated in the ſand, which conſtitutes the ſtone in thoſe *ſtrata* in ſuch ſort, as together to compoſe one common maſs.—That in breaking of this maſs, ſo as to part the ſhell from the ſtone, this is ever obſerved to have received an impreſſion of the exterior ſurface of the *ſhell*, ſo exact as to ſhew it had been contiguous, and applied to all parts of the ſhell.—That, upon breaking the ſhells, they were found to contain in them ſome of the ſame ſand with that without, which the *ſtrata* are made up off, and applied as exactly to the inſide, ſo as to have taken the impreſſion after the manner of matter caſt of, or melted in a mold.—That the ſhells are as frequently found immerſed in the ſubſtance of the mineral and metallic nodules, even the moſt firm, ſolid, flint, ſpar, pyrites, and the reſt, and the impreſſions of both out and inſide of them as truly exhibited as in the ſtony *ſtrata*.—That theſe marine productions are thus repoſited, as well in the loweſt *ſtrata*, as in the uppermoſt; at the bottoms of the deepeſt mines, as the very tops of the higheſt mountains.—That in ſome places they are obſerved in ſuch multitudes, and in bulk and quantity to equal, if not exceed, the ſand or other terreſtrial matter of the *ſtrata*.—That there is ordinarily dug up, among the reſt, ſhells of foreign origin and extract, being not the product of the neighbouring ſeas, but of ſeas much remote, and at great diſtance. Thus we here in England diſcover frequently at great depths ſhells very numerous, and of different kinds, that appear now living only on the coaſts of Peru, and other parts of America.—That there are likewiſe diſcovered, commonly at land, and in the bowels of the earth, ſhells that are not at this day found living on any coaſts.—That there are alſo lodged in the *ſtrata* bones, teeth, and other parts of quadrupedes or land animals, oftentimes of ſuch as are natives of the countries in which they are thus found; particularly in England the tuſks and grinder teeth, the bones, yea, whole ſkeletons of very great elephants are dug up, and likewiſe incredibly large horns of the Mogh-Oder, a creature not known to be now living in any other country except America.— That there are beſides repoſited in ſtone, and even in the firmeſt and hardeſt *ſtrata*, leaves of various kinds of vegetables, and ſometimes whole trees, and alſo ſuch fruits as are durable, firm, and capable of being preſerved, *e. g.* pines, cones, and the like.—That among

(1) He was recommended by many gentlemen of figure in the learned faculties, whoſe teſtimonials were produced in his favour. Ward's lives, as above cited in the text.

(2) Preface to his catalogue of Engliſh foſſils, part 2.

tion of ſhells with indefatigable eagerneſs, he publiſhed the following year, *Brief Inſtructions for making Obſervations in all Parts of the World, as alſo for collecting, preſerving, and ſending over natural Things: Being an Attempt to ſettle an univerſal Correſpondence for the Advancement of Knowledge both natural and civil.* 4to. Herein he requeſts all perſons, who had curioſity and opportunity either at home or abroad, to engage in this uſeful undertaking [*D*]. As the collecting of foſſils and ranging them into their proper claſſes was his

among the reſt, there are diſcovered under ground trees, leaves, and fruits of vegetables, in countries where ſuch do not now ſpontaneouſly grow: Nay, that there are dug up trees in great numbers, and many of them very large, in ſome northern iſlands, in which there are at this day growing no trees at all, and where by reaſon of the great bleakneſs and cold in thoſe countries, it is probable none ever did or would grow. That of all the various leaves which he had yet ſeen thus lodged in ſtones, he had obſerved none in any other ſtate, or fruits farther advanced in growth, and towards maturity, than they are wont to be at the latter end of the ſpring-ſeaſon.—That the ſquammoſe covers of the ſtamina or bud, and the chives or chaff of the Juli of trees and ſhrubs that fall off in the ſpring, and are found in vaſt quantities in peat marſhes, apparently point forth the ſame ſeaſon; as do likewiſe the immenſe ſhoals of the ova of fiſhes, ſo frequently ſeen in the upper ſtrata of ſtone.—That the ſhells of the young of fiſh of the current year, wherever dug up, are of the ſize and bigneſs they are uſed to arrive to at that ſeaſon.—That of all the many flies and inſects that he had yet ſeen incloſed in amber, he had never obſerved any that were not of the vernal tribes and kinds.——After our author had finiſhed theſe obſervations, and returned to London, he would gladly have gone to foreign countries upon the ſame enquiries, but was hindered by the war which diſturbed Europe at that time. However, to ſupply this defect as far as poſſible, he applied to perſons of integrity who had travelled, and of ſo much curioſity as to be likely to give ſome tolerable inſight into the condition of theſe things in foreign regions: he alſo drew up a liſt of queſtions upon this ſubject, which he diſpatched into all parts of the world, wherever either himſelf or any of his acquaintance had any friends reſident; the reſult of which was, that in time he was abundantly aſſured, that the circumſtances of theſe things in remoter countries were much the ſame with thoſe of England, viz. France, Flanders, Holland, Spain, Italy, Germany, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; in Barbary, Egypt, Genoa, and the parts of Iſilla; in Arabia, Syria, Perſia, Malabar, China, and other Aſiatic provinces; in Jamaica, Barbadoes, Virginia, New England, Braſil, Peru, and other parts of America. Our author's opinion here advanced, that theſe ſhells, &c. are actually the exuvia of animals produced in the ſea, being contrary to the general doctrine of the naturaliſts at that time, who held them to be mere mineral ſubſtances found in the earth, and of terreſtrial origin, he anſwers all the arguments alledged by thoſe writers in favour of that opinion, and appeals to the ſhells themſelves, of which, ſays he, there are ſuch vaſt multitudes contained in ſtone, &c. which are entire, fair, and abſolutely free from all mineral and metallic matter, which are to be matched by others found at this day upon our ſhores, and which do not differ in any reſpect from them, being of the ſame ſize and ſhape, perfectly of the ſame ſubſtance and texture; the tendency of the fibres and ſtriæ the ſame, the compoſition of the lamellæ conſtituted by theſe fibres alike in both, the ſame veſtigia of tendons (by which the animal is faſtened to the ſhell) in each; the ſame papillæ, the ſame ſutures, and every thing elſe, whether within or without the ſhell, in its cavity or upon its convexity, in the ſubſtance or upon the ſurface of it.' Beſides, continues he, theſe foſſil ſhells are attended with the ordinary accidents of the marine ones, *e. g.* they ſometimes grow to one another, the leſſer ſhells being fixed to the larger; they have balani, tubuli, vermiculares, pearls, and the like ſtill actually growing upon them, and, which is very conſiderable, they are exactly of the ſame ſpecific gravity with their fellow kinds found now upon the ſhores. Nay further, they anſwer all chymical trials in like manner as the ſea-ſhells do. Their parts, when diſſolved, have the ſame appearance to view, the ſame ſmell and taſte, they have the ſame *vires* and effects in medicine; aqua fortis, oil of vitriol, and other menſtrua have the very ſame effects upon both. He concludes with the teſtimony of many of the *Literati* in this part of natural hiſtory, who, after examining ſeveral hundreds of them in his cuſtody, went away entirely ſatisfied of the reality of their being *exuvia* of ſea-fiſhes. Nay, proceeds he, which is much more to my purpoſe, ſome of thoſe who formerly inclined to believe them natural minerals, and had wrote in defence of that opinion, do, upon ſtrict and repeated inſpection of theſe bodies in my collection, and upon further enquiry and proſecution of plain and unaltered ſhells from ſeveral minerals thus incloſed, fully aſſent to me herein, and have perſonally requeſted me to publiſh my thoughts, in order to the fuller clearing of this matter. The inference which he draws from this opinion to prove the univerſality of the deluge, occaſioned by the burſting forth of the waters from an abyſs in the cavity of the earth at the center, which, upon the receſs of the water, left theſe bodies in their preſent ſtate, needs no particular explication; and as to the many inſuperable difficulties that attend this hypotheſis, they ſhall be conſidered hereafter.

[*D*] *He invited all perſons to engage in this undertaking.*] To the ſame purpoſe he applied to his friends in England, and, among others, to Dr Nicolſon, then Rector of Salkeld near Penrith in Cumberland (afterwards Biſhop of Carliſle) to whom he writes thus:

‘ SIR,

‘ I perceive by your laſt, you are engaged in making obſervations in your fens, and on the wood, nuts, &c. found in them, and I promiſe myſelf much light and information from the ſearches of ſo diligent and judicious an obſerver. You mention no acorns, which I wonder at, becauſe Mr Fitz Roberts of Kendall told me (ſome time ſince) they were found plentifully in the fens of thoſe parts; pray pleaſe to make that part of your enquiry, and let me have the reſult as ſoon as you well can, for 'twill be of ſome uſe to me. I confeſs that I do not remember, that I have ever found any myſelf, or heard of any one (beſides him) that did. I thank you heartily for the civil offer of imparting to me ſuch foſſils of all kinds as you meet with in your travels, as alſo the natural obſervations you make; both will be very welcome to me; and ſo aſſuredly will any reaſonable objection you ſhall make againſt what I have advanced. My deſign is wholly to promote truth, and whenever it ſhall appear that I have in any reſpect failed of that deſign, no man ſhall more readily recant than myſelf, or more thankfully receive ſuch conviction, ſince it is the truth I ſtudy and aim at, and nothing elſe; ſo that you cannot oblige me more than by ſuch a freedom; nor am I in the leaſt afraid to ſubmit what I have wrote to the teſt, and to be ſcanned and examined by any one, eſpecially one that is converſant with the things I have treated of, and has opportunities of looking into mines, quarries, &c. and obſerving how things are there; for from ſuch I own I am leſs apprehenſive of any objections or difficulties, than from thoſe who ſit ſtill, amuſing themſelves in a corner of their ſtudies, and know nothing more of the matter than what they find in their own fancyes, or perhaps from books whoſe authors were as little converſant with theſe things as they themſelves are. Since I publiſht* that Eſſay you refer to, ſeveral perſons in this iſland have engaged in theſe enquiries, and travelled from place to place to gratify their curioſity in obſerving how things lye in the bowels of the earth, and from theſe I have letter after letter of confirmation of what I have advanct‡, with aſſurance, that the further they ſearch, the more evidences they meet with of the certainty of what I have offered. Thoſe who thus take pains to look into nature are the only judges of theſe matters, and their approbation and aſſent is a great encouragement and confirmation to me that I may patiently bear the frivolous exceptions of two or three malicious and weak opponents I have met with, of

* Sic in originali.

‡ Sic in originali.

his great delight, ſo his remarks upon them were eſteemed to be ingenious, and were generally well received by the public; but not ſo his *Account of the Deluge*. The ſubject was ſublime and particularly arduous. A very eminent genius of our own country (*e*) had in the attempt not long before ſhipwrecked his wit upon an unſound philoſophy; and our author, hence warned to avoid his predeceſſor's errors, run himſelf upon others equally unphiloſophical. Theſe were quickly expoſed by Dr Martyn Liſter, in three diſtinct pieces [*E*]; all which however received an anſwer, in a ſingle treatiſe publiſhed by Mr Harris in 1697 [*F*]. And the diſpute between thoſe two combatants was compromiſed before the expiration of that year, in a pamphlet by Dr John Arbuthnot [*G*]; wherein,

after

(*e*) Dr Burnet of the Charter-houſe. See the article of Dr J. Keil.

‘ whoſe objections I can truly ſay, I have not met with one of any weight, or that invalidates ſo much as one ſingle article of any of the propoſitions I have laid down, but only proves their own errors and inadvertency: but of this I hope the world will in good time be a better judge. I cannot promiſe my returns will be equal to the communications you aſſure me off *, but it ſhall be the defect of my ability, and not of my will, if they be not, and whatever from time to time ſhall come to my hands that I think will be acceptable to you, ſhall be moſt readily at your ſervice. Pray what employ is that you mention Mr Robinſon to have applied himſelf unto? I thank you for your intended preſent of your book. I have not yet received it from Mr Gibſon †, but ſuppoſe I ſhall e'er long. I have been for ſome time at Cambridge, where I had bought one before this, and indeed had given order to my bookſeller to get me one, but upon notice of your kind preſent I countermanded the order. I am,

* Sic in originali.

† Afterwards Dr Gibſon, and Bp of London.

‘ Sir,

‘ Your very obliged

‘ and humble Servant,

Gr. Coll. July 25, 1696.

‘ J. WOODWARD (3).’

(3) Copied by me from the original in Muſæo Thoreſb.

Mr Robinſon here mentioned was Rector of Ouſby in Cumberland, and, as will be ſeen preſently, was one of our author's opponents.

[*E*] *Three diſcourſes by Dr Liſter.*] The titles of theſe were, 1. *Two Eſſays ſent in a Letter to Oxford from a nobleman in London. The firſt concerning ſome errors about the creation, general flood, and the peopling of the world.* 2. *Concerning the riſe and progreſs of fables and romances: by* L. P. *Maſter of Arts.* Lond. 1695. Theſe were ſoon followed by *Two Letters* ſigned S. G. A. dated from Dublin, and publiſhed in the *Miſcellaneous Letters ann.* 1695. *No.* 22. and *ann.* 1696, *No.* 2. The firſt pretended to *animadvert on the 2 Oxford Eſſays*, and the ſecond was *about Petrefactions*.

[*F*] *Anſwered by Mr Harris.*] His piece was intituled *Remarks on ſome late papers relating to the univerſal deluge, and to the natural hiſtory of the earth.* Beſides the laſt-mentioned pamphlets aſcribed to Dr Martyn Liſter, he conſiders ſome other cenſures upon our author, written by Mr Robinſon, Rector of Ouſby abovementioned, in a book intitled, *New obſervations on the natural hiſtory of the world of matter and the world of life.* To which are prefixed ſome additional remarks by another hand, wherein our author is charged with plagiary in borrowing moſt of his notions from Fabius Columna, Dr Hooke, Nicholas Steno, Agoſtino Scylla, Paul Boccone, Dr Jacobus Grandius, D. Bernardino Ramazzini, and Mr John Ray. In order to refute this charge Mr Harris conſiders what theſe ſeveral authors had advanced upon this ſubject, and endeavours to ſhew how different or deficient their notions of it were, when compared with thoſe of Dr Woodward; particularly as to Steno, whom he was ſaid chiefly to have followed. And Dr Woodward had himſelf promiſed to give in his larger work an hiſtorical account of the labours of Fabius Columna, Nic. Steno, P. Boccone, Jac. Grandius, Mr John Ray, and other learned men on this ſubject, ſhewing what they had already done in it, wherein they failed, and what remained ſtill to be done. As Agoſtino Scylla is not here mentioned with the reſt by our author, nor indeed any where elſe in his eſſay, Mr William Wotton, who drew up an abſtract of Scilla's book, which was printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (4), after the publication of this Eſſay, thought he had reaſon to believe that the Doctor received his firſt notice of Scilla from that abſtract. This is taken notice of by Mr Harris as proceeding from ill nature, ſince it is ſupported by ſo ſlight a foundation; and therefore, by way of returning the injury, he makes ſome ſevere animadverſions upon the abſtract, which was afterwards defended by Mr Wotton in a letter mentioned in the next remark.

(4) No 219 for January 1695.

[*G*] *Compromiſed by Dr Arbuthnot.*] It is intitled, *An examination of Dr Woodward's account of the deluge. With a compariſon between Steno's philoſophy and the Doctor's in the caſe of marine bodies dug out of the earth. By* J. A. *M D. With a letter to the author concerning an abſtract of Agoſtino Scilla's book on the ſame ſubject: printed in the Phil. Tranſ. by* W. W. *F. R. S.* Dr Arbuthnot having given an abſtract of our author's ſcheme relating to the deluge, remarks, that of five or ſix ſurprizing alterations deſcribed in his account of the deluge, he has only given us the philoſophy of one, namely, the reaſon why the ſtrata ranged themſelves in their preſent order, which is attributed to the different gravity of the matter whereof they conſiſt; the conſideration of the reſt being left to the larger work. Theſe are, 1. That the water of the ocean was firſt borne forth upon the earth; that it was immediately ſucceeded by that of the abyſs, which likewiſe was brought out upon the ſurface of the globe. How this water was raiſed at the deluge, by what iſſues or outlets it came forth, what ſucceeded into the room of it whilſt abſent, and which way it returned back again, he propoſes to tell us in his larger work. This, the Examiner thinks, can only be done two ways, either by pulſion or attraction (5); but neither of theſe, as he obſerves, will anſwer the purpoſe of Dr Woodward. For a body lighter than water is made by him to deſcend into the cavity of the great abyſs in the place of water which had aſcended. This body, though Dr Woodward has not mentioned it, the Examiner ſuppoſes muſt be air. 3. All bodies, except vegetables and animal ſubſtances, are ſuppoſed to be diſſolved into their conſtituent parts. But to this he objects, that the parts of ſand, gravel, and earth, which are little ſolids, muſt then likewiſe have been diſſolved, as well as the larger. 4. The ſolids are ſaid to be aſſumed up and ſuſtained in the water, whereas he undertakes to ſhew by a calculation, that a quantity of water large enough for this purpoſe is wholly inconſiſtent with the Moſaic account. 5. That the water and ſolid matter mixed together muſt float upon a vacuum, or the ſubtle matter that ſtays in the place of the water of the abyſs. Laſtly, the ſubſidence of the matter of the ſtrata is alſo attended, as he ſays, with a very ſurprizing effect: for, firſt, the matter muſt be of the ſame ſpecifick gravity to make it aſcend with the ſame celerity and arrive at the ſame diſtance from the center at the ſame inſtant, and ſtop at the confines of a more ſubtle fluid, then harden into a cruſt at the ſame inſtant, and form an arch of at leaſt 2500 miles, which is neither broken by its own weight, nor that of the ſucceeding ſtrata. Thus all theſe ſeveral alterations ſeem to be above the power, and contrary to the laws of nature, and conſequently exclude the philoſophy of ſecond cauſes. He owns, that it may be a juſt prejudice againſt the ſolidity of his objections, that Steno, a famous mathematician and philoſopher, is commonly reckoned the author of the hypotheſis maintained by Dr Woodward; but to take off this, Dr Arbuthnot undertakes to prove, that in thoſe parts which are moſt exceptionable, our author's philoſophy is different from Steno's; this he does by comparing both their performances, and concludes with obſerving, that Steno's hypotheſis is not burthened with all the difficulties of Dr Woodward's, I will not ſay it is liable to none. 2. That as nature ſhews the ſame face to every man, ſagacious perſons will jump ſtrangely as to their conjectures about her. 3. That though our author's hypotheſis ſeems to be

(5) The former of which was made uſe of by Dr Burnet in his Theory, &c. and the latter by Mr Whiſton, in his New Theory, &c.

liable

after a candid and impartial examination of our author's hypotheſis, he concludes ingenuouſly, that though it ſeemed liable to many juſt exceptions, yet the whole was not to be exploded. Our author had himſelf made no reply hitherto to any of the objections againſt his eſſay here at home; but in 1704, John James Scheuczer, Profeſſor of Mathematics at Zurich in Swiſſerland, ſet forth a Latin tranſlation of it, intituled, *Specimen Geographiæ Phyſicæ*; which afterwards led the Doctor into ſome conteſts with Dr Cuper, and another with the famous Mr Leibnitz [*H*]; and in 1714 he publiſhed his *Naturalis Hiſtoria Telluris illuſtrata & aucta* [*I*], in anſwer to the ſeveral objections that had been made to that

liable to many juſt exceptions, yet the whole is not to be exploded. *There are a great many things, which,* ſays he, *I queſtion not but the Doctor will make out beyond all contradiction.* Theſe laſt words allude to our author's promiſe of removing all the difficulties attending his hypotheſis in his larger work. In the letter ſubjoined to this piece of Dr Arbuthnot by Mr W. Wotton, that gentleman gives a vindication of his abſtract of Agoſtino Scilla's book, publiſhed in the Phil. Tranſ. for the months of January and February $169\frac{5}{6}$. In this book Scilla undertakes to prove, that all thoſe ſhells which are found in the bowels of the earth, are exuviæ of once living animals; a propoſition exactly the ſame with that maintained by our author in his Eſſay. This being objected to him as a piece of plagiariſm, particularly by Mr Robinſon afore-mentioned, in his additional remarks to his *Obſervations on the world of matter and the world of life*, Mr Harris makes this reply to him, ‘Then for the Philoſophical Tranſactions that you cite here, in it is given indeed a ſort of an abſtract (ſuch an one as it is) of Scilla's book; *but would any judicious perſon charge a gentleman with being a plagiary from Scilla, by ſeeing only an abſtract of his book and an abſtract too liable to ſo many juſt exceptions, as I can prove that is?*’ Mr Wotton therefore, in his letter to Dr Arbuthnot, vindicates his abſtract of Scilla, and concludes thus; ‘The other diſpute which Mr Harris is engaged in, is nothing to my purpoſe, whether Dr Woodward has taken from Scilla or no, concerns not me, who never ſaid he did. Perhaps he never ſaw the book till after he had ſeen the abſtract. Thoſe that have read his Eſſay, and Scilla even in this abſtract, will be able to judge how uſeful Scilla might have been to him, had he conſulted him. Our Italian clearly proves, that the various echini, gloſſopetræ, baſtoncini di ſan pools, oyſter-ſhells, cockles, turbens, ſcallops, &c. which are found in the hills of Sicily and Calabria, and in Malta, were actually exuviæ and ſpoils of thoſe marine bodies which they reſembled, and this he ſhews by comparing them with their originals with great niceneſs. To a man who lives in England, where many of thoſe animals are rarely, if ever, ſeen, ſuch hints are of great uſe. And though an author is doubtful and reſerved in his ſolutions of theſe perplexed phænomena, yet when he is ſure of his concluſions, and gives good and ſubſtantial reaſons why he is ſo, his obſervations will be valuable to all thoſe who write upon that argument, let their own ſtock of obſervations be never ſo great. If Dr Woodward received his firſt notice of Scilla from my abſtract (as I had then reaſon to believe, ſince he never quoted nor named him in his Eſſay) I ſhall think I did him a kindneſs; and though Mr Harris ſeems to inſinuate the contrary, yet I ſhall ſuppoſe that Dr Woodward himſelf thinks I have obliged him, becauſe he will be ſenſible that he is not ſingular, and it is a pleaſure to every inquiſitive man to find that other men by the ſame aſſiſtances of nature and obſervation have made the ſame concluſions with himſelf.’ This is certainly candid and ingenuous; and it was the more neceſſary to vindicate his abſtract, as he had aſſured Mr Robinſon that he might rely upon it. I have ſeen an original letter of Mr Wotton, addreſſed to Mr (afterwards Biſhop) Nicolſon, miniſter of Salkeld near Penrith in Cumberland, dated Aldbury near Guildford in Surry, Nov. 18, 1696, where ſpeaking of Mr Robinſon's book *Of the world of matter and the world of life*, which is dedicated to Mr Nicolſon, he writes thus: *In his* [Robinſon's] *dedication he mentions Agoſtino Scilla's diſcourſe of the gloſſopetræ of Malta, which, ſays he, was printed 26 years ago, if the account in the Phil. Tranſ. may be relied on; You may aſſure him it may be relied on, for I drew up the abſtract out of the Italian book myſelf. He uſes Dr Woodward coarſely, but I hear they have had ſome piques about his book which I am no judge of; but it looks ſtrange to hear a man talk of pricking the arteries of the earth to make new rivers flow* †.

[*H*] *He engaged in a diſpute with Mr Leibnitz.*] This diſpute turned upon the deluge, concerning which the fertile genius of Mr Leibnitz could not forbear ſtarting an hypotheſis of his own. In order therefore to pave the way for its reception, he declares againſt our author's doctrine of a total diſſolution of the earth, the abyſs of water underneath, and a receptacle of fire to exhale the waters: he alſo queries how metals were produced before the deluge, ſince there were mountains and minerals then. Therefore in his hypotheſis he aſſerts, that Moſes by days might mean certain periods of time; that our earth might by the ſun or ſome fixed ſtar be reduced to a planet or ſome opake body, the droſs of it cauſing a cruſt like vitrification, and the light retiring within the globe. For moſt minerals, he ſays, in their natural ſtate ſeem to be the effect of fire; and the ſame forms are produced in laboratories, which are found in mines; thus there is a double cadmia and cinnabar, one natural, and the other factitious; with other inſtances of a like nature. Afterwards the cruſt of the earth becoming cold, the moiſture, he thinks, might ſink down again, cover the ſurface, and contract a ſaltneſs. This might occaſion a mixture of earth and water, then ſediments and ſtrata, and at length the ſea; the ſurface of the earth being unequally preſſed and giving way, ſo as to occaſion hills and vallies, and afford a cavity for the ocean. And in ſome places the earth being cracked, might receive the water within it, and ſo become habitable. This he imagines might be the origin of the preſent form of the earth. He is doubtful whether the cauſe of ſprings can be aſcribed to an abyſs, and thinks rain and ſnow ſufficient for that purpoſe. He alſo makes a like doubt as to the cauſe of hot ſprings. Dr Woodward refers here again, as before, to his larger work, for the proof of his own ſcheme; and as to that of Mr Leibnitz, he thinks, that by comparing Gen. i. with Exodus xx. ii. it will appear, that in both places Moſes deſigned the ſame kind of days, conſiſting of twenty-four hours. As for the production of metals, he ſays, that he never could obſerve the leaſt kind of ſcorching in any foſſils; and that though natural *cadmia* and *cinnabar* are called by the ſame name, yet they differ in their nature from thoſe productions by the chymiſts (6).

[*I*] *Naturalis Hiſtoria Telluris, aucta & illuſtrata.*] In the preface he declares, that what had been urged before Camerarius by his antagoniſts was not of that force as to deſerve to be anſwered ſeverally by him; that what was conſiderable in their objections was now propoſed by Camerarius, with ſome additions of his own, entirely new; *ſo that,* ſays he, *in returning an anſwer to him, I ſhall likewiſe refute all the reſt.* He therefore runs over ſeveral of the heads of his Eſſay, particularly the number and reality of fiſh-ſhells found at land, the ſtrata of the terreſtrial matter, which are found often to be different from their ſpecifick gravity. The total diſſolution of the earth. Why all the parts of animals, as ſhells in particular and vegetables, were not reduced to their conſtituent principles at the deluge, as well as ſtones and minerals, which, he obſerves, was a natural effect, and entirely owing to the different kind of ſtrata, with which the abyſs is ſaturated? As to the quantity and bulk of the central abyſs, he allows that an immenſe quantity would be required; ſince it muſt vaſtly exceed the terreſtrial matter in quantity. Here he anſwers the objection of Dr Arbuthnot, how the heavier and lighter bodies lying near one another, and are found lodged in the ſame ſtratum, though their ſubſidence was exactly according to the laws of gravity, and though thoſe bodies, ſo different in gravity, ſink thro' a very great ſpace, which, he ſays, is owing to the frequent colliſions of their ſeveral particles in their deſcent, p. 99. And as to the quantity of water, he en-

† Copied from the original in Muſ. Thoreſb.

(6) Ward, p. 288. from Dr Woodward's letters in the hands of the Rev. Mr Matth. Poſtlethwayt.

that hiſtory, particularly by Elias Camerarius, Profeſſor of Phyſic at Tubingen. In this piece the Doctor ſupplied the main defects and omiſſions of his Eſſay. And the diſpute was cloſed in a moſt friendly addreſs by his Antagoniſt in 1717 [*K*]; yet not without an intimation of continuing ſtill in his firſt ſentiments; which alſo being the general opinion, the Doctor reſolved to appear again in the defence of his ſcheme, and having found an advocate in Mr Benjamin Holloway (who in 1726 tranſlated the laſt-mentioned treatiſe into Engliſh) he furniſhed that gentleman with ſeveral papers, ſaid to be detached from the larger work. Theſe were inſerted in the *Introduction* to the Engliſh edition, to which were alſo added four letters written by the Doctor to Sir Robert Southwell, upon the ſame ſubject [*L*]. Thus it was thought beſt to throw together in a continued ſeries what appeared upon this favourite ſubject in our author's life time, without breaking the narrative by other coincident matters, wherein he was engaged, and which equally drew the attention of the learned. On St Andrew's day 1693 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and was frequently afterwards one of their council (*f*), and it was about the ſame year that he purchaſed a ſmall, but very curious iron ſhield, of a round form, on the concave ſide whereof in the upper part were repreſented the ruins of Rome, when burnt by the Gauls; and below, the weighing out the gold to purchaſe their retreat, with the arrival of Camillus, and flight of the Gauls; and in the center appeared a groteſque maſk with horns very large and prominent. The figures were all chaſed in a very

endeavours to provide for it from the thinneſs of the cruſt of earth that covers the abyſs, which, he thinks, appears from the circumſtance of the bubbling in an undulatory medium underneath. By theſe and ſome other inſtances he obſerves in another place, he had ſupplied the main defects and omiſſions of the Eſſay, and how fully he was ſatisfied with the truth of his own ſcheme, is ſeen in the following words to Camerarius: *Quod ad meipſum ſpectat, veritas res ſola erat, quam quæſivi, & in toto illo libro* [his Eſſay] *certiſſimarum obſervationum & rerum ipſarum ductum ſequutus ſum; neque quidquam docui aut propoſui, quod cum his non exactiſſime quadrat. Ab eo tempore, quo liber ille meus prodiit, eaſdem rerum obſervationes per totam terrarum orbem non minore, quam antea, diligentia, faciendas curavi; ex quibus accepi multa ſolidaque firmamenta eorum quæ tum a me tradita fuerant: nec univerſa rerum naturalium compages quidquam toto hoc tempore exhibuit, quod de cujuſquam propoſitionum illarum mearum veritate ſcrupulum vel dubietatem animo meo injiceret. Opinionum commenta delet dies, judicia confirmat.* In the concluſion he ſtill refers to the larger work for the reſolution of the objections mentioned by Dr Arbuthnot; and indeed there is room to think from what he has left, that the general anſwer is the beſt he could give in the point, which he makes in a remark upon Dr Burnet's theory, viz. That the deluge did not happen from an accidental concourſe of natural cauſes, that very many things were then certainly done, which never poſſibly could have been done without the aſſiſtance of a ſupernatural power; that the ſame power acted then with deſign, and with the higheſt wiſdom in directing and controuling natural cauſes; and that as the ſyſtem of nature was then, and is ſtill ſupported and eſtabliſhed, an univerſal deluge neither could then nor can now happen naturally.

[*K*] *Camerarius cloſed the diſpute by a moſt friendly addreſs.*] This was publiſhed in the German *Ephemerides* in 1717, *De arena conchifera*, where he ſays, *Valere nunc jubeo figuratos lapides, poſtquam iſta doctrina tantis animorum molibus agitur. Scripſeram nonnulla circa geographiam Woodwardianam dubia in diſſertationibus Taurinenſibus, ut anſam præberem illius illuſtrationi ulteriori & editioni ſyſtematis majoris promiſſi. Ægre tulit modeſtum diſſenſum vir celeberrimus, placuitq; ipſi mea acrius adgredi. Ego eclipſin iſtam qualemcunque humanitatis, inclytæ Anglorum genti ſolennis, amico proſequar ſilentio; virumq; amo, nec agnoſco adverſarium. Mea non intereſt, quæcunq; foſſilium iſtarum ſit origo; ego nulli adhuc parti accedo, utraq; ſuos patitur manes. Diluvii univerſalis veritas notiſſima eſt: quiſquis Moſi & Prophetis non credet, neque figuratis credet lapidibus. Vincant, qui poterunt.*

[*L*] *To the Engliſh edition were added ſeveral ſpecimens of his larger work.*] Theſe are, (1.) That the art and contrivance diſcernable in the preſent earth, and the evidences in nature of its being new made, and different from the former or primitive earth, give undeniable proofs of the exiſtence of God, of his interpoſition in the affairs of nature and the government of the world; but theſe contain only an harangue upon the ſame thing that had been ſaid more largely in his eſſay and defence of it, though here further extended to more particulars by the production and ſupport of all organical parts of vegetables and animals, eſpecially the latter, in which he attempts to refute the Carteſian *materia ſubtilis*, and the exiſtence of the animal ſpirits, and attacks the Carteſian principle concerning the ſeat of the ſoul in the pineal gland of the brain, placing it in the blood, which he would confirm by that text of ſcripture, *Fleſh with the blood thereof, which is the life thereof, ſhall ye not eat*, Gen. ix. 4. (2.) That the Moſaic account of the deluge was from revelation, as appears from what is ſaid of the curſe denounced againſt the earth, *Gen.* iii. 17, 18, 19. He alſo aſſerts particularly, that thorns and thiſtles were not then firſt produced, but only made more prolific than in the primitive world, p. 51. In his explanation of *Gen.* ix. 4. he contends, that all the principles that conſtitute the blood are ſent out of the ſtomach, in which organ are certain ſets of ſalts like thoſe of the bile, the mechaniſm of which he attempts to ſhew, p. 67, 68, 69, ſo as to be conſonant to his firſt principle, that the blood is the ſeat of life. Beſides theſe extracts, Mr Holloway tells us of the following pieces of the Doctor's larger work, which he had ſeen and would gladly have publiſhed, 1. *Notes on the Firſt Chapter of Geneſis, wherein he juſtified the Moſaic account of the creation, and occaſionally repulſed the inſults of Mr Whiſton, whoſe new Theory,* Mr Holloway ſays, *is ſhewn to be altogether fictitious, and without any ſolid foundation or countenance from obſervation.* 2. *A Repreſentation of the ſtate of mankind in the firſt ages after the deluge, with an hiſtorical diſcourſe, wherein the manners, cuſtoms, opinions, and traditions, as alſo the arts, utenſils, inſtruments, and weapons of all the moſt ancient nations are carefully compared, in order to the diſcovery of the origin of nations, but more particularly of the Americans, Negroes, and Indians.* 3. *Of the wiſdom of the ancient Egyptians: A diſcourſe concerning their arts, their learning, and their religion; with occaſional reflections on the ſtate of learning among the Jews and ſome other nations.* In this, beſides other things, the Moſaic inſtitution was vindicated; and the charge of Sir John Marſham (7) and Dr Spencer (8), that ſome parts of that inſtitution were taken from the Egyptians, was refuted. As to the four letters to Sir Robert Southwell, the firſt, dated July 4. 1698, treats of the alterations of the barometer, viz. of the riſing of the mercury in wet weather. The ſecond ſtates the propoſition relating to the preſſure of the atmoſphere's being diminiſhed. The third treats of the œconomy of the great deep or abyſs in the bowels of the earth, and the continual intercourſe betwixt this and the atmoſphere. The fourth is of the deſtruction and diſſolution of the earth at the deluge; why the ſhells and other like extraneous bodies were not diſſolved as well as ſtones and all native foſſils. In the firſt he accounts for the riſing of the mercury in wet weather; to account for which he lays down this poſtulatum, that the atmoſphere is then heavier than in fair weather, and the ſame is aſſerted in his *Hiſt. Telluris aucta & illuſtrata* (9), only there it is ſaid that the weight of the atmoſphere is not to be eſtimated from the number of particles contained therein, but from their different motions, whilſt they are aſcending, ſays he, they have no great motion. By this ſpecimen the reader will be able to judge of the reſt.

(*f*) Ward, p. 285.

(7) In his Chron. Canon. ſer. 9.

(8) De legibus Hebræis, l. iii.

(9) p. 111, 112. Engliſh edition.

lively and beautiful manner. Many inquiſitive perſons came to ſee this curioſity: and to the end that others who had not that opportunity might the better judge of it, he not only had ſeveral caſts made of it in plaiſter of Paris, but alſo in 1705 had it engraven by Van Guſt of Amſterdam, on a copper-plate of the ſame ſize with the original, from a drawing of Mr Howard, copies of which were tranſmitted to many learned foreigners for their opinion concerning it; and by theſe means the thoughts and critical ſkill of many celebrated antiquaries were employed about the rarity; but were much divided in their opinions concerning its antiquity [*M*]. In 1707 our author wrote a letter to Sir Chriſtopher Wren, on occaſion of ſome Roman urns and other antiquities dug up near Biſhopſgate, London [*N*]. In the mean while, though theſe learned and curious enquiries engaged a great ſhare of the Doctor's time and thoughts, yet he did not neglect

[*M*] *As to its antiquity.*] The following letter from the Doctor to his friend Cuper, dated Septemb. 9, 1709, ſhews, that this ſhield was purchaſed about the year 1693: *Clypeum illum meum ante hos ſedecim annos ex amici cujuſdem non multo ante defuncti armario, rebus omne genus antiquis refertiſſimo, redemi.* That friend was Mr Conyers, who purchaſed this curioſity of a braſier, that had bought it among ſome braſs and iron fragments that came out of the armory belonging to the Tower of London, near the end of the reign of King Charles II. The form of it is round, and on the concave ſide is repreſented in the upper part the ruins of Rome, when burnt by the Gauls; and below the weighing out the gold to purchaſe their retreat, with the arrival of Camillus, and flight of the Gauls; and in the center is a groteſque maſk, with horns very large and prominent. The figures are all chaſed in a very lively and beautiful manner. The engraving was of the ſame ſize with the original, and ſeveral copies were tranſmitted to learned foreigners for their opinions. One of theſe was ſent to his friend Cuper, with a letter, in which the Doctor thus deſcribes the original: *Quod ad clypeum ſpectat ferreus eſt, ejuſdemq; cum edita icone magnitudinis* (10), *pondere viginti octo uncias noſtras æquali* (11), *a tergo anſam habuit; totum deauratum fuiſſe inde colligo, quod aliquas auri reliquias etiamnum retineat; quod denique materiam ejus & artificium, horum neutrum Britanniæ noſtræ ſed Italiæ debere videtur: qui præſertim operis elegantiam diligentius intuetur, non Britanni, nec recentioris ſed vere veteris Romani manum agnoſcet* (12). From this larger draught another was taken afterwards of a leſſer ſize, and inſerted in Mr Thomas Hearne's edition of Livy (13). By theſe means the thoughts and critical ſkill of many celebrated antiquaries were employed about this rarity, and Mr Dodwell wrote a large diſcourſe upon it in Latin, intituled *De Parma Æqueſtri Woodwardiana Diſſertatio*; but dying before it was quite finiſhed, it was afterwards publiſhed by Mr Hearne (14). In that diſſertation the author endeavours not only to explain the deſign of it, and deſcribe the ſeveral parts, but likewiſe to prove its antiquity. Mr Theophilus Downes, Fellow of Baliol college in Oxford, differed in his opinion from Mr Dodwell, and would not allow it to be ancient, and wrote ſome brief remarks upon it, which have been printed ſince his death (15). The profeſſors and other critics in Holland declared in general for its antiquity (16). But the Abbot Bignon at Paris having informed the Doctor that ſome of the virtuoſi in France did not think it to be ancient, he not only wrote him an anſwer wherein he offers ſeveral arguments for its antiquity (17), but likewiſe ſent him Mr Dodwell's diſſertation. After the Doctor's death, Mr Robert Ainſworth, author of the *Theſaurus Linguæ Latinæ Compendiarius*, abridged Mr Dodwell's diſſeration, and printed it at the end of the *Muſæum Woodwardianum*, which he afterwards enlarged, conſidered the objections made to it, and reprinted it with the title of *Diſſeratio de Clypeo Camilli antiquo.* Mr Ward having collected what had been wrote by others, gives us his opinion of it in theſe words: As to the work on the ſhield, ſeveral things are brought together in one view by the artiſt, that were done at different times, according to the accounts both of Livy* and Plutarch †, which is not unuſual in ſuch hiſtorical repreſentations. But, ſays he, I can ſee no reaſon to ſuppoſe he deſigned to expreſs the belt thrown into the ſcale by the Gaul together with the ſword as an addition to the weight. For what has been taken for a belt has no relation to the ſword, but ſeems plainly to be ſomething put under the ſcale, which the learned James Gronovius calls *ſuſtentaculum* (18). And therefore, could any uſe be made of this circumſtance, it might rather afford a preſumption in favour of the antiquity of the work, as done before Plutarch's time, who firſt mentions the belt. Nor does there appear more reaſon for the ſuppoſition, that it might have been an equeſtrian ſhield uſed in war, ſince not only the ornaments but likewiſe the boſs is in the concave ſide. A ſhield ſo formed muſt have been very improper for a combat; the cavity of which, inſtead of turning aſide the point of the adverſary's weapon, would rather direct it to the body. Nor could the boſs have that force in puſhing an enemy as in the contrary ſhape. But if it was deſigned for a votive ſhield, which has been the prevailing opinion, this form was much better ſuited for ſuch a purpoſe than the other, as it would repreſent all parts of the work to better advantage at one view, and eſpecially if, being of ſo ſmall a ſize, it was fixed up above the eye. The ſpike ſuppoſed to have come through the ſmall hole in the center, is merely imaginary; that hole being very probably deſigned for no other purpoſe than to ſupport it, when ſuſpended againſt a wall or pillar. And as to the remainder of the handle ſaid to appear on the convex ſide, that is plainly nothing more than a ſocket, ſince fixed there for the ſame uſe. It had formerly a cover on that ſide for its preſervation, which was probably a plate of the ſame metal, and riveted to the other, as may be conjectured from the remaining holes near the edge. Mr Ward informs us (19), that the original in 1740 was in the poſſeſſion of Colonel Richard King, one of Dr Woodward's executors. This ſhield being taken notice of by Dr Muſgrave in his *Belgium Britannicum*, as alſo Mr Dodwell's diſſertation, Walter Moyle, Eſq; who had received a copy of Dr Muſgrave's book, makes the following remarks upon the ſhield: ‘ I never had a ſight of the original print of the ſhield publiſhed at London, but I have two copies of it, one publiſhed by DRAKENBERGIUS in his *Silius Italicus*, and the other in Dr CLARKE's *Cæſar*. The firſt ſeems to mention it with an air of diſtruſt, and I am inclined to think it no antique for the following reaſons. It is plain the deſign of the ſculptor was to give a view of Rome as it lay in ruins, after it had been ſacked and burnt by the Gauls; and among other monuments there appears the figure of a ſtone theatre, or rather amphitheatre, becauſe, including the ruins, it ſeems to be more than a ſemicircle. But be it one or the other, my argument is equally concluſive; for it is plain there was no fixed permanent theatre or amphitheatre at Rome for ſome ages after its being taken by the Gauls: and from this notorious miſtake and incongruity, which never appears in the genuine remains of antiquity, I ſuppoſe the ſhield to be a modern invention (20).’

[*N*] *A letter to Sir Chriſtopher Wren.*] In this letter, ſect. 6, he tells Sir Chriſtopher, that he had a conſiderable variety and number of Roman antiquities, which had been digged up in and about the city [of London], ſeveral whereof were collected by Mr Caius above-mentioned, and that theſe, with ſeveral other things which he had ſince procured, ſhould be moſt freely imparted either to Mr Strype, who was then engaged in publiſhing a new edition of *Stow's Survey of London*, or to any other perſon who had leiſure and capacity to turn them to the pleaſure and advantage of the public, ſo ſoon, ſays he, as you, Sir, ſhall pleaſe to communicate your obſervations, which will be of great uſe, and ought by no means to be any longer withheld and ſuppreſſed. And in the concluſion he writes thus: ‘ Of this [the Deities and Temples] we have a ſample in the various things digged up near St Paul's church. In particular, as well the tuſks of boars, the horns of oxen and of ſtags, as the repre-

(10) That is, fourteen inches croſs the center upon a level; but the protuberance of the boſs makes half an inch more.— Ward.

(11) This muſt be a miſtake in the copy; for the weight is 45 ounces averdupoiſe. Id. ib.

(12) Ward, p. 290, from Poſtlethwayt's MS.

(3) Vol. VI. Oxon. 1708. 8vo.

(14) Oxon. 1713. 8vo.

(15) The title is, Viri eruditiſſimi Theophili Downes, A. M. coll. Baliol Oxon. olim Socii, de clypeo Woodwardiano ſtricturæ breves, 8vo. two leaves.

(16) This appears from their letters to the doctor, which were in the poſſeſſion of his executor Col. King. Ward.

(17) The letter, which is written in Latin, is in Ward's Appendix, No 17.

* Lib. v. c. 48, 49.

† In Camillo.

(18) Epiſt. ad D. Woodward, data id. Octob. 1707. Ward, p. 291. from Poſtlethwayt's MS.

(19) p. 292.

(20) Moyle's works, vol. I. p. 260, 261. edit. 1726. 8vo.

lect the proper buſineſs of his profeſſion, in the practice of which he was frequently employed. He had been created Doctor of Phyſic by Archbiſhop Teniſon in 1695, and going to Cambridge the following year, he was admitted of Pembroke-hall, and honoured with the ſame degree in that univerſity (*g*). In conſequence hereof he was received a candidate of the College of Phyſicians, London, on the 25th of June 1698, and was choſen a Fellow the 22d of March 1702 (*h*). As the Doctor was a genius *ſui generis*, ſo his method of practice was often grounded upon a way of reaſoning peculiar to himſelf: ſuch a ſingularity could not but render him obnoxious to many of his brethren of the faculty, and, among others, he unluckily fell under the laſh of two of the moſt eminent phyſicians of his time. In 1717 Dr Friend having publiſhed ſeveral arguments in favour of purging upon the acceſs of the ſecond fever in ſome dangerous caſes of the confluent ſmall-pox, that practice was warmly oppoſed by our author; who, on the contrary, in ſuch caſes ſtrenuouſly recommended the uſe of emetics, and printed a treatiſe the following year wherein he advanced a new hypotheſis in ſupport of his recommendation [*O*]. This drew on a controverſial conflict, which was carried on with uncommon acrimony and keenneſs of wit on each ſide for ſome years, though our author in his own perſon never engaged therein; but finding the ſtream run violently againſt him, he betook himſelf to his darling ſhells and foſſils, and continued to enlarge his collection, and ſtrengthen his theory built thereon, till death took him away from the rich cabinet. His conſtitution being ſomewhat hectical, the great variety of purſuits, together with his large correſpondence both at home and abroad, and the number of books he wrote, engaged him in ſuch a continual application to his ſtudies, as proved too much for his ſtrength, and ſunk him into a maraſmus, or waſting condition, a conſiderable time before he died (*i*). As he grew apprehenſive of his approaching diſſolution, he deſired Dr Anthony Taylor, who then lived with him, to put a number of his manuſcripts into a box which he had prepared for the purpoſe, in order to be burnt after his death. This was done (*k*) February 9, 1726; and ſome months afterwards, viz. October 11, 1727, he made his will, wherein reſolving to perpetuate his memory by founding a phyſiological lecture at Cambridge, to that purpoſe he bequeathed to his executors in truſt all his perſonal eſtate, with orders to ſell his library, antiquities, and natural rarities (except two cabinets of Engliſh foſſils left to the univerſity of Cambridge) and with the produce of them, together with his other monies, to purchaſe lands to the yearly value of one hundred and fifty pounds, to be conveyed to the univerſity of Cambridge, for the maintenance of a lecturer appointed to read there on the ſubject either of his *Natural Hiſtory of the Earth*, his *Defence of it againſt Dr Camerarius*, his *Diſcourſe of Vegetation*, or his *State of Phyſic*. The lectures to be in Latin or Engliſh at the pleaſure of the univerſity ſenate, four of them to be read annually, and one printed. The lecturer to be a bachelor, removeable upon default, at the diſcretion of the ſenate; his ſalary to be one hundred pounds per ann. payable at the four uſual quarter days, with ten pounds more to be allowed him for experiments, correſpondencies, and purchaſing foſſils, of which he was to have the care, and permit the cabinets to be viewed gratis at certain times ſpecified in the will. Ten pounds are alſo allowed annually to two other perſons for the inſpection of the foſſils; as likewiſe ten pounds more to the ſenate of the univerſity for an annual dinner on the 1ſt of May. The remaining twenty pounds to be employed for the payment of taxes or other contingencies. The lecturer to be choſen by his executors, and after their deceaſe by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhop of the dioceſe, the Preſidents of the College of Phyſicians, and the Royal Society, the two members of parliament (or their proxies) and the univerſity ſenate, within two months after any vacancy

(*g*) Idem ibid.

(*h*) Regiſter of that college.

(*i*) Ward, p. 293.

(*k*) A catalogue of them is preſerved by Mr Ward, who tells us, that Dr Taylor ſold ſuch as were finiſhed, which would have been of ſervice to the public. Ward, p. 298, 299, 300.

'ſentations of deer, and even of Diana herſelf upon the 'ſacrificing veſſels; of all which there are inſtances 'in my collection. Nay I have likewiſe a ſmall image 'of that goddeſs, that was found not far off. Theſe 'plainly enough import that there was thereabouts 'formerly a temple of Diana, as has been indeed the 'common tradition and opinion; nor aſſuredly would 'the very learned writer, who has lately called this in 'queſtion, ever have done that, had he known of 'theſe things, and that there was yet remaining ſuch 'evidences there of the ſacrifice of ſtags, which he 'allows to be the proper ſacrifice to Diana.'——Dr Woodward likewiſe aſſures us, that Sir Chriſtopher returned an anſwer to this letter, deſiring him to publiſh it. Sir Chriſtopher's obſervations here mentioned have been lately publiſhed by his grandſon, and that gentleman obſerves (21) that it appears from them that Sir Chriſtopher was of opinion that there was no ſuch temple of Diana as is aſſerted by Dr Woodward. This opinion of Sir Chriſtopher is cenſured as a miſtake, probably owing, ſays his grandſon, to his not having ſeen the antiquities of Diana. But as to thoſe of Dr Woodward, it ſhould ſeem he might doubt of the truth of them. It is certain that the Doctor wrote a particular diſſertation about it. This letter was firſt publiſhed in 1713, with another prefixed to it, inſcribed to Mr Thomas Hearne in 1711, November 30.

(21) In a piece intituled Parentalia, &c.

[*O*] *Wherein he advanced a new hypotheſis.*] This hypotheſis was, that the beginnings of all things good and bad to the body (bating exterior accidents) are in the ſtomach, in which more or leſs of a bilious juice is ordinarily reſident, containing ſalts of a very different nature *; that theſe ſalts are the inſtruments of digeſtion, and while they retain their natural ſtate, are in a proper quantity and regular motion, and the body is in health; when they become too redundant or vitiated, they are the cauſes of all diſtempers. That therefore the ſpeedieſt as well as the moſt effectual method of removing all bodily diſorders is to cleanſe the ſtomach by emetic medicines; and as this generally holds good in other caſes, ſo particularly in the ſecond fever of the confluent ſmall-pox, in which purging is very dangerous. A detail has been already given of the above-mentioned diſpute (22), which, as is there obſerved, ended not to our author's advantage, as indeed might be expected from his venturing to attack ſo eminent a phyſician as Dr Friend, whoſe practice in this caſe was alſo approved and followed by Dr Mead, who even near thirty years afterwards expreſſed his reſentment of Dr Woodward's oppoſition to it (23).

* This hypotheſis was wittily expoſed after our author's death by Dr John Arbuthnot. See his article in the ſupplement.

(22) Under Dr Friend's article, vol. 3. Remarks [*I*], [*K*], [*L*].

(23) See Preface to his treatiſe on the ſmall pox.

happens (*l*). He continued gradually waſting away, and was firſt confined to his houſe, and afterwards to his bed, many months before his death; yet in this weak condition he ſtill retained the ſame dear affection as ever for his beloved foſſils, and having drawn inſtructions for the diſpoſal of his books and other collections, he completed and ſent to the preſs his *Method of Foſſils*, in Engliſh, and lived to ſee the whole of it printed, except the laſt ſheet. But though he had all along continued to prepare materials for his large work relating to the natural hiſtory of the earth, yet it never was finiſhed; but only ſome collections ſaid to have been detached from it were printed at different times, as enlargements upon particular topics of his eſſay. Whatever faults or foibles might have fallen to his ſhare as a philoſopher, yet in reſpect of religion he led an unblameable life, nor did he neglect to cloſe it in the ſame pious manner. In this happy diſpoſition, under his waſting illneſs, he did not omit to call in the advice and aſſiſtance of a divine, the reverend Mr Reading of Sion college, who attended him very often, at his own requeſt, for above a year; when he was always very devout at the time of prayer, and received the ſacrament from his hands ſome weeks before he died; and deſired him to make known upon any proper occaſion, that he firmly believed in God, and particularly in Jeſus Chriſt, according to the doctrine of the church of England. He died in Greſham college, April 25. 1728, and lies buried under the pavement at the weſt end of Weſtminſter Abbey, near the choir, with a flat ſtone over his remains, upon which is a ſhort Latin inſcription, expreſſing only his profeſſion, together with the dates of his birth and death. But at ſome diſtance from the grave, and more weſtward, a beautiful monument of white marble is erected to his memory againſt the north wall, which repreſents philoſophy by a female figure ſitting and looking upwards: In her left hand ſhe holds a ſhield, impreſſed with the Doctor's head in baſs relief, ſupported on her knee; and her right arm reſts on two books lying upon a pillar, with a ſcepter in that hand, pointing downwards to a pedeſtal ornamented with various plants and foſſils, on the front whereof is a larger inſcription, which being elegantly drawn in Latin by the ingenious Dr Conyers Middleton, is inſerted below [*P*]. In compliance with the directions of his will, came out, ſome time after his deceaſe, a catalogue both of his library and antiquities, under the title of *Muſæum Woodwardianum*, in order to bring them to a public ſale, which was accordingly done in Covent-Garden. And the univerſity of Cambridge was ſo generous as to give five hundred pounds for two other cabinets (beſides thoſe two left to them) which were ordered to be ſold, one of Engliſh and the other of foreign foſſils, that they might enjoy the whole collection (*m*). The Doctor mentions ſeveral things in his writings which he deſigned to publiſh, but did not live to perfect them. Thoſe that have been printed before or ſince his death are contained in the following catalogue.

I. *An Eſſay towards a Natural Hiſtory of the Earth and terreſtrial Bodies; eſpecially Minerals, as alſo of the Sea, Rivers, and Springs: With an Account of the univerſal Deluge, and of the Effects it had upon the Earth.* Lond. 1695. 1702. 1723. 8vo. An account was given of this book in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, No. 217. p. 115. and it was afterwards tranſlated into Latin by Dr Scheuchzer, and dedicated to the author, under the following title, *Specimen Geographiæ Phyſicæ quo agitur de Terra & Coporibus terreſtribus; ſpeciatim Mineralibus, nec non Mari, Fluminibus, & Fontibus: Accedit Diluvii univerſalis, Effectuumq; ejus in Terra, Deſcriptio. Authore Joh. Woodwardo, M. D. Phyſices in Collegio Greſhamenſi Profeſſore, necnon Collegii Medicorum, & Societatis Regii Membro:* Tiguri 1704. 8vo. And ſince Dr Woodward's death there has been a French tranſlation of it, mentioned already. II. *Brief Inſtructions for making Obſervations in all Parts of the World; as alſo for collecting, preſerving, and ſending over natural Things: Being an Attempt to ſettle an univerſal Correſpondence for the Advancement of Knowledge both natural and civil.* Lond. 1696. 4to. III. *Some Thoughts and Experiments concerning Vegetation.* This was publiſhed in the *Philoſ. Tranſact.* No. 253. p. 193. June 1699. Some additional propoſitions concerning vegetation, for the further proof and illuſtration of this diſcourſe, were found among the Doctor's papers after his death, and were in the hands of his executor Colonel King. IV. *An Account of ſome Roman Urns and other Antiquities lately digged up near Biſhopſgate: With brief Reflections upon the ancient and preſent State of London: In a Letter to Sir Chriſtopher Wren, Surveyor-general of her Majeſty's Works.* Lond. 1712. Oxford 1712. Lond. 1723. 8vo. To this letter is ſubjoined another written to Mr Thomas Hearne at Edmund-hall, Oxford. And the title of the third edition, which is ſomewhat different from the former, runs thus, *Remarks upon the ancient and preſent State of London,*

(*l*) See Dr Middleton's article.

(*m*) Ward, p. 295.

[*P*] *The inſcription is inſerted below.*] It is as follows.

M. S.
JOHANNIS WOODWARD
Medici celeberrimi
Philoſophi nobiliſſimi
Cujus
Ingenium & Doctrinam
Scripta per Terrarum fere Orbem
Pervulgata
Liberalitatem vero & Patriæ caritatem
Academia Cantabrigienſis
Munificientia ejus aucta
Opibus ornata
In perpetuum declarabit
Natus Kal. Maii A. D. MDCLXV.
Obiit vii Kal. Maii MDCCXXVIII.
RICHARDUS KING
Tribunus Militum Fabrumque Præfectus
Amico optime de ſe Merito
D. S. P.

occaſioned

occaſioned by ſome Roman Urns, Coins, and other Antiquities lately diſcovered. V. *Naturalis Hiſtoria Telluris illuſtrata & aucta: Una cum ejuſdem Defenſione, præſertim contra nuperas Objectiones D. El. Camerarii Med. Pr. Tul. Accedit Methodica Foſſilium in Claſſes diſtributio. Item Syllabus rerum corrigendarum in Geographiæ Phyſicæ Woodwardianæ Verſione Scheuchzeriana.* Lond. 1714. 8vo. The anſwer to Camerarius was afterwards tranſlated into Engliſh, with the following title: *The Natural Hiſtory of the Earth illuſtrated, enlarged, and defended: Written originally in Latin, and now firſt made Engliſh by Benj. Holloway, L. L. D. and Fellow of the Royal Society.* Lond. 1726. 8vo. To which were added *Four Letters* written by Dr Woodward upon the ſame ſubject; as alſo ſeveral papers inſerted by the tranſlator in his *Introduction*, which had been communicated by the Doctor from his larger work as mentioned already. And ſince the death of Dr Woodward, both the *Anſwer to Camerarius* and *Method of Foſſils* have been tranſlated into French, as was likewiſe there obſerved. VI. *The State of Phyſic and of Diſeaſes: With an Enquiry into the Cauſes of the late Increaſe of them, but more particularly of the Small-Pox: With ſome Conſiderations upon the new Practice of Purging in that Diſeaſe. To the whole is premiſed an Idea of the Nature and Mechaniſm of Man, of the Diſorders to which it is obnoxious, and of the Method of rectifying them.* Lond. 1718. 8vo.—Theſe are all the pieces printed in his life-time; but ſoon after his death came out the following: I. *Foſſils of all Kinds digeſted into a Method ſuitable to their Relation and Affinity, &c. As alſo ſeveral Papers tending to the further Advancement of the Knowledge of Minerals, of the Ores of Metals, and of all other ſubterraneous Productions: With brief Directions for making Obſervations and Collections, and for compoſing a travelling Regiſter of all Sorts of Foſſils.* Lond. 1728. 8vo. The firſt part of this book is an Engliſh verſion of the *Methodica Foſſilium Diſtributio*, mentioned above, No. 5. with large additions and notes. Then follow ſeveral *Letters* relating to the ſame ſubject; the firſt of which is a tranſlation of one to Sir Iſaac Newton, prefixed to the Latin edition. *The Directions for making Obſervations*, which come after theſe, are different, and much ſhorter than thoſe deſcribed in No. 2. To which is ſubjoined, *An Addition to the ſecond Part of the Eſſay toward a Natural Hiſtory of the Earth.* II. *A Catalogue of Foſſils in the Collection of J. Woodward, M. D. in two Tomes.* Lond. 1728. 8vo. Tome i. *Of Engliſh Foſſils, in two Parts.* 1. *Such as are real and natural.* 2. *Such as are extraneous.* Tome ii. *Additional Engliſh native Foſſils. Of foreign Foſſils, in two Parts.* 1. *Such as are real and natural.* 2. *Such as are extraneous. An Addition to the foreign native Foſſils. An Addition to the foreign extraneous Foſſils.* Beſides theſe printed diſcourſes, there are ſeveral manuſcripts; an account of which, as they are characteriſtic of the Doctor's genius and turn of mind, is inſerted below [Q].

[Q] *His manuſcripts are mentioned below.*] Theſe are all in quarto, and conſiſt of, 1. *A Letter of the Origin of Nations.* In this letter the Doctor vindicates the Moſaic account of the origin of mankind from Adam, by endeavouring to prove, that they all ſprang from one ſtock. He likewiſe conſiders the opinions of ſeveral eminent writers relating to the migration of the Americans, and ſhews their miſtakes, both with regard to the time and the countries from whence they are ſuppoſed to have removed. 2. *A Letter of the Origin of the Americans.* The Doctor has proceeded no farther here than to lay down his general plan; by which he ſhews his opinion both as to the perſons and time of that ſettlement, which he ſuppoſes to have been upon the confuſion at Babel. There is one common date both to this letter and the former, namely 6 July 1727. 3. *The Wiſdom of the antient Ægyptians, concerning their Arts, their Sciences, and their Learning; their Laws, their Government, and their Religion: With occaſional Reflections on the State of Learning among the Jews, and ſome other nations.* Few of theſe heads received the Doctor's finiſhing hand; but under each of them he endeavours to ſhew from ſuch remains as are yet preſerved, that they ſeem to fall greatly ſhort of that high character which is given of them by ſome learned writers, in any of theſe reſpects. 4. *Two Diſcourſes concerning the Plague.* The former upon the cauſes and nature of the diſtemper, with the method of cure; the latter of the œconomy, conduct, and adminiſtration, which are requiſite during its continuance; both ſaid to be written in the year 1722. 5. *Collections relating to Phyſic.* Theſe, among other things, contain a draught of three Greſham lectures, upon the formation of the fœtus, and the juices which are of uſe in the body; ſome of which obſervations had been formerly inſerted in his printed works. 6. *Caſes in Phyſic obſerved and related by himſelf.* They are interſperſed with a variety of remarks upon the different ſubjects, and contained in thirteen volumes. 7. *A Diſcourſe giving ſome Account of the many great Things done by the Royal Society for the Honour and Advantage of the Nation.* The Doctor begins with the foundation of the Society, and, having conſidered the ſtate of learning in former ages, proceeds to ſhew the obſervations made by the Society in aſtronomy, the atmoſphere, and our own globe; with the improvements in navigation, agriculture, and gardening; as likewiſe the diſcoveries in anatomy, mathematics, architecture, mechanics, and in a manner all uſeful arts, which muſt greatly contribute to the pleaſure of the mind, the benefit of trade, and the conveniences of life. 8. *An Account of Ores and Metals, with the manner in which they lye in the Earth.* This is but a ſhort tract, and not intirely finiſhed. 9. *The Art of Eſſaying.* This is a complete ſummary of all that concerns the fining and reducing of ores, and the ſeparating and refining of metals, with an *Appendix* relating to the ordering of metals (24).

(24) Ward's lives of the Greſham profeſſors, p. 297, 298.

WOOLSTON [THOMAS] an enthuſiaſtical divine of uncommon fame in his day, was born in the year 1669 at Northampton, where his father was a tradeſman of good repute (*a*). After a proper education at a grammar-ſchool he was ſent to Cambridge, and admitted of Sidney College in 1685 (*b*); where he behaved with exemplary diligence and ſobriety, performed the academical exerciſes with reputation, took both his degrees in Arts at the regular ſtated times, and was choſen a Fellow of his College, conformably to the ſtatutes whereof he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of divinity, took holy orders, made a good figure in the pulpit of the Univerſity-church, and was in good eſteem both

(*a*) Life of Mr Woolſton, with an impartial account of his writings. Lond. 1733. 8vo.

(*b*) Whiſton's memoirs of his own life, p. 198. edit. 1753, 8vo.

for his learning and piety and other amiable qualities [*A*]. At the uſual time he proceeded to the degree of B. D. the exerciſes for which were performed with applauſe both in public and in the chapel of his college [*B*]. But it ſeems he early imbibed a tincture of fanaticiſm, which ſhewed itſelf at his firſt appearance in the republick of letters, in a piece which he printed at the Univerſity-preſs in 1705, under the title of *The old apology for the truth of the Chriſtian religion againſt the Jews and Gentiles revived.* The deſign of this work, which contains near 400 pages in 8vo. is to prove all the actions of Moſes to be typical of Chriſt and his Church, and to ſhew how ſome of the fathers underſtood them not to be real, but typical relations of what was to come. However, though in this performance there were ſome ſingular notions advanced, and a new manner of defending Chriſtianity propoſed, yet there was nothing that gave offence, many things which ſhewed great ingenuity and learning, and the whole is written in a clear, though not a delicate ſtile. This was printed at the preſs of the Univerſity, where our author ſtill continued, reſiding in his College in ſtrict compliance to the ſtatutes thereof, till the year 1720, when going to London (*c*) he there publiſhed that year a Latin diſſertation intituled *De Pontii Pilati ad Tiberium Epiſtola circa res Jeſu Chriſti geſtas. Per Myſtagogum.* 8vo. In which he endeavours to prove, that Pontius Pilate did write a letter to Tiberius Cæſar concerning the works of Chriſt, but that the epiſtle delivered down to us under that name among the writings of the Fathers was forged. The ſame year he publiſhed another ſmall pamphlet in Latin with the title of *Origenis Adamantii Renati Epiſtola ad Doctores Whitbeium, Waterlandium, Whiſtonium, alioſque literatos hujus ſæculi diſputatores, circa fidem vere orthodoxam & ſcripturarum interpretationem:* and ſoon after a ſecond epiſtle with the ſame title [*D*]. In both theſe epiſtles he embraces the allegorical interpretation of the ſcriptures after Origen, in whoſe name he reprehends thoſe learned men mentioned particularly by him, who, he ſays, appeal to the Fathers as the beſt interpreters of ſcripture, yet exhibit doctrines directly repugnant to the ſenſe of the Fathers. Theſe epiſtles were manifeſtly dictated by a ſpirit of allegorizing the letter of the holy ſcriptures into myſtery; and while his friends beheld it with compaſſion and concern, others treated it with a contemptuous ſilence and neglect as an old exploded error. But what was the conſequence? the allegorical itch with which he was infected broke out with greater fury the ſame year in a letter of near 70 pages, addreſſed to Dr Thomas Bennet, Rector of St Giles Cripplegate, London, upon this queſtion, *Whether the people called Quakers do not the neareſt of any other ſect in religion reſemble the primitive Chriſtians in principles and practice? By Ariſtobulus* [*E*]. This was followed the next year 1721 by another *Letter* (addreſſed to the ſame gentleman) *in defence of the Apoſtles and primitive Fathers of the church for their allegorical interpretation of the law of Moſes, againſt the miniſters of the letter, and literal commentators of this age*, and ſoon after, an anſwer to theſe two letters. They are all written with ſome wit and humour (*d*), but his view appears to have been rather to indulge his animoſity againſt the clergy, than to defend either Apoſtles, Fathers, or Quakers. He had now abſented himſelf from the college beyond the time limited by the ſtatutes, yet the ſociety and his friends looking on his caſe with pity, and willing to impute his abſence to a real diſtemper, allowed him the revenues of his fellowſhip for a ſupport, till he hearing that was the reaſon alledged for their kindneſs, went of his own accord to the

(*c*) After a year's abſence from the college he was deprived of his fellowſhip in 1721.

(*d*) See a periodical paper called The Comedian, or Philoſphical Enquirer, publiſhed about that time.

[*A*] *Eſteemed for his learning and piety, &c.*] Mr William Whiſton, who was his contemporary in the Univerſity, and well acquainted with him, tells us (1), that he was in his younger days a clergyman of very good reputation, a ſcholar, and well eſteemed as a preacher, charitable to the poor, and beloved by all good men that knew him.

(1) In the memoirs of his own life, p. 198. edit. 1753. 8vo.

[*B*] *His exerciſes in the univerſity and the college-chapel.*] Theſe lay by him in MS. till the year 1722, when having thrown into a continued diſcourſe, he publiſhed it in a treatiſe intituled *The exact fitneſs of the time in which* CHRIST *was manifeſted in the fleſh, demonſtrated by reaſon, againſt the objections of the old Gentiles and of modern unbelievers.* Wherein he 1. Endeavours to ſhew, that a long proceſs of time, or many ages of the world ought to be overpaſt, before it could be convenient that God ſhould ſend CHRIST. 2. That that age of the world in which CHRIST was ſent to us, was the fitteſt and moſt convenient for him to be ſent in. 3. That though it was ſo long a time before God ſent CHRIST, and though his coming was neceſſary and uſeful for the ſalvation of men, yet the goodneſs of God is not to be charged for that he was ſent no ſooner. This piece may be juſtly numbered among our moſt curious tracts of divinity; what Dr Jenkins and all who had wrote before on the ſame ſubject being much inferior to it. In the dedication to his friend Dr Bardſey Fiſher, Maſter of Sidney college, he obſerves, that it was compoſed twenty years before the publication, and delivered as a public exerciſe both in Sidney College chapel and in St Mary's church.

[*C*] *The old Apology revived, &c.*] We have the following account of the writing of this piece by our author's forementioned friend and acquaintance Mr Whiſton. 'It happened,' ſays he, 'that after ſome 'time he [Mr Woolſton] moſt unfortunately fell into 'Origen's allegorical works; and poring hard upon 'them without communicating his ſtudies to any 'body, he became ſo fanciful in that matter, that he 'thought the allegorical way of interpretation of the 'ſcriptures of the *Old Teſtament* had been unjuſtly 'neglected by the moderns; and that it might be 'uſeful for an additional proof of the truth of Chri'ſtianity; inſomuch that he preached this doctrine 'firſt in the college chapel to the great ſurprize of 'his audience; though, his intentions being known 'to be good, and his perſon beloved, no diſcourage'ment was ſhewed him there. After which he 'preached the ſame doctrine in ſome ſermons before 'the whole univerſity at St Mary's (one of which I 'remember to have heard myſelf); and printed them 'under the title of *The Old Apology revived* (2).'

(2) Id. ibid.

[*D*] *A ſecond Epiſtle with the ſame title.*] In this Epiſtle he has ſome pleaſant raillery on the important diſputations, as he ironically ſtyles them, which had been held upon particular prepoſitions. *Parum refert*, ſays he, *qualem præpoſitionem (an, in, ad, per, ob, cum) Nomini Chriſti & Spiritus Sancti in Doxologis præponas. Uſus hujus vel illius præpoſitionis nec minuit nec auget Divinitatem Filii & Spiritus Sancti.*

[*E*] This letter was profeſſedly wrote to defend the Quakers from an imputation in a then new obſcure pamphlet called *The Delphic Oracle*, wherein they were charged with being the worſt of Heathens (3).

(3) See a periodical paper, No. 5. quoted above in note (*d*).

college, to ſhew that he was not as they fancied under any diſorder. Whereupon he was called to reſidence, according to the ſtatutes, which allow the fellows, if in health, only eighty days abſence in the year. But he abſolutely refuſed to reſide, and ſo loſt his fellowſhip (e). Some interceſſions were made in his behalf for obtaining a further indulgence both by Mr Whiſton, and particularly by Dr Bardſey Fiſher, the maſter of the College (f), who indeed could not but obſerve, that his very conduct in coming to ſhew he was not under any diſorder, was itſelf a plain proof of the contrary [F]. After his deprivation, his brother, then living at Northampton, an alderman of the place, allowed him thirty pounds a year during his life, beſides ſending him other preſents of neceſſary proviſion: and he was prevailed on to publiſh, with a dedication to Dr Fiſher, the next year 1722, the beſt and ſobereſt piece he ever wrote, as has been already mentioned below (g). But his evil genius ſoon returned, and through its baleful inſtigations in 1723 and the following year came out his *Four Free-gifts to the Clergy*, together with his own anſwer to them, in five ſeveral pamphlets. Theſe were all wrote upon his allegorical ſcheme, plentifully interſperſed with rhetorical flowers thrown at the clergy, under the appellation of *hireling prieſts* and *miniſters of the letter*. But though he expreſſed no regard for the prieſts, yet he expreſſed a very great one for religion; and did what ſome may think more than neceſſary to defend it, when in 1726 he publiſhed *A defence of the miracle of the thundering legion, againſt Mr Moyle's diſſertation* [G]. Such a motley conduct ſaved him from all legal animadverſions, either by eccleſiaſtical cenſure or civil infliction. He was grown indeed indiſcreet to a wild degree, his brain was a little turned, and indiſcretion was the genuine offspring of enthuſiaſm. All this was laid to his charge, but his perſon remained free and untouched. That lenity proved his ruin: inſtead of making a proper uſe of it to the purpoſe of ſobriety, he turned it, as is not unfrequently ſeen in the like caſes, into an encouragement for running to the wildeſt extravagance. Not content with reviling the miniſters, he proceeded to revile the maſter. His *Four Free-gifts* had ſcarcely well ſeen the light, when, from the controverſy then ſubſiſting between Mr A. Collins and his opponents, concerning the *Grounds and Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion* *, he took occaſion to publiſh his *Moderator between an Infidel and an Apoſtate*, together with *two ſupplements to the Moderator* [H]. In theſe pieces, not contenting himſelf with the purſuit of his allegorical ſcheme to the excluſion of the literal ſenſe, he not only contended for ſublime and myſtical interpretations of the miracles of Chriſt, but alſo aſſerted, that they were not real, or ever actually wrought. This was ſtriking at the very vitals of Chriſtianity: ſuch an aſſertion was not to be borne in a Chriſtian country, and therefore he was proſecuted by the Attorney-general, but the proceſs was ſtopped at the interceſſion of Mr Whiſton [I], with whom our author had preſerved a friendſhip from their youth, and

(e) Whiſton's memoirs, &c. p. 199.

(f) Woolſton's life, &c. p. 22.

(g) Rem. [E]

* Mr Collins's treatiſe on irony and ridicule might perhaps be occaſioned by our author's diſcourſes on the miracles, and his perſecution for them.

[F] *A proof of his being diſordered in his mind.*] Mr Whiſton obſerves, that the publication by preaching and printing his notions appeared to be ſo wild, that a report went about that he was under a diſorder of mind; which when he heard, inſtead of that applauſe he thought he had deſerved by retrieving a long forgotten argument for the truth of Chriſtianity, he grew really diſordered, and, proceeds this friend, was accordingly confined for a long time; after which, though his notions were eſteemed in part the effect of ſome ſuch diſorder, yet did he regain his liberty. When he found himſelf pretty well as he thought, he fell a writing to great men, and to his old friends; and inſiſted on the truth of his notions, and pretended that the reports of his diſorders aroſe only from the inability the learned were under to confute them (4).

(4) Whiſton's memoirs, as before, p. 198, 199.

[G] *A defence of the miracle of the thundering legion againſt Mr Moyle.*] It has been already obſerved under Mr Moyle's article, that our author grounds the probability of the miracle upon the importance of the occaſion; to which may be added in his favour, that he is countenanced therein by the great Grotius, who ſpeaking of the miraculous gift of tongues poured upon the Apoſtles, argues for its continuance to all ſubſequent ages from the importance of it to convert the Heathens; a conſideration which was thought by him to have ſo much weight in it, that he was perſuaded from a parity of reaſon that the gift was certainly continued to the later as to the earlier times of the church. Nay, he took the converſion of the Heathens to be an occaſion ſo worthy of the divine interpoſition, as not to doubt, he ſays, but that if any perſon were employed in it at this day in a manner agreeable to the will of our Lord, he would find himſelf indued with a power of working miracles. *Cum vero multo etiam ſeriora ſecula plena ſunt teſtimoniis ejus rei, neſcio qua ratione moti quidam id donum ad prima tantum tempora reſtringunt——Quare ſi quis nunc etiam Gentibus Chriſti ignaris—Chriſtum, ita ut ipſe annunciari voluit, annunciet, promiſſionis vim duraturam non dubito*(5). Mr Whiſton alſo concurred with his friend in the belief of this miracle, and publiſhed the ſame year a piece in its defence. But the writer of Mr Woolſton's life well obſerves, that though the latter part of this defence of the miracle relating to the perſecution in Gaul is learnedly written, yet little can be ſaid in commendation of the former part. And it muſt be confeſſed that the truth of this pretended miracle is at preſent generally exploded.

(5) Grotius comment. on Mark xvi. 17.

[H] *He publiſhed The Moderator, &c. and two Supplements.*] Mr Whiſton (6) gives the following account of theſe pamphlets.—— At length, ſays this friend, he wrote ſeveral pamphlets to prove that following the literal ſenſe of the *Old Teſtament* was no better than antichriſtianiſm; though in the mean time he ſometimes inſinuated, that Jeſus Chriſt's own miracles were no other than allegorical miracles, and not real facts, and expoſed thoſe miracles taken in the literal ſenſe after ſuch a manner, and with ſuch a mixture of wit and ſcoffing, as if he in earneſt intended to abuſe and oppoſe the Chriſtian religion; which deſign however he utterly denied, and ſeemed to wonder that any ſhould impute ſuch a thing to him; and about the ſame time he wrote *another pamphlet againſt ſome of the unbelievers, which was by no means a contemptible one* †. Things being in this ſtate, and the unbelievers thinking to make uſe of his folly to lay a blot upon Chriſtianity, encouraged him to go on, bought his pamphlets at an high price, and ſent them abroad as far as the Weſt Indies to do miſchief there.

(6) In the ſame place.

† He means the Defence of the miracle of the thundering legion.

[I] *The proſecution was dropped at the interceſſion of Mr Whiſton.*] The following incident, which happened in this proſecution, is related thus in the account of his life as not unworthy attention: The Attorney General having heard that Mr Woolſton did not write the books for which he was under proſecution (a ſlander which was raiſed by his enemies) told Mr Whiſton when he was interpoſing in the behalf of Mr Woolſton, what he had heard, and at the ſame time expreſſed himſelf very juſtly with ſome contempt and indignation againſt a man, who could have folly and vanity enough to put his name to the writings of another perſon *; and I am miſtaken, continues he, if an eminent divine, whom I chooſe not to name, did not

* p. 11, 12.

and for whom he always expreſſed the higheſt eſteem (*b*). One would think that this eſcape out of the hands of the law would have cautioned him to take care not to incur it again. Quite otherwiſe: the kindneſs of his friend had a contrary effect. He ſpent the years 1727, 1728, 1729, and 1730, in writing and printing *Six diſcourſes on the Miracles*, and two defences thereof [*K*], which were grounded upon the ſame principles with the *Moderator*, againſt the reality of our Saviour's miracles, which he even did not ſpare in theſe laſt pamphlets to make himſelf merry with. The enthuſiaſtick ſcheme not being thought, it ſeems, offenſive enough of itſelf, was aggravated by ſuch a profane mirth and ſcoff, as came little, if at all, ſhort of the moſt horrid blaſphemy. This was filling up the meaſure of his iniquity. Innumerable books and pamphlets, both from Biſhops and inferior clergy, appeared againſt his diſcourſes; and what was far worſe, a ſecond proſecution was commenced and carried on with vigour againſt him [*L*] for the firſt four

of

(*b*) Woolſton's life, p. 11.

relate this to Sir Philip Yorke. Mr Whiſton aſſured the Attorney General, that he had known Mr Woolſton from his youth, and that he was thoroughly perſuaded nobody elſe writ the books: which atteſtation of Mr Whiſton eraſed the impreſſion that the other malicious report had made in the Attorney General. But let us hear what Mr Whiſton himſelf ſays on the occaſion. Having mentioned the government's falling upon him, as he calls it, and his indictment for blaſphemy and prophaneneſs, he goes on thus: At this time I went to Sir Philip Yorke (the then Attorney General, afterwards Lord Chancellor) and gave him an account of poor Mr Woolſton, and how he came into his allegorical notions; and told him that their common lawyers could not know, what ſuch an allegorical cauſe could mean, offering to come myſelf into the court, and explain it to them in caſe they proceeded; but ſtill rather deſiring that they would not proceed any further againſt him. He promiſed he would not proceed, unleſs the then Secretary of State, the Lord Townſend, ſent him an order ſo to do. I then went to Dr Clarke to perſuade him to go with me to the Lord Townſend, but he refuſed; alledging that the report would then go abroad, that the King ſupported blaſphemy. However, no farther progreſs was made in Mr Woolſton's trial (8).

(8) Whiſton's memoirs, p. 200.

Mr Whiſton was not alone in oppoſing this proſecution, if we may believe the writer of Mr Woolſton's life, who tells us, that while he was under it, he waited upon the Archbiſhop of Canterbury [Dr Wake] who proteſted that he was ſo far from forwarding the proſecution, that he was averſe to that and to all proſecutions in matters of religion. That his Grace deſired Mr Woolſton to ſtay a while with him, and their diſcourſe then turned upon ancient learning, and particularly the Fathers; and, continues this writer, I ‘ have heard Mr Woolſton ſay, that among all the ‘ men of letters with whom he had converſed, he never heard any one talk with more judgment and ‘ learning than the Archbiſhop then did (9).’

(9) Woolſton's life, p. 12.

[*K*] *Six diſcourſes on the miracles of Chriſt, and two defences of them.*] The ſix diſcourſes are dedicated to ſix Biſhops; Gibſon Biſhop of London, Chandler Biſhop of Litchfield, Smalbroke Biſhop of St David's, Hare Biſhop of Chicheſter, Sherlock Biſhop of Bangor, and Potter Biſhop of Oxford; and though they are all inſulted and ridiculed, yet it is done in ſuch a manner, that perhaps the graveſt man alive could not read them without ſmiling. There is alſo a great deal of merriment and humour in the diſcourſes themſelves: but then the prophaneneſs and blaſphemy with which it is mixed, cannot but excite an horror, and of courſe ſtifle all emotions to mirth. In this finiſhing ſtroke he pretends, that the Fathers of the church conſidered our Saviour's miracles in the ſame allegorical way as he does; that is, as merely allegorical, and excluding the letter: but this, as has been obſerved †, is not ſo. Some of the Fathers indeed, and Origen in particular, did not confine themſelves to the bare letter; but endeavoured upon the foundation of the letter to raiſe ſpiritual meanings, and to allegorize by way of moral application: and they did this not only upon the miracles of Chriſt, but upon almoſt all the hiſtorical facts of the Old and New Teſtaments. But they never denied the miracles or the facts. This ſtrange and enthuſiaſtic ſcheme was offenſive enough of itſelf, but infinitely more ſo from his manner of conducting it; for he not only argues againſt the miracles of Chriſt, but treats them in a moſt ludicrous and indecent way.

† Under his article in the Biographical Dict. edit. 1762. 8vo.

[*L*] *A ſecond proſecution was commenced and carried on with vigour againſt him.*] While this ſecond proſecution was carrying on, and before his trial, he paid a viſit to his old friend Mr Whiſton, who as ſoon as he beheld Mr Woolſton, lifted up his hands, and with a loud voice bid him go out of his houſe, crying that the ſight of him was offenſive to him. Mr Woolſton, ſurprized at this unuſual treatment, aſked him how he had injured him? to which Mr Whiſton anſwered with great rapidity, *By your Diſcourſes on the Miracles.* Mr Woolſton here began to expoſtulate with him, telling him that this behaviour was not conſiſtent with the principles of liberty, which he had often aſſerted in his writings, and in ſeveral converſations with him; he likewiſe reminded him of his frequent promiſes to befriend him in times of danger; and told him, unleſs liberty of writing on religious ſubjects was indulged, he could never expect to make any ſucceſsful progreſs in the propagation of his own notions of primitive Chriſtianity. Mr Whiſton, deaf to his expoſtulations, told him, that he had gone greater lengths than he imagined he would; and at the ſame time aſſured him, that he could not bear the ſight of him. Mr Woolſton ſeeing him violent and implacable, took his leave of him, and never ſaw him afterwards. Thus the ſtory of this viſit is related by the writer of Mr Woolſton's life in his favour as an apologiſt; in which ſpirit he proceeds thus: This is a ſtrong inſtance of the power of miſguided zeal, which often tranſports men, who without that zeal have the tendereſt ſentiments of humanity: this is the caſe with Mr Whiſton, a perſon of extraordinary humility, free from all the vain pride of life, humane, and auſtere in his manner of living, with merit to recommend him to the higheſt honours in the church, and no inclination to purſue them. Of this learned and worthy man, Mr Woolſton, notwithſtanding the laſt unfriendly greeting, always ſpoke with love and reſpect (10). But Mr Whiſton himſelf gives it with conſiderable variations. Looking on this not as a new proſecution, but a recommencement of the former, he obſerves, that no further progreſs was made in it, till Mr Woolſton had publiſhed another pamphlet againſt our Saviour's miracles; and that, ſays he, with ſuch reproachful words, that though I pitied his caſe, and looked upon it as partly a diſorder of mind, ‘ I did not think it became me to ‘ be concerned for him in any public manner, though ‘ he had dedicated a pamphlet to me, and came himſelf to me. I told him, that had not my reputation ‘ as a firm believer of the Chriſtian religion been very ‘ good, he had done me great harm by his dedication; ‘ I farther told him, that what he now aſſerted, ſeemed ‘ to me nearer to the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, than ‘ what had ever been aſſerted by any, ſince the firſt ‘ times of the goſpel. I withal aſked him, why he ‘ did not aſſert that our Saviour was no more than an ‘ allegorical perſon, ſince then he might naturally ‘ work allegorical miracles? He replied, No: there ‘ was ſuch a perſon as Jeſus Chriſt. So I took my ‘ final leave of him, and prayed to God to forgive ‘ him. At length the court proceeded againſt him to ‘ a fine and impriſonment. In ſhort, he ſeemed to ‘ me to have ſo confounded himſelf with his allegories, and ſo pleaſed himſelf, when he found one ‘ gentleman, Mr Anthony Collins, to affirm nearly as ‘ he did, though with a quite different deſign, that ‘ Jeſus Chriſt dealt in allegorical prophecies, though ‘ not in allegorical miracles; that before he died, he ‘ ſeems hardly to have known himſelf, whether he ‘ really believed the Chriſtian religion or no.

(10) Idem, p. 18, 19, 20.

‘ This,’ concludes Mr Whiſton, ‘ is a true account ‘ of this unhappy man, with his unhappy allegories; ‘ and ought to be a caution to all ſuch as ſtudy the ‘ original books of our religion, how they follow

‘ Philo

of theſe diſcourſes. At his trial in Guildhall, London, before the Lord Chief Juſtice Raymond, he ſpoke ſeveral times himſelf, and among other things urged, that he *thought it very hard to be tried by a ſet of men, who, though otherwiſe very learned and worthy perſons, were no more judges of the ſubjects on which he wrote, than he himſelf was a judge of the moſt crabbed points of the law.* He told the Chief Juſtice, that *when he talked to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury about his books and the proſecution againſt him, his Grace ſaid, that he wiſhed that he had not dwelt ſo much on hireling prieſts; and here, my Lord,* continues he, *the ſhoe pinches.* His counſel *(i)* pleaded in his defence, that his intent was ſo far from bringing the Chriſtian religion into contempt, that it was to fix it upon a better foundation: It was likewiſe queſtioned whether affairs came properly under that court. In anſwer to which it was maintained, that our common Chriſtianity was attacked, and that common Chriſtianity was well known to be a part of the common law. The reſult was, that Mr Woolſton was found guilty of writing, printing, and publiſhing the books for which he was indicted, and ſentenced to ſuffer a year's impriſonment, and to pay a fine of 100l. Yet through all his oppreſſions he ſpoke with great reſpect and veneration of the Lord Chief Juſtice Raymond, highly extolling the lenity and wiſdom conſpicuous in his behaviour to him through his trial *(k)*. He purchaſed the liberty of the rules of the King's Bench, where he continued after the expiration of the year, being unable to pay the fine. His ſupport was derived chiefly from the fore-mentioned annual allowance of his brother: he had alſo ſeveral contributions ſent to him after his commitment by generous perſons well diſpoſed to his perſon, ſome of whom made a very conſiderable figure in polite literature. Moreover, the ſale of his works being very great, his gains therefrom muſt have been proportionable, though he defrayed all the expences, and thoſe not inconſiderable, which his bookſellers, printers, and publiſhers were ſubjected to by ſelling and printing them. However, when he was committed to the King's Bench priſon, he had in his poſſeſſion about 70l. the greater part whereof he drew by degrees as he wanted it, out of the perſon's hands with whom the whole ſum was depoſited [*M*]. He became ſo odious to the generality, that while he was in the rules he met with ſeveral inſults [*N*]; yet he had ſome friends who wiſhed for his freedom, particularly that great worthy divine Dr Samuel Clarke, notwithſtanding his forementioned refuſal to Mr Whiſton, did actually a ſhort time before his death begin to make ſollicitations at court for Mr Woolſton's releaſement, declaring that he did not undertake it as an approver of his doctrines, but as an advocate for that liberty, for which he himſelf had always contended. He looked on Mr Woolſton, 'tis ſaid, as one under perſecution for religion, which he thought inconſiſtent with the liberties of England, and with the doctrines of Chriſtianity, and on that principle ſollicited the relief of the oppreſſed, but was hindered from proceeding in his deſign by his death, which happened ſoon after Mr Woolſton's commitment *(l)*. But the greateſt obſtruction to his deliverance from confinement was the obligation he was under of giving ſecurity not to offend by any future writings; an office which he would not impoſe on any friend, becauſe he was reſolved not only to write again, but to do it as freely as he had before. Yet for ſome few months before he died endeavours were continued to be uſed by ſome particular friends for his deliverance. But his death put an end to their attempts, and to his own troubles here, on Saturday the 27th of January $173\frac{2}{3}$, after an illneſs of four days, by a diſeaſe which was then epidemical, viz. a violent cold, attended with pains in the head and bones. But Mr Woolſton's greateſt grievance was a ſtoppage in the ſtomach, to eaſe which all medicines proved ineffectual. About half an hour before he died he was ſitting by the fire in his bed-chamber, when he aſked his nurſe to help him to bed, and a few minutes before his death he uttered theſe words, *This is a ſtruggle which all men muſt go through, and which I bear not*

(i) His name was then Birch, which he afterwards changed to that of Whirley by act of parliament. He offered himſelf as counſel for Mr Woolſton, without any fee or reward.

(k) Idem, p. 17.

(l) Idem, p. 18.

‘ Philo and Origen, and the like allegoriſts, of which hardly the leaſt traces appear among either the Jewiſh or Gentile Chriſtians, till after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, which was thirty-eight years after the death of our Saviour, and to which the fatal introduction of the impure book of *Canticles* into the canon of the *Old Teſtament* ſoon after that time may moſt probably be aſcribed (11).’ It is pleaſant enough to obſerve theſe two brother enthuſiaſts alike infatuated, tho' with different idols, equally blind to every means of conviction in regard to their reſpective phantaſms, yet each plainly diſcerning the mote in his brother's eye, but neither of them that in his own eye.

(11) Whiſton's memoirs, p. 200, 201.

[*M*] *The whole was depoſited in a perſon's hands.*] This perſon was a tradeſman in whoſe houſe Mr Woolſton had lodged ſeveral years. About the beginning of the year this perſon failed in his buſineſs, by which Mr Woolſton loſt thirty pounds: the news of this friend's misfortunes came to Mr Woolſton's knowledge at a time when he had ſcarcely any money by him; and though that ſum of thirty pounds was all he had in the world, except his brother's allowance, yet inſtead of reproaching the unfortunate man, he pitied him, becauſe he knew him, he ſaid, to be an honeſt and induſtrious man, and that his misfortunes aroſe from diſappointments and loſſes in trade, and not from any extravagance or neglect; and he had likewiſe a family of children, which added to Mr Woolſton's compaſſion for him (12). This inſtance of our priſoner's humanity was ſo much greater, as he was diſappointed by a perſon of a plentiful fortune, who reported, that he had defrayed part of the expence of his ſuit with the King, and who promiſed likewiſe to defray all the expence which that proſecution ſhould bring upon him. Notwithſtanding theſe promiſes, to which, ſays the writer of his life, I myſelf have been an eye [or rather an ear] witneſs, though he performed ſome good natured acts, yet he never advanced a ſhilling before nor after Mr Woolſton's commitment to the King's Bench priſon. Some of the conſequences of which promiſes and reports were, that the unfortunate gentleman in confinement had more frequent demands upon him, than otherwiſe he would have had (13).

(12) Woolſton's life, p. 24.

(13) Idem, p. 16, 17.

[*N*] *He met with ſeveral inſults.*] He was twice attacked before his own door by a fellow, who ſtruck him ſeveral times in his ſecond aſſault, telling him that he had written againſt his Saviour, and deſerved ſuch uſage; however, it ſeems, Mr Woolſton was reſcued from him by a gentleman, who chaſtiſed the man with a ſound drubbing.

only

only patiently, but with willingneſs (n). He then immediately cloſed his eyes and lips with his own fingers, with a deſign to compoſe his face with decency without the help of a friend's hand, and ſo expired. Through his ſhort illneſs he behaved himſelf with a chearful reſignation becoming a man of probity, underſtanding, and learning, a character, ſays the writer of his life (o), which is not in the power of all his enemies to rob him of. To this, adds the ſame writer, I may join that of an exemplary, meek [O] and temperate perſon; and he has often declared, continues this writer, to myſelf and many other of his friends, that if he was poſſeſſed of more than 60l. a year, he could not ſpend more on himſelf; ſo great, he ſaid, was the pleaſure which he found in temperance. He died a bachelor, and was buried on Tueſday the 30th of January $173\frac{2}{3}$, in St George's church-yard, Southwark (p).—He left behind him in MS. a diſcourſe addreſſed to Dr Smalbroke, Biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry [P]. Beſides the pieces wrote in anſwer to him by that Biſhop, there came out innumerable pamphlets againſt him at different times by various authors; and Biſhop Gibſon thought it neceſſary to warn the clergy of his dioceſe againſt his pernicious doctrines in his paſtoral letters. But the writer of his life ſays (q), he had heard Mr Woolſton ſpeak of a book written by Dr Wade againſt him, which he intended to conſider, if he had lived to have got his freedom, which he thought to be more worthy of his conſideration than any other.

(n) Id. p. 28, 29.

(o) p. 30.

(p) p. 30.

(q) p. 21.

[O] *He was an exemplary meek man.*] Of this temper there is given the following inſtance: Being told that he was repreſented, in a ſcandalous pamphlet, called *The Life of Colonel Chartres*, as chaplain to that gentleman, and as his companion in ſome of his unlawful pleaſures (though he had in truth not ſo much as ever ſeen his perſon); and being therefore at the ſame time adviſed to proſecute the author, he enquired into the circumſtances of the wretch who libelled him, and being informed of his having a family, and of his neceſſitous condition, he ſaid, that if he ſhould reduce the poor creatures to beggary by a proſecution, their miſery would give him more pain, than his juſt revenge on the man could poſſibly give him pleaſure. (14)

(14) Idem, p. 25, 26.

[P] *He left behind him a diſcourſe addreſſed to Biſhop Smallbroke.*] This prelate had been the moſt voluminous writer that appeared in the controverſy againſt our author, who, in a vindication of that antagoniſt, is affirmed to have frequented the Quaker-meetings; a fooliſh aſperſion, ſays the guardian of his fame, which is contradicted in a pamphlet called *The Philoſophical Enquirer*, No. 5. A remarkable ſtory was bruited about of the Biſhop, which perhaps might be taken from the MS. of our author, that in explaining the miracle of the devils ſent by Chriſt into the herd of ſwine, he took occaſion to mention the numbers of each, wherein the number of ſwine being found to be one more than that of the devils, it was obſerved that ſome two of the ſwine could have but one devil, which conſequently muſt be divided into two halves, upon which his Lordſhip was unluckily nicknamed *Biſhop Split-devil* (15). P

(15) p. 21.

WOTTON [Sir HENRY] a ſtateſman of good abilities, much employed abroad, and not leſs diſtinguiſhed at home by his learning and parts, was born on the 30th of March 1568, O. S. at Bocton or Boughton-hall in the pariſh of Boughton-Malherbe in the county of Kent, where the family had been ſettled for many generations [A]; being

[A] *The family had been ſettled for many generations.*] Iſaac Walton has given the following pedigree from our author's great grandfather Sir Robert Wotton, of Bocton Malherb, Knt, who was born about the year 1460, and by King Edward IV. was made Lieutenant of Giſnes, and Knight Porter and Comptroller of Calais, where he died, and lies honourably interred. He had four ſons, of whom the eldeſt, his heir, Sir Edward Wotton, born in 1489, was made Treaſurer of Calais, and was of the Privy Council to Henry VIII. who offered him the poſt of Lord High Chancellor of England, which we are told, out of a virtuous modeſty, he refuſed. His youngeſt brother was the famous Nicolas Wotton, Doctor of Law, and ſome time Dean both of York and Canterbury; was ſent nine times Embaſſador to foreign Princes; was Privy Counſellor to King Henry VIII, Edward VI, to Queen Mary, and to Queen Elizabeth; and after he had been employed during the wars between England, Scotland, and France, three ſeveral times, and not unſucceſsfully, in Committees for ſettling of peace between the three kingdoms, died, ſays Mr Camden, full of commendations for wiſdom and piety. He was alſo by K. Henry the VIIIth's will made one of his Majeſty's Executors, and was Secretary of State to his ſon King Edward VI. The ſame King Henry VIII. offered him a biſhoprick, which he refuſed, ſays Holingſhead; and the truth of which appears from the following letter, addreſſed by him

(1) In the life of Sir Henry Wotton.

To the Right Worſhipful Mr Bellaſſis.

‘ Gentyle Mr Bellaſſis, for the paſſyon of God, yf hit be poſſible yet, aſſaye, as fare as yow maye, to conveye this biſhoprike from me. So I might avoyde hit withoute diſpleaſur, I wold ſurelye never meddel withe hit. There be ynough that be meete for hit, and will not refuſe hit. I can not mervile ynnough *cur obtrudatur non cupienti, imo ne idoneo quidem*. My mynde is as troubled as my wrytinge is. *Aliquid quæſo tandem excogita, ita tamen ut citra offenſam. Sicq; propter temporis anguſtiam, nunc vale feliciter.* Written at Dimiſſeldorpe the xith daye of November, A° 1539.

‘ Yours to his littel powre,

‘ NICHOLAS WOTTON.

‘ Adde whatſoever yow will
‘ More to hit, ſo yow adde
‘ Not Biſhop.’

Sir Robert Wotton, ſon and heir to the forementioned Sir Edward Wotton, who was father to the ſubject of the preſent article, was born in 1521; he had many invitations to come to court, with offers of promotion, by Queen Elizabeth, who made him a viſit at Bocton-hall; but he modeſtly declined all. Mr Lambert ſpeaks of him as a cheriſher of learned men. He married firſt Elizabeth daughter of Sir John Rudſtone, Knt, by whom he had three ſons; Edward, who being knighted by Qu. Elizabeth in 1592, was created Lord Wotton and Baron of Morley in Kent, was employed often in the character of an Embaſſador by that Queen, and made Comptroller of the Houſhold and of the Privy Council to her ſucceſſor. The ſecond ſon, James, choſe a military life, and in the 38th of Eliz. was knighted in the field, after the taking of Cadiz in Spain. The third ſon, John, was alſo knighted by Qu. Elizabeth, but died young. The two younger brothers muſt have been perſons of conſiderable merit, from their having the honour of knighthood conferred upon them by Queen Elizabeth, whoſe Knights it is obſerved were held in greater eſteem, as being more cautiouſly and more ſparingly created than K. James's Peers.

the only child of his mother Eleonora, daughter of Sir William Finch of Eaſtwell in Kent, and widow of Robert Morton, of the ſame county, Eſq; He was trained up with great care and tenderneſs by her in his infancy, after which a domeſtic tutor was provided to inſtruct him in the firſt rudiments of grammar; whence, as ſoon as his ſtrength and years were judged ſufficient to bear a ſtricter diſcipline, he was ſent to Wincheſter ſchool, where he continued till the age of ſixteen (*a*), when having made an extraordinary progreſs in claſſical learning; he was removed for further improvement to Oxford, and admitted of New College, in the beginning of the year 1584; but had chambers (as was not unuſual at that time) in Hart Hall, now Hertford College; where, though he lived in the rank of a gentleman commoner (*b*), yet he purſued his ſtudies with uncommon application, and removed at two years ſtanding, to Queen's College, in the view of applying himſelf with better advantage to logic and philoſophy, in which he made an extraordinary progreſs, without neglecting to cultivate his talents for polite literature. So much diſtinguiſhed merit recommended him to the particular notice and favour of the Provoſt of that college, who in ſome diſcourſe with him finding he had entertained ſome thoughts of writing a play, deſired him to complete that deſign for the uſe of the ſociety. Thus encouraged he ſet upon the buſineſs in earneſt, and compoſed a tragedy which he called by the title of *Tancredo* (*c*); and which, it is ſaid, was ſo ſkilfully planned, the characters ſo judiciouſly contraſted, and ſo well ſuſtained, the whole alſo enlivened with ſuch ſhrewd and ſubtle ſtrokes of wit, and ſeaſoned with ſo many moral ſentences, that the graveſt perſons of the ſociety declared, he had in a ſlight employment given an early and a ſolid teſtimony of his future abilities (*d*). On the 8th of June 1588 he put up a grace (i. e. a petition) to the Univerſity to be admitted to the reading of any of the books of Ariſtotle's logick, which was granted [*B*]. In the mean time he ſtudied the civil law under the famous profeſſor Albericus Gentilis [*C*]. This profeſſor was by birth an Italian, of which language our ſtudent was particularly fond, ſtudied it with great aſſiduity, and acquired an extraordinary readineſs in it. This, however, he did not ſuffer to engroſs his time, to the neglect of the academical exerciſes: he was mindful to look into ſuch philoſophical ſubjects as were proper for that purpoſe, and he read the three lectures required for his degree of Maſter of Arts, which were much applauded by the Univerſity [*D*]. Upon the death of his father, which happened in 1589, he came by the old gentleman's laſt will into the poſſeſſion of a perpetual rent-charge of one hundred marks a year (*e*) [*E*]. With this fortune he reſolved to complete his educa-

tion

(*a*) His life by Iſaac Walton, prefixed to Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, edit. 1672. and 1685.

(*b*) Ath. Oxon. vol. II. col. 622.

(*c*) Id. col. 623.

(*d*) Life by Walton.

(*e*) Ibid.

[*B*] *Which grace was granted.*] Conditionally that he ſhould determine in the following Lent, ſays Mr Wood (2), who ſuppoſes, with the greateſt probability, that this grace was for his degree of A. B. though after the moſt diligent ſearch he could not find in any of the univerſity regiſters, that Mr Wotton did ſo determine, or was ever admitted to that degree or any other. Mr Walton tells us (3), on the other hand, that he took the degree of A. M. at this time, about the twentieth year of his age: and indeed his reading the lectures *de ocello* favour this aſſertion; ſuch lectures being ſtill a part of the public exerciſe for that degree. But we ſhall not undertake to decide this *important* diſpute. *Fides ſit penes quemq; authorem.*

[*C*] *He ſtudied the civil law under Albericus Gentilis.*] Mr Walton tells us (4), that our ſtudent was taken into ſuch a boſom friendſhip with this Profeſſor, that, if it had been poſſible, Gentilis would have breathed all his excellent knowledge both of the mathematics and law into the breaſt of his dear Henry (for ſo Gentilis uſed to call him). And though he was not able to do that, yet there was in Sir Henry ſuch a propenſity and connaturalneſs to the Italian language, and thoſe ſtudies whereof Gentilis was a great maſter, that this friendſhip between them did daily increaſe, and proved greatly advantageous to Sir Henry for his improvement in ſeveral ſciences during his ſtay in the univerſity. Sir Henry intimates his knowledge of the civil law in his *State of Chriſtianity* (5), and we ſee his acquaintance with the mathematics in ſeveral of his letters to Lord Zouch (6).

[*D*] *His lectures were greatly applauded.*] Mr Walton particularly obſerves, that our ſtudent having in theſe lectures deſcribed the form, the motion, and the curious fabric of the eye, and demonſtrated how of theſe very many parts every humour and nerve performs its diſtinct office, ſo as the God of order hath appointed, without mixture or confuſion, and all this for the advantage of man, to whom the eye is given not only as the body's guide, but whereas all other of his ſenſes require time to inform the ſoul, this in an inſtant apprehends and warns him of dangers, teaching him in the very eyes of others to diſcover wit, folly, love, and hatred. After theſe obſervations, he diſcuſſed the optic queſtion, then much bandied among the philoſophers, whether we ſee by the emiſſion of the beams from within, or reception of the ſpecies from without; after that and many other like learned diſquiſitions, he concluded with beautifying his diſcourſe by an exaltation of the bleſſing and benefit of ſight, and running through a great variety of inſtances thereof, he came to that of ſeeing the beauty of the flowers; whence he cloſed all with this uſeful moral reflection, that man decays, withers, and quickly returns to that earth from which both had their firſt being. Theſe, continues Mr Walton, were ſo exactly debated, and ſo rhetorically handled, as cauſed his maſter Albericus to call him *Henrice mi Ocelle*; an expreſſion which was taken up by ſeveral of Sir Henry's friends, and many other perſons of note during his ſtay in the univerſity (7).

[*E*] *His father left him a rent-charge of a hundred marks per annum.*] The old gentleman had a noble eſtate, and took this method of ſettling the fortunes of his younger ſons, giving to each a rent-charge of the ſame value with this of the youngeſt ſon. Mr Walton (8) relates a remarkable ſtory of this gentleman's being ſaved from engaging in Wyat's rebellion by a dream of his uncle Nicholas Wotton beforementioned; who, while he was Ambaſſador in France in 1553, dreamt that his nephew was inclined to be a party in ſuch a project, as, if he were not ſuddenly prevented, would turn both to the loſs of his life and ruin of his family. Upon this he wrote to Queen Mary, intreating that her Majeſty would cauſe his nephew to be ſent for out of Kent, and that the Lords of the Council would interrogate him in ſome ſuch feigned ſpeeches, as might give a colour for his commitment into a favourable priſon, declaring that he would acquaint her Majeſty with the true reaſons of his requeſt, when he ſhould be ſo happy as to ſee and ſpeak to her Highneſs. The thing was done as the Dean deſired, and Mr Wotton ſecured. It was about this time that the treaty of marriage was ſet on foot between Qu. Mary and K. Philip of Spain, which occaſioned Wyat's rebellion, that ended in his death, and ſeveral others, eſpecially of the county of Kent, where his eſtate lay; and of this number probably we ſhould have found Mr Wotton, had he not been confined; for there had been an ancient and intire friendſhip between the two families; and when the uncle on his return to England viſited his nephew in priſon, he confeſſed that he

had

(2) Ath. Oxon. vol. VI. col. 622, 623.

(3) Ubi ſupra.

(4) Ibid.

(5) In the entrance of that treatiſe.

(6) Printed in Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, 4th ed. 1685.

(7) Walton's life of our author, as before.

(8) Id. ibid.

tion in foreign parts, in which deſign he ſhortly after left Oxford (*f*), where he had made ſo good a figure, and travelled through France, Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries [*F*]: and having ſpent ſeveral years abroad, he returned home an accompliſhed ſcholar, well qualified for any publick employment, which had always been his wiſh, and which he obtained ſoon after his return (*g*), apparently in 1596; when he was appointed Secretary to Robert Earl of Eſſex. In this quality he attended that peculiar favourite of Queen Elizabeth in his expeditions by ſea againſt the Spaniards (*h*) that and the following year, as he did alſo in his Lord's ſubſequent expedition to Ireland in 1599. But upon his return from thence, the earl being apprehended upon no leſs a charge than that of high treaſon, the Secretary dreading the conſequence to himſelf, though no ways concerned in the cauſe, thought it beſt to ſecure his own ſafety by flight. Under theſe fears he preſently withdrew in the moſt private manner by the way of Dover into France, where hearing of his maſter's arraignment, trial, and execution, he continued for ſome time in great perplexity, and judging it not ſafe for him to return home (*i*), he paſſed once more into Italy, and fixed his reſidence chiefly at Florence, being well known and much reſpected at that court; and the place became more agreeable by his meeting here with an old friend, Signor Vietta, a gentleman of Venice, then taken into the ſervice of the Grand Duke of Tuſcany as his ſecretary (*k*). It was during this retreat that he drew up his *State of Chriſtendom, or, a moſt exact and curious diſcovery of many ſecret paſſages and hidden myſteries of the times* [G], which was firſt printed in 1657, in folio,

(*f*) Letter to Lord Zouch, dated July 10th, 1592, he ſays he had been 3 years upon his travels. Reliq. Wotton. p. 676. ed. 1685.

(*g*) In his life by Walton it is ſaid he was near 9 years upon his travels, in which he is followed by Mr Wood; but it may be an error of the preſs, and the tail of the 9 ſhould be turned upwards to make it 6.

(*h*) His lordſhip's firſt expedition was in that year. Gen. hiſt. of England.

(*i*) He had been trained up in his travels into a cautious vigilance of this kind. See Rem. [*F*].

(*k*) His life by Walton.

had had more than one intimation of Wyat's intentions, and thought he ſhould not have continued intirely innocent, if his uncle had not ſo happily dreamt him into a priſon. Though the circumſtances of this ſtory make it apparent, that the dream was no more than a paraphraſe of the Dean's waking thoughts, or perhaps no more than an artful device for a better pretence to apply to the Queen on the occaſion; yet the family ſeems to have ſunk into the common ſuperſtitious weakneſs upon the article of dreams, if we may believe Mr Walton, who ſpeaking of Thomas Wotton, Eſq; our ſtateſman's father, tells us, that his dreams did uſually prove true, both in foretelling things to come, and diſcovering things paſt. A little before his death, continues Mr Walton, he dreamed that the univerſity treaſury [at Oxford] was robbed by townſmen and poor ſcholars; and that the number was five. And being to write to his ſon Henry at Oxford, he thought it worth ſo much pains, as by a poſtſcript in his letter, to make a ſlight enquiry of it. The letter, which was writ out of Kent, and dated three days before, came to his ſon's hands the very morning after the night in which the robbery was committed; and when the city and univerſity were both in a perplexed inqueſt of the thieves, then did Sir Henry Wotton ſhew his father's letter, and by it ſuch light was given of this work of darkneſs, that the five guilty perſons were preſently diſcovered and apprehended, without putting the univerſity to ſo much trouble as the caſting of a figure. But Mr Wood obſerves (9), that upon his ſearch into the univerſity regiſters, records, accounts, &c. from 1584 to 1589, in which time our author Wotton was reſident in Oxford, he found no ſuch robbery committed.

[*F*] *He travelled through Italy, Germany, &c.*] As the then ſtate of the times made it hazardous for an Engliſh Proteſtant to travel into thoſe countries, our traveller aſſumed a feigned name at his firſt ſetting out, and changed that frequently as occaſion required. By ſeveral of his letters to Lord Zouch from Ingoldſtadt and Vienna, in 1590 and 1591, it may be collected, that he paſſed then for a Dutchman, and always as a Roman Catholic; and he lived as a ſtudent. At the latter place he boarded with Dr Blotius, the Emperor's Librarian, by whoſe means he had free acceſs to that library, in which were many choice manuſcripts concerning the ſtate of the empire: into thoſe ſecrets he made it his buſineſs particularly to ſearch; and by the ſame perſon he had good opportunity of learning the ſecret debates of the empire. For my part, ſays he in a letter, dated February 6, 1591, my chief cares and charges are beſtowed in Greek and Dutch writers, and ſecret letters of the empire, of which I have in my poſſeſſion ſome that might make a great man beholding to me. As he then intended ſhortly for Italy, to conceal his paſſage thither, he gave out that he deſigned for Conſtantinople. He went however to Florence that year, as appears from a letter to Lord Zouch, dated Florence, May 8, 1592; in which he gives the following account of his journey from Venice to Rome. 'I had,' ſays he, 'the company of the Baron, with whom, 'notwithſtanding the Catholick religion, I entered into very intrinſecal familiarity, having perſuaded 'him, that I was half his countryman, himſelf being 'born, though under the Duke of Cleve, yet not far 'from Colen, which went for my town. I found 'him by converſation to be very indiſcreet, ſoon led, 'given much to women, careleſs of religion; qualities notably ſerving my purpoſe: for while a man 'is held in exerciſe with his own vices, he hath little 'leiſure to obſerve others; and beſides, to feign myſelf an accommodable perſon unto his humour in 'all points was indeed moſt convenient for me; looſeneſs of behaviour and a negligent worldly kind of 'carriage of a man's ſelf are the faults that ſtates 'leaſt fear, becauſe they hurt only him in whom they 'are found. To take the benefit of this, I entered 'Rome with a mighty blue feather in a black hat, 'which though in itſelf were a ſlight matter, yet ſurely 'did it work in the imaginations of men three great 'effects: Firſt, I was by it taken for no Engliſhman, 'upon which depended the ground of all; Secondly, 'I was reputed as light in my mind as in my apparel '(they are not dangerous men that are ſo): Thirdly, 'No man could think that I deſired to be unknown, 'who by wearing that feather took a courſe to make 'myſelf famous through Rome in few days.'—— He proceeds to relate, that upon an unexpected meeting with a Scotſman, who he apprehended might diſcover him, he withdrew ſecretly from Rome, but not before he could ſay this of himſelf, that no Engliſhman, containing himſelf within his allegiance to her Majeſty, had ſeen more concerning the points at Rome, than he had done, 'which,' ſays he, 'I ſpeak abſolutely without exception;' of which he afterwards gives ſome ſpecimens, and concludes thus: 'My 'Lord Zouch and Henry Wotton are eſpecially laid 'wait for at Rome and through the King of Spain's 'dominions, as I have been ſignified; and here at 'Florence I find the beginnings of a notable villainy; 'for one (either of Venice or Padua) hath written unto a certain Florentine of great *pratique* with ſtrangers, to enquire after me amongſt the Dutch nation, which was done not long after my departure 'from Venice. I have not yet ſearched out the bottom of it.'— From Florence he paſſed through Prato, Piſtoria, Luca, Piſa, and moſt of the towns ſituate in the plains of Etruria, to Sienna, in October 1592. This ſtop at Sienna was occaſioned by ſome advice he received from England to remain for ſome time near the Great Duke's court. Here he lodged in the houſe of that ancient courtier of the Pope, Scipio Alberti, of whom he learned that travellers maxim, which he many years after gave in charge to Milton the poet, *I penſieri ſtretti, et il viſo ſciolto* †. From Sienna he paſſed through the Genoeſe territories and the Milaneſe to Venice (10). It appears from ſome letters to the ſame nobleman, that our author compoſed ſome pieces, as it ſhould ſeem, of ſtate-politicks at this time, and particularly A Diſcourſe of all the Princes in Germany, their Views, Revenues, and Strength.

[G] *The State of Chriſtendom, &c.*] That this treatiſe was written at this time is manifeſt from the whole

tenor

(9) Ubi ſupra.

† See Milton's article.

(10) He was in 1593 at Geneva, where he lodged in the houſe of the famous Iſaac Caſaubon.—— Letter to Lord Zouch, ubi ſupra.

folio, and reprinted in 1677, with this title, *The ſtate of Chriſtendom, giving a perfect and exact diſcovery of many political intrigues and ſecret myſteries of ſtate, practiſed in moſt of the courts of Europe, with an account of their ſeveral claims, intereſts, and pretenſions.* He was thus employed, when about a year before the death of Queen Elizabeth an unforeſeen accident opened the door of his ſubſequent fortune, in bringing him an opportunity of performing a piece of ſecret ſervice of the laſt importance to King James, then in Scotland. The Great Duke of Tuſcany having at this time intercepted ſome letters wherein was diſcovered a deſign to take away the life of the Scottiſh king, thereupon reſolved, in abhorrence of the fact, to endeavour the prevention of it. To which purpoſe he adviſed with his Secretary Vietta, by what means a relation of it might beſt be given to that monarch. After ſome deliberation the affair was reſolved to be committed to Mr Wotton, who had been firſt of all recommended to the Duke, who had alſo taken notice and approved of him above all the Engliſh that frequented that court. Mr Wotton was gladly called by his friend Vietta to the Duke, who after much profeſſion of truſt and friendſhip, acquainted him with the ſecret, and being well inſtructed, diſpatched him into Scotland with letters to the King, and with thoſe letters ſuch Italian antidotes againſt poiſon as the Scots till then had been ſtrangers to. As ſoon as he received his proper credentials, he parted from the Duke, and taking up the name and language of an Italian, he, to avoid the line of Engliſh intelligence and danger, poſted into Norway, and through that country towards Scotland; where he found the King at Stirling. There he uſed means, by Bernard Lindſey of the King's bed-chamber, to procure him a ſpeedy and private conference with his Majeſty; aſſuring him, that the buſineſs he came to negotiate was of ſuch conſequence, as had cauſed the Great Duke of Tuſcany to enjoin him ſuddenly to leave his native country, in order to impart it to his King. Upon Mr Lindſey's reporting this to his Majeſty, he was firſt ſtruck with ſome little wonder, mixed with jealouſy, to hear of an Italiam embaſſador or meſſenger; and requiring his name, which was ſaid to be Octavio Baldi, appointed him a private audience at a fixed hour that evening. When Octavio Baldi came to the preſence-chamber door, he was requeſted to lay aſide his long rapier, which, Italian-like, he then wore; and being entered the chamber, he found there with the King three or four Scotch Lords ſtanding at a diſtance in ſeveral corners of the chamber, at the ſight of whom he made a ſtand, which the King obſerving, bade him be bold, and deliver his meſſage, for he would undertake for the ſecreſy of all that were preſent. Then Octavio Baldi delivered his letters and meſſage to the King in Italian, which when his Majeſty had received graciouſly, after our meſſenger ſtepped to the table, and whiſpered the King in his own language, that he was an Engliſhman, begging a more private conference with his Majeſty, and that he might be concealed during his ſtay in that nation, which was promiſed and faithfully performed by the King for three months, the time of his ſtay there; the whole being ſpent with much pleaſantneſs to the King, and as much to Octavio Baldi as that country could afford; whence he departed as true an Italian as he came thither. To the Duke at Florence he returned with a fair and grateful account of his embaſſy; and a few months after, there came certain news to Florence, that Queen Elizabeth was dead, and that James King of Scotland was proclaimed King of England. Upon which, by the advice of the Great Duke, Mr Wotton ſet out homewards, not without hopes of making his fortune [*H*]. The ſucceſs proved anſwerable to his wiſhes. The King, upon his acceſſion to the Engliſh crown, ordered him to be immediately ſent for, and as ſoon as he arrived, conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, and with great commendations of his fidelity and abilities which qualified him for foreign buſineſs, promiſed to employ him in that way. Accordingly, in 1604, he ſent him ambaſſador in ordinary to Venice. And

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tenor of it; and by the firſt pages of it there ſeems to be room to conjecture, that his deſign in it was to procure Queen Elizabeth's favour, and leave to return to England. However that be, it is evident, that though he thought himſelf well verſed in the ſecrets of all Chriſtendom at that time, yet the whole centers in a learned defence of every meaſure of that Queen's reign, which were moſt liable to objection; as her aſſiſting the Dutch proteſtants and the French catholicks both againſt Spain; the execution of the Queen of Scots; and of Don Antonio in Portugal. Under the firſt of theſe articles he ſettles the meaſures of Chriſtian obedience to ſovereign Princes upon ſuch clear principles, that the ſubject has not been better handled by any one ſince the revolution, and it is the firſt Elogium on Queen Elizabeth (from page 82—90 incluſive) that is found in any branch of our hiſtory. In ſhort, in this piece our author opened all the treaſures of his political knowledge and talents, and laid it down as an offering at the feet of his royal Miſtreſs. The beginning of it ſhews, that he was then well known to and by Cardinal Allen, Morgan, Thomas Throgmorton, and Charles Paget, and truſted by thoſe Engliſh refugees on account of their religion, and the different doctrines of ſome Jeſuits.

[*H*] *Not without hopes of making his fortune.*] Accordingly, when K. James arrived in England, he found, among others of the late Queen's officers, Sir Edward Wotton, Comptroller of the Houſhold; of whom he demanded, if he knew one Henry Wotton, that had ſpent much time in foreign travel. Sir Edward replied, he knew him well, and that he was his brother; and the King aſking where he then was, was anſwered, at Venice or Florence, but, by late letters from thence, he underſtood, he would ſuddenly be at Paris. Send for him, ſaid the King, and when he ſhall come into England, bid him repair privately to me. Sir Edward, after a little wonder, aſked the King, if he knew him. The King anſwered, Ye muſt reſt unſatisfied of that, till you bring the gentleman to me. Not many months after, Sir Edward brought his brother to attend the King, who took him in his arms, and bid him welcome by the name of Octavio Baldi; ſaying, he was the moſt honeſt, and therefore the beſt, diſſembler that ever he met with: and ſurely, ſays his Majeſty, I know you neither want learning, travel, nor experience; and that I *had ſo real* a teſtimony of your fidelity and abilities to manage an ambaſſage, I have ſent for you to declare my purpoſe, which is to make uſe of you in that kind hereafter. (11)

(11) Walton, as before.

ſo high was his reputation, that ſeveral gentlemen of the beſt breeding and families in the kingdom requeſted him to permit their ſons, &c. to attend him in this embaſſy, for their improvement under his eye, and by his converſation and example *(l)*. On his way thither, in paſſing through Germany, he ſtaid ſome days at Augſburg, where having in his former travels been well known by many of the beſt note for literature, and paſſing an evening in merriment, he was requeſted to write ſome ſentence in the *album* (*m*) of one of the company, to which he conſenting, took occaſion, from ſome accidental diſcourſe that had paſſed, to write a pleaſant definition of an ambaſſador in theſe words: *Legatus eſt vir bonus, peregre miſſus ad mentiendum reipublicæ cauſa*, which may be thus engliſhed; *An ambaſſador is an honeſt man, ſent to lye abroad for the good of his country*: but the word for *lye*, upon which the conceit turned, is not ſo expreſſed in Latin as would admit, eſpecially in the hands of an enemy, ſo fair a conſtruction as Sir Henry thought in Engliſh. At Venice he executed this ambaſſage much to the ſatisfaction of the King, and to the honour and intereſt of his country [*I*]. But on his return home in 1610 he had the misfortune

(*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) A kind of pocket-books ſo called, much uſed by the German ſcholars and travellers for this purpoſe.

[*I*] *To the ſatisfaction of his Majeſty, and the honour and intereſt of his country.*] About a year before, in 1603, ſome contentions had ariſen between the Pope [Clement VIth] and the Venetians: That ſtate having not only paſſed ſeveral injunctions againſt lay perſons, given lands or goods to the church without licence from the civil magiſtrate, ſomewhat like our ſtatutes of mortmain, but had by certain foul views ſeized and impriſoned an Abbot and a Canon, two churchmen, without licence from the Pope; and though while Clement lived, the difference however proceeded no further than to calm debates, yet King James thought it expedient to foment the diviſion, in a view perhaps of animating the Venetians to ſhake off the Romiſh religion. But upon the death of Clement, Pope Paul V. a man of a much hotter temper, greatly inflamed this quarrel; and objecting thoſe late acts of the ſtates to be a diminution of his juſt power, he limited twenty-four days for their revocation, threatening to excommunicate the republic, unleſs he was obeyed. Thus it continued for about a year; the Pope ſtill threatening, and the Venetians ſtill anſwering him with fair ſpeeches, and no compliance; till in 1606 the Pope proceeded to an actual interdict againſt the ſtates, who on their ſide, upon hearing of it, immediately publiſhed by ſound of trumpet a proclamation to this effect: *That whoever had received from Rome any copy of a papal interdict publiſhed there againſt the law of God, as againſt the honour of that nation, ſhould preſently render it to the Council of Ten, upon pain of death.* This done, they recalled their Ambaſſador from Rome, and ſuſpended the Inquiſition by an act of ſtate. At ſuch a juncture 'tis true our Ambaſſador had no difficult card to play; his buſineſs being to ſpirit up the quarrel, if poſſible, into a total breach. But however he failed in that; and Biſhop Burnet (13), ſpeaking of this ambaſſage, has preſumed even to attack his conduct in the following terms: ‘ Here,’ ſays he, ‘ I muſt add a paſſage, concerning which I am in doubt, whether it reflected more on the ſincerity or on the underſtanding of the Engliſh Ambaſſador. The breach between the Pope and the Republic was brought very near to a criſis; ſo that it was expected a total ſeparation not only from the court but from the church of Rome was likely to follow upon it. It was ſet on by P. Paolo, and the ſeven Divines *, with much zeal, and was very prudently conducted by them. In order to the advancing of it, K. James ordered his Ambaſſador to offer all poſſible aſſiſtance to them, and to accuſe the Pope and the Papacy as the chief authors of all the miſchiefs of Chriſtendom. The Prince and Senate anſwered this in words full of reſpect to K. James, and ſaid, they knew things were not ſo bad, as ſome endeavoured to make the world believe, on deſign to ſow diſcord between Chriſtian Princes. And when the Pope's Nuncio objected, that King James was not a Catholic, and therefore was not to be relied on, the Duke anſwered, that the King of England believed in Jeſus Chriſt, but he did not know on whom ſome others believed. Upon which P. Paolo and the ſeven Divines preſſed Mr Bedel, the Ambaſſador's Chaplain, to move the Ambaſſador to preſent King James's Premonition to all Chriſtian Princes and States, then put in Latin, to the Senate; and they were confident it would produce a great effect. But the Ambaſſador could not be prevailed on to do it at that time, pretending that as St James's day was near at hand, it would be more proper to do it then. If this was only for the ſake of a ſpeech that he had made on the conceit of St James's day and King James's book, with which he had intended to preſent it, that was a weakneſs never to be excuſed. But if this was only a pretence, and there was a deſign under it, it was a crime not to be forgiven. All that Bedel could ſay to perſuade him not to put off a thing of ſuch importance was in vain; and indeed I can hardly think that Wotton was ſo weak a man, as to have acted ſincerely in this matter. Before St James's day came, which I ſuppoſe was the firſt of May, and not the 25th of July, the difference was made up, and that happy opportunity was loſt; ſo that when he had his audience on that day on which he preſented the book, all the anſwer he got was, that they thanked the King of England for his good wiſhes, but they were now reconciled to the Pope, and that therefore they were reſolved not to admit of any change in their religion, according to their agreement with the court of Rome. It may be eaſily imagined, what a wound this was to his Chaplain, as well as to P. Paolo and the ſeven Divines.’—— Thus ſeverely is Sir Henry uſed by that author; but he has made a rod for his own back, which the reader will find in the following remark on the paſſage by Dr Hickes. ‘ Behold here a ſtory as falſe as formal,’ ſays that gentleman, ‘ and great pity 'tis, that Sir Henry Wotton's heir, if any ſuch be now alive to repreſent him, ſhould not have the benefit of an action againſt our hiſtorian to repair the honour of his anceſtor, which is ſo deeply wounded by him. For if this ſtory were punctually true, it would not bear the ſevere reflections which he hath made upon Sir Henry for it; becauſe he might not think fit to follow his Chaplain's advice without an order from the King his maſter, which he might hope to receive before St James's day, and yet for private reaſons not think fit to tell his Chaplain the reaſon of his delay. But the ſtory muſt needs be falſe, becauſe the King's book of which he makes mention was not then extant. For the Pope and the Venetians were reconciled in April 1607 (14), and the King's *Premonition* came not out till 1609. Nor would it help him to ſay that this is only a miſtake of the *Premonition* for the *Apology*, which was reprinted with it, and to which, in the King's own phraſe, it was a preamble. For the firſt edition of the *Apology* was as little extant before the reconciliation mentioned as the *Premonition*: For that which occaſioned the the King's writing the *Apology*, as himſelf tells us, was the two Breves ſent one by the Pope, and Cardinal Bellarmin's letter; and the later of the Breves bears date from Rome but Auguſt 23, 1607, and the letter September 6, 1608. following. By which it appears that the reconciliation was made ſeveral months before either of theſe were written, and longer before they could come to the King's hand, longer yet before he could finiſh the *Apology* in Engliſh, and again longer before it could be put into Latin. From whence it appears, that this fine-told ſtory, which ſo much diſhonours the memory of Sir Henry Wotton to honour that of his Chaplain, is a pure fiction, and as much the birth of ſome body's brain, as ever any thing Varillas wrote was his (15).” The ſame anſwer of Dr Hickes may be applied to Mr Welwood, who reckons this among the unhappy tranſactions of King James, and attributes the miſcarriage of it to our author, having related the ſtory apparently from Burnet (16). But there is another aſſertion of that prelate in the ſame book, *The Life of Bedel*, which has been too incautiouſly charged as a miſtake.

(13) In his life of Biſhop Bedel, p. 12. edit. 1692. 8vo.

* This is a miſtake; for there were only ſix divines, beſides F. Paul, who made the ſeventh.

(14) Interdict. Venet. hiſtoria tranſlated from the Italian into Latin by Bp Bedel, ed. 1626, 4to.

(15) Some diſcourſes upon Dr B. and Dr T. occaſioned by the late funeral ſermon of the former upon the latter, p. 30, 31. edit. 1695. 8vo.

(16) Welwood's memoirs of the moſt material tranſactions, &c. p. 34. ed. 1700. 8vo.

misfortune to paſs five years in a tedious attendance at court without any employ; the affair at Augſburg being objected to him. The forementioned *album* falling about eight years after into the hands of Gaſpar Scioppius, a zealous Romaniſt, the ſentence was publiſhed by him in his books*, as a principle of the religion profeſſed by the King of England, as well as his ambaſſador; and it was preſently after written on ſeveral glaſs windows in Venice, and Sir Henry Wotton vouched for the author of it. This coming to the knowledge of King James, his Majeſty expreſſed much reſentment againſt his ambaſſador's indiſcretion; which occaſioned Sir Henry to write two apologies, one to Volſerus, a principal perſon in Augſburg, which was diſperſed in Germany and Italy, and another to the King, both ſo well penned, that his Majeſty, upon the receipt of them, declared publickly, that Sir Henry Wotton *had commuted ſufficiently for a greater offence* (*n*). And now, as broken bones well ſet become ſtronger, he did not only recover, but was much more confirmed in his Majeſty's favour and eſteem than he had ever been before. There likewiſe grew out of it a further benefit, of very great uſe in all life: His friends and foes became equally diſcovered by the trial. Thoſe who laboured to excuſe this facetious freedom he learned more highly to value; while thoſe of his acquaintance who urged this as an advantage againſt him, ſerved to teach him that leſſon of wiſdom, to be more carefully watchful over his tongue and pen for the future [*K*]; the neglect of which kept him no leſs than five years unemployed, except in a tedious and painful attendance at court [*L*]. In 1615, after an ambaſſage of ſome months to the United Provinces

[*M*],

* Particularly in one intituled Epiſtola de GaſpariScioppio. Augſburgh1613. and in another intituled Epiſtola ad Marium Volſerum Duumvir. Aug.Vend.anno 16.2.

(*n*) Walton, as before. Both the apologies are inſerted in Reliq. Wotton.

miſtake. 'Tis where he tells us, that Father Paul gave Mr Bedel the MS. of the *Hiſtory of the Council of Trent*; and though it muſt be allowed too roundly advanced in the terms without further explanation, yet is not, as has been maintained, entirely overthown by a paſſage in a letter of Sir Henry Wotton to K. James, written in 1609 (17), where Sir Henry has theſe words: 'I 'acquainted them [the Princes of Germany] how greedy 'the Italians were of our treatiſes in matter of controverſy, and of diverſe ways that had been uſed, both to 'excite and ſatisfy that curioſity both by the works of 'the Archbiſhop of Spalato, ſince his retirement into 'your Majeſty's protection, and *of a diſcourſe that was 'ready to come abroad, wherein ſhould be diſcovered by 'a great intelligent man, even of their own breeding, 'all the practices of the Council of Trent, out of the original letters and ſecret papers, wherein your Majeſty 'had a hand for the benefit of the Chriſtian world.*" According to what Sir Henry here obſerves, that hiſtory was printed this year, 1619, in Engliſh, being tranſlated by Sir Nath. Brent, who went to Italy, on purpoſe to procure the original Italian, and after Bedel's leaving Venice in 1610. Yet it muſt be obſerved, that this is ſpoken by Sir Henry of the complete work; notwithſtanding which, ſome part of that manuſcript might have been written and given to Sir Henry and Biſhop Bedel before; and this is inſinuated by the account we have of this matter from Iſaac Walton in his life of Sir Henry Wotton, who tells us, this hiſtory was at firſt as it was written, ſent in ſeveral ſheets in letters by Sir Henry Wotton, Mr Bedel, and others, unto King James and the then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, into England, and there firſt made publick both in Engliſh and in the univerſal language [Latin]. In ſhort, this matter is fully explained by Biſhop Burnet himſelf, who, after the former too round aſſertion, informs us in the ſame book, that Biſhop Bedel, after his return from Venice, went to his charge at St Edmondſbury [in Suffolk], and there went on in his miniſterial labours, with which he mixed the tranſlating of P. Paolo's immortal writings into Latin. Sir Adam Newton tranſlated the two firſt books of *The Hiſtory of the Council of Trent*, but was not maſter enough of the two languages; ſo that the Archbiſhop of Spalato ſaid, it was not the ſame work; but he highly approved of the two laſt that were tranſlated by Mr Bedel (18). Whence it ſhould ſeem, that Mr Bedel and Sir Henry Wotton ſaw this time at Venice, no more than four books, and that theſe actually were all written. The whole work contains eight books.

(17) It is intituled, 'A report of my negotiations in Germany, and of ſome particularities occurring in my journey. Reliq. Wotton, p. 486. 4th edit. 1685.

(18) See ſome letters relating to the hiſtory of the council of Trent, publiſhed by Dr Lewis Atterbury in 1705. 4to.

[*K*] *Served to teach him a leſſon of more caution for the future.*] It is not improbable, that this ſlip at Augſburg was upon his mind, when he gave the following advice many years afterwards, in the latter part of his life, to a friend, who, on his being deſigned for the employment of an Ambaſſador, came to Eton, and deſiring ſome experimental rules for his prudent and ſafe carriage in his negociations, Sir Henry gave him this for an infallible aphoriſm, *That to be in ſafety himſelf, and ſerviceable to his country, he ſhould always and upon all occaſions ſpeak the truth.* It ſeems a ſtate paradox. But, continues he, you will never be believed, and by this means you will ſecure yourſelf, if you ſhall ever be called to any account; and it will alſo put your adverſaries (who will ſtill hunt counter) to a loſs in all their deſigns and undertakings (19).

(19) Walton in his life.

[*L*] *He paſſed five years.*] The reader cannot but obſerve, that Sir Henry was long in getting into employment after his firſt return from Venice; and he muſt be left to judge how far and whether any objection to him aroſe from what has been ſaid of his conduct and the ill ſucceſs of that employ. In the mean time we ſhall obſerve, that Sir Henry complains very pathetically of his miſerable condition at this time. It is in that letter where he gives an account of Sir Thomas Overbury's impriſonment (20), upon which he makes the following reflection. 'I cannot 'but caſt towards you a longing and in truth an envious look from this place [the court] of ſuch ſervility in the getting, and ſuch uncertainty in the 'holding, of fortunes, where methinks we are all 'overclouded with that ſleep of Jacob, when he ſaw 'ſome aſcending and ſome deſcending; but that thoſe 'were angels, and theſe are men: for in both what 'is it but a dream?' The following extract of another letter, which, though without date, muſt be written in 1613, will let us into ſome account of his preſent way of life, and alſo of his expectations for the future. 'The King,' ſays he, 'when he was laſt 'at Hampton, called me to him, and then acquainted 'me with a general purpoſe that he had to put me 'again into ſome uſe. Since which time the French 'Ambaſſador, and very lately, having, at an audience 'of good length, beſought his Majeſty, I know not 'whether voluntarily or ſet on by ſome of our own, 'to diſencumber himſelf of frequent audiences by the 'choice of ſome confident ſervant, to whom the ſaid 'Ambaſſador might addreſs himſelf in ſuch occurrences as did not require the King's immediate ear, 'it pleaſed him to nominate me for that charge, with 'more gracious commendation, than it can beſeem 'me to repeat, though I write to a friend in whoſe 'heart I dare repoſe even my vanities. But leſt you 'ſhould miſtake, as ſome others have been apt to do 'herein, the preſent conſtitution of the court, which 'is very ombrageous, the King's end in this application of me, I muſt tell you, that it is only for the 'better preparing of my inſufficiency and weakneſs 'for the ſucceeding of Sir Thomas Edmonds in 'France, towards which his Majeſty hath thought fit 'firſt to endue me with ſome knowledge of the French 'buſineſſes, which are *in motu*; and I think my going 'thither will be about Eaſter. Thus you ſee, Sir, 'both my next remove, and the exerciſe of my thoughts 'till then; wherewith there is joined this comfort '(beſides the redemption from expence and being 'kept at home are the gulphs that would ſwallow me) 'that his Majeſty hath promiſed to do ſomething for 'me before I go (21).' In the next letter, dated June 8th, 1614, relating ſomething that had paſſed in the Houſe of Commons, he calls it *our* Houſe more than once; an expreſſion which was very harſh and fond, unleſs he himſelf was then a member of that Houſe:

and

(20) See Sir T. Overbury's article.

(21) This letter is dated Nov. 16. and is in Reliq. Wotton. p. 428, edit. 1685.

[*M*], returning thence he was ſent the ſame year, and in the (*o*) ſame character as before, to Venice. This was the wiſh of his heart. And notwithſtanding the death of his favourer the Duke Leonardo Donato, who had an undiſſembled affection for him, and the malicious inſinuations of Scioppius, yet his intereſt was ſtill found to live and increaſe in all the ſucceeding Dukes, during his employment to that ſtate, which was almoſt twenty years; and it was obſerved, that ſuch was his merit or his modeſty, that they never denied him any requeſt (*p*). His privy ſeal for this embaſſy was granted for three years; at the expiration of which he returned home, in the hope of obtaining the place of Secretary of State, on the death of Winwood [*N*], but was diſappointed (*q*). However, he was ſtill kept in employ abroad, being ſent ſoon after Ambaſſador-extraordinary to the Duke of Savoy, and in ſeveral embaſſies into Germany upon the affairs of the Elector Palatine, in 1619 and the following year [*O*]. After which being remanded a third time to Venice [*P*];

(*o*) His privy ſeal was dated Feb. 1, 1615. See a letter in Reliq. Wotton. p. 485. edit. 1685.

(*p*) Walton.

(*q*) Camdeni annales Regis Jacobi I. ad ann. 1619. Sir Henry returned home July 15th that year.

and yet, if he was ſo, ſurely Mr Walton would have mentioned it, which I don't find he does.

[*M*] *Ambaſſador to the United Provinces.*] By his letter to the King, referred to in the preceding remark, it appears, that the buſineſs of this embaſſy was to concert the four following treaties: 1. The ſequeſtration of Juliers, wherein he was joined with the French. 2. To adjuſt the proviſional poſſeſſion of the two Pretendants; wherein Sir Henry obſerves, that, contrary to the complaint of the Goſpel, the labourers were more than the harveſt. 3. To eſtabliſh a definitive league between the United Provinces and the United Princes. 4. To compoſe ſome differences between the Engliſh and the Dutch relating to trade; and this he obſerves exceeded the other three, both in length and difficulty, for two reaſons; firſt, through the ſenſibleneſs of the ſubject, which was private utility; next, becauſe it had a ſecret commixture of public reſpects, and thoſe of no light conſeqence: for ſurely it importeth more to let the King of Spain diſpenſe alone the commodities of the Eaſt, than for either of us to want them. The three firſt he brought to a happy concluſion; and in regard to this laſt, a matter of commerce, proper Commiſſioners were joined with him. ‘ By theſe,’ ſays he, ‘ it may pleaſe your Majeſty to underſtand, in what fair terms we have left it, ſomewhat reſembling to my fancy thoſe women of *Nombre de Dios*, who they ſay are never brought to bed in the place where they conceive, but bring forth their children in a better air. And ſo I hope that our travels and unformed conceptions will take life in your own kingdom, which will be more honour to them both. For my own part, I dare affirm of theſe your Commiſſioners, that they have diſcharged their duties and their conſciences with all faithful care of your Majeſty's commandments. I am confident likewiſe, they will give me their honeſt teſtimony.’

[*N*] *He returned from Venice in hopes of being appointed Secretary of State.*] The following letter ſent to him before his return by Sir Thomas Wentworth, Bart. afterwards Earl of Strafford, upon this occaſion, is a conſpicuous inſtance of the reſpect and friendſhip with which that great ſtateſman honoured our Ambaſſador.

Sir Thomas Wentworth, Bart. to Sir Henry Wotton, Knt. Lord Ambaſſador at Venice.

‘ SIR,

‘ I ſhould be ungrateful to my own good fortune in enjoying ſo noble a friend, and ſeem forgetful of your great kindneſs and reſpect towards me, if I did not make uſe of this opportunity, firſt to give you many thanks for the books I have received, as alſo to importune you in a ſecond requeſt, that you will be pleaſed ſome way to imploy me whereby I may make ſome requital, and give you teſtimony how diligently I will labour to do you ſervice.

‘ Our Prince, God be praiſed, grows every day ſtronger, and bettered in his ſtature very much, which gives us all great comfort.

‘ Mr Secretary Winwood (as I doubt not but you hear) is dead, whereby you ſee Death expects no compliment, otherwiſe he would certainly have kept it at the ſtaff's end, with a kind of Hollander's auſterity. There are divers named to ſucceed him; but I am one of them that think there will not be any as yet. I wiſh from my heart the honour thereof might be the occaſion of your ſpeedier return, neither can I do leſs than hope for it, ſeeing your deſerts are by all men beſt approved. The expectancy of Sir Edward Coke's riſing is much abated by reaſon of his Lady's liberty, who was brought in great honour to Exeter houſe by my Lord of Buckingham from Sir William Craven's, whither ſhe had been commanded, preſented by his Lordſhip to the King, received gracious uſage, reconciled to her daughter by his Majeſty, and her houſe in Holborn enlightened by his preſence at dinner, where there was a royal feaſt, and to make it more abſolutely her own, expreſs commandment given by her Ladyſhip, as is reported, that neither Sir Edward Coke nor any of his ſervants ſhould be admitted.

‘ It is conſtantly voiced that my Lord of Buckingham ſhall be Admiral, the old man ſatisfied with a penſion, and Marquis Hamilton made Maſter of the Horſe, being exceeding well reſpected by my Lord Buckingham, and very inward with him, as is thought. The Marquis takes notice of ſome favour you have formerly done him, ſeems to ſtand well affected towards you, and may be in my poor opinion a good means for you, which I ſubmit to your wiſdom.

‘ By this time you may ſee how active we are, and I think more removing in theſe cold and ſluggiſh climates than in the more ſublimated air of Italy; but my lines grow tedious in regard of your more weighty imployment. I will therefore conclude with the renewing of my ſuit, that you will by your commands vouchſafe me an expected occaſion to give you ſome good demonſtrative arguments of my being

‘ Your affectionate friend and ſervant,

London, Nov. 8, 1617. ‘ TH. WENTWORTH (22).’

* Strafforde's ſtate-papers, vol. I.

[*O*] *Upon the affairs of the Elector Palatine.*] Every one knows, that the ill ſucceſs of his negotiations with the Emperor were owing to the unfortunate battle of Prague, after which Sir Henry ſeeing all hopes of peace intirely blaſted, prepared to remove from that court. At his audience of taking leave of the Emperor, he boldly remembered him, that the events of every battle move on the unſeen wheels of fortune, which are this moment up, and down the next; and therefore humbly adviſed him to uſe his victory ſo ſoberly, as ſtill to put on thoughts of peace. To which the Emperor replied, that he would conſider his advice; and though he looked on the King his maſter as an abettor of his enemy the Palſgrave, yet for Sir Henry himſelf, his behaviour had been ſuch during the management of the treaty, that he took him to be a perſon of much honour and merit; and did therefore deſire him to accept of that jewel as a teſtimony of his good opinion of him. This was a ſet of diamonds worth upwards of a thouſand pounds. The jewel was received with all outward circumſtances and terms of honour by Sir Henry; but the next morning, at his departure from Vienna, he was to take his leave of the Counteſs of Sabrina, an Italian Lady in whoſe houſe the Emperor had appointed him to be lodged and honourably entertained, he acknowledged her merits, and beſought her to accept of that jewel as a teſtimony of his gratitude for her civilities, preſenting her with the ſame ſet of diamonds that was given him by the Emperor; which being immediately diſcovered, and told to the Emperor, was by him taken for a very high affront. Sir Henry being told ſo by a meſſenger, he replied, that though he received

[*P*], with directions to take the round thither thro' Germany, he returned not to England till the year of K. James's death [*Q*]. Not long after his arrival, upon the deceaſe of Mr Tho. Murray in 1623, he ſucceeded him in the provoſtſhip of Eton College [*R*], into which he

ceived it with thankfulneſs, yet he found in himſelf an indiſpoſition to be the better for any gift, that came from an enemy to his royal miſtreſs the Queen of Bohemia (25).——Before his departure he received three copies of the *Novum Organon* as a preſent from the Lord Bacon himſelf (26), who at the ſame time recommended Mr Meawtis to his favour; that gentleman being then with Sir Henry, to whom, as well as to his Lordſhip, he was related. This muſt be that Sir Thomas Meawtis who erected Lord Bacon's monument, the inſcription for which was written by Sir Henry Wotton (27).

(25) Walton, p. 43, 44. ed. 1685.

(26) Letter to Lord Bacon, in Reliq. Wotton.

(27) See Lord Bacon's article.

[*P*] *He was remanded a third time to Venice.*] We have already obſerved in the text, that he was attended in theſe embaſſies by the ſons of ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen deſigned for ſtate employments. Among others, he took under his wing a younger brother of the illuſtrious Sir Thomas Wentworth, who did not neglect to acknowledge the kindneſs in the following terms:

Sir Thomas Wentworth, Bart. to Sir Henry Wotton, Knt. Lord Ambaſſador at Venice.

'My much honoured Lord,

'So many have been your favours towards me, 'that I muſt in acknowledging of them vow a ſettled 'devotion to your Lordſhip; and finding myſelf not 'the only object thereof, but that you are pleaſed (as 'I underſtand by my brother H.) to enlarge them 'upon him for my ſake, I muſt confeſs them multiplied with an high hand, and that I ſhall hold myſelf moſt thankful and deeply indebted to you for 'the ſame. My earneſt ſuit is, that you will vouchſafe to continue your particular reſpect and favour 'towards him, both in his preſent journey and further 'employment abroad. He is young, therefore may 'fall into ſome miſtakings; it ſhall be therefore my 'continued obligation and your nobleneſs both to 'bear with his lack of experience and to afford him 'your grave and judicious advice, which (if I do not 'much miſtake his diſpoſition) he will dutifully and 'obſervantly frame to amend and obey your appointments. Good Sir, be pleaſed to take into 'your remembrance, that he is the brother of him 'that doth moſt truly honour you, that ſo living by 'your care, and guided by your counſels, he may 'one day be enabled to retribute unto you an humble 'and fruitful thankfulneſs. There reſts nothing but 'to pray for your proſperous journey, which I do 'from my heart, and to recommend unto you the 'faith, freeneſs, readineſs, and perſeverance, in doing you ſervice of

'Your Lordſhip's

'Moſt affectionate friend and ſervant,

Wentworth-Woodhouſe, Apr. 3. 1620. 'TH. WENTWORTH.'

[*Q*] *He returned to England.*] In his return from this his laſt embaſſy he left his arms at all houſes, where he lodged or reſted in the way, with this inſcription under them: Henricus Wottonus *Anglo-Cantianus* Thomæ *optimi viri filius natu minimus a ſereniſſimo* Jacobo I. *Magnæ Britanniæ Rege in equeſtrem titulum adſcitus, ejuſdemq; ter ad Rempublicam Venetam Legatus Ordinarius; ſemel ad Confederatarum Provinciarum Ordines in Juliarienſi negotio. Bis ad Carolum Emanuel Sabadiæ Ducem. Semel ad unitos ſuperioris Germaniæ Principes, in Conventu Halbrenſi. Poſtremo ad Archiducem Leopoldum, Ducem Wittenbergenſem, Civitates Imperialis Argentinum Ulmamq; & ipſum Romanorum Imperatorem Ferdinandum Secundum Legatus Extraordinarius, tandem hoc didicit* ANIMOS FIERI SAPIENTIORES QUIESCENDO.——In this piece of vanity he followed the example of Sir Philip Sidney, of whom Sir Henry was a great admirer, and uſed to ſay, *Sir Philip's wit was the very meaſure of congruity* (28).

(28) Walton as before.

[*R*] *He was made Provoſt of Eton college.*] He had ſome powerful competitors for this deſirable place. Among others was his kinſman and friend Lord Bacon, who, that he might not be too late, applied before it was actually vacant. The letters written by that unfortunate Lord Chancellor on this occaſion cannot fail of entertaining the reader.

To the King.

'It may pleaſe your Majeſty now that my friend * 'is abſent (for ſo I may call him ſtill, ſince your Majeſty when I waited on you told me that fortune 'made no difference) your Majeſty remaineth to me 'King, and Maſter, and Friend, and all. Your Beadſman addreſſeth himſelf to your Majeſty for a cell to 'retire into. The particulars I have expreſſed to my 'very good friend Mr Secretary Conway. This help, 'which coſts your Majeſty nothing, may reſerve me 'to do your Majeſty ſervice, without being chargeable unto you. For I will never deny, but my deſire to ſerve your Majeſty is of the nature of the 'heart, and ſhall be *ultimum moriens* with me.

'God preſerve your Majeſty, and ſend you a good 'return of the affair abroad, which paſſeth all Indian 'flights.

'Your Majeſty's moſt humble

'And devoted ſervant,

March 25, 1623 *. 'FR. ST ALBANS.

* The then Marquis (afterwards Duke) of Buckingham.

* Indorſed, To the KING, touching the Provoſtſhip of Eton.

That to Mr Secretary Conway was in theſe terms:

'Good Mr Secretary Conway,

'When you did me the honour and favour to viſit 'me, you did not only in general terms expreſs your 'love to me, but as a real friend aſked me, whether 'I had any particular occaſion, wherein I might make 'uſe of you? At that time I had none, now there is 'one fallen. It is, that Mr Thomas Murray Provoſt 'of Eton college, (whom I love very well) is like to 'die. It were a pretty cell for my fortune. The 'college and ſchool I don't doubt but I ſhall make 'to flouriſh. His Majeſty when I waited upon him 'took notice of my wants, and ſaid to me, that as he 'was a King, he would have care of me. This is a 'thing ſomebody would have, and coſts his Majeſty 'nothing. I have written two or three words to his 'Majeſty, which I would pray you to deliver. I have 'not expreſſed this particular to his Majeſty, but referred it to your relation. My moſt noble friend, 'the Marquis, is now abſent; next to him I could not 'think of a better addreſs than to yourſelf; as one 'likelieſt to put on his affection. I reſt

'Your Honour's very affectionate friend,

Grey's Inn,
the 25th of March
1623. FR. ST ALBANS.

To this letter Mr Secretary Conway wrote an anſwer, acquainting the Viſcount, that the King could not value his Lordſhip ſo little, or conceive that he limited his deſires ſo low; in which however he ſhould have been gratified, had not the King been engaged by the Marquis of Buckingham for Sir William Becher, his agent in France (29). Hereupon the Viſcount took courage to repeat his ſuit in ſtill more preſſing terms, as follows:

(29) Account of the life of the Lord Bacon, p. 26. prefixed to the edition of his letters, memoirs, &c. by R. Stephens, Eſq; whoſe extract from this anſwer of Secretary Conway is cited in Lord Bacon's article in this work, vol. I. p. 409. in the text, but no notice is there taken of his Lordſhip's ſolliciting for the provoſtſhip till after the death of Mr Murray.

To Mr Secretary Conway.

'Good Mr Secretary,

'I am much comforted by your laſt letter, wherein 'I find that his Majeſty of his mere grace and goodneſs vouchſafeth to have a care of me, a man out 'of ſight, out of uſe, but yet his, as the ſcripture 'faith, *God knows thoſe that are his*. In particular, 'I am very much bound to his Majeſty (and I pray 'you, Sir, thank his Majeſty for it) that notwithſtanding the former deſignment of Sir William 'Becher, his Majeſty, as you write, is not out of 'hope he was inſtituted July 26, 1625 (r), having before given up his right to the place of one of the ſix clerks in chancery, as well as to the reverſion of the maſterſhip of the rolls. This retirement at Eton was very acceptable to him. He had drank his fill of publick buſineſs, which he had tranſacted with reputation in the ſervice of his country, and had ſome years aimed at obtaining ſuch a *quietus* for his reward as this place would give. Yet it produced no preſent money [S], which his condition now required. From the beginning of his foreign employments he ſold to his eldeſt brother Lord Wotton the rent-charge left him by his father, and which was worſe, he now at his return ſtood indebted to ſeveral perſons, whom he was not able to ſatisfy, but by the king's payment of his arrears, which ſtill remained due, to the amount of ſeveral thouſand pounds, for his expences in his Majeſty's ſervice abroad. He had alſo brought home many ſervants with him, of which ſome were German and Italian artiſts. In this ſituation he had many times hardly ſufficient to ſupply the occaſions of the day. An extreme indigence! which, it muſt be confeſſed, was in ſome meaſure owing to the improvidence of his nature (s). He had indeed got a grant of the Provoſtſhip, but wanted money to ſettle there. However, by his own intereſt, and that of a friend, he quickly procured five hundred pounds, in part of his arrears [T], and he was as quickly in the college. The ſituation being quite to his mind, as a quiet harbour to a ſea-faring man after a tempeſtuous voyage, here he ſat in a calm, and might, as the poet ſings,

(r) College Regiſters.

(s) Walton.

Laugh at the graver bus'neſs of the ſtate,
Which ſpeaks men rather wiſe, than fortunate.

After

'hope to accommodate me of this *cell*, and to ſatisfy 'him otherways. Many conditions, no doubt, may 'be as contentive to that gentleman, and his years 'may expect them. But there will hardly fall, eſpe'cially in the ſpent hour-glaſs of my life, any thing 'ſo fit for me; being a retreat to a place of ſtudy ſo 'near London, and where, if I ſell my houſe at 'Gorhambury (as I purpoſe to do to put myſelf in 'ſome convenient plenty) I may be accommodate of 'a dwelling for the ſummer time. And, good Mr 'Secretary, further this his Majeſty's good intention 'by all means, if the place fall.

'For yourſelf, you have obliged me much; I will 'endeavour to deſerve it. At leaſt your nobleneſs 'may be never loſt; and my noble friend the Mar'quis I know will thank you for it."

Then follows a poſtſcript, apparently in the view of furthering his ſuit by a preſent to his Majeſty of ſome papers concerning uſury.

'I was looking,' ſays he, 'ſome ſhort papers of 'mine touching uſury to grind the teeth of it, and 'yet make it grind to his Majeſty's mill in good 'ſort without diſcontentment.——— If you think 'good, I will ſend it to his Majeſty as the fruit of my 'leiſure. But yet I would not have it come from me; 'not for any tenderneſs in the thing, but becauſe I 'know in courts of Princes it is *non res, ſed diſplicet* '*auctor*.' Indorſed to Mr Secretary Conway, touching the provoſtſhip of Eton. March 31, 1623.

The Duke of Buckingham, after his return from Spain, in a letter to the Viſcount, dated at Hinchinbrook, October 27, 1623, expreſſes his concern that he could do his Lordſhip no ſervice in this affair, 'having engaged myſelf,' ſays he, 'to Sir W. Becher 'before my going into Spain, ſo that I cannot free 'myſelf, unleſs there were means to give him ſatiſ'faction.' Theſe means it ſeems were found, Sir William having, in lieu of the provoſtſhip, a promiſe of 2500l. upon the fall of the firſt of the Six Clerks places in Chancery, and was permitted to keep his Clerkſhip of the Council (30). But this agreement with Sir William Becher was ſo far from being ſerviceable to my Lord St Albans, that it was evidently done to make way for his competitor Sir Henry Wotton; who likewiſe, upon the ſurrendry of his reverſionary right to the Maſterſhip of the Rolls, had a promiſe from the Duke of Buckingham to procure him ſome equivalent recompence for it.

(30) Letter of Mr Chamberlayn to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated at London, July 24, 1624.

[S] *It produced no preſent money.*] The reverſion of the Clerk's place in Chancery might have been turned into preſent money; but the vacancy happening in his abſence, the Duke of Buckingham prevailed upon his Majeſty to diſpoſe of it to another abſolutely without any regard to Sir Henry's right. And as to the reverſion of the Maſterſhip of the Rolls, Sir Julius Cæſar was then in poſſeſſion, who was ſtill living, ſo that neither did this turn to any preſent money. By the following letter to the Duke of Buckingham, we ſee the loſs of his ambaſſage was an unexpected ſtroke to him.

'May it pleaſe your Grace,

'Having ſome days by ſickneſs been deprived of 'the comfort of your ſight, who did me ſo much ho'nour at my laſt acceſs, I am bold to make theſe 'poor lines happier than myſelf; and withal to re'preſent unto your Grace (whoſe noble patronage is 'my refuge, when I find any occaſion to bewail mine 'unhappy fortune) a thing which ſeemed ſtrange unto 'me. I am told, I know not how truly, that his 'Majeſty hath already diſpoſed of the Venetian am'baſſage to Sir Iſaac Weake, from whoſe ſufficiency 'if I ſhould detract, it would be but an argument of 'my own weakneſs.

'But that which herein doth touch me, I am loth to 'ſay in point of reputation, ſurelie much in my live'lihood (as lawyers ſpeak) is, that thereby, after 'ſeventeen years of foreign and continual employ'ment, either ordinary or extraordinary, I am left 'utterly deſtitute of all poſſibility to ſubſiſt at home: 'much like thoſe ſeal fiſhes, which ſometimes, as 'they ſay, overſleeping themſelves in an ebbing wa'ter, feel nothing about them but a dry ſhore when 'they awake. Which compariſon I am fain to ſeek 'among thoſe creatures, not knowing among men 'that have ſo long ſerved ſo gracious a maſter, any 'one to whom I may reſemble my unfortunate buſi'neſs. Good my Lord, as your Grace hath vouch'ſafed me ſome part of your love, ſo make me worthy 'in this of ſome part of your compaſſion; ſo I hear'tily reſt

'Your Grace's, &c.

'Henry Wotton.' (31)

(31) See Sir Henry's letter to King Charles I. in Rem. [W].

[T] *He procured part of his arrears by the means of a friend.*] This friend's name was Nicholas Pey, to whom Sir Henry wrote for his aſſiſtance on the preſent occaſion. He was an old friend, who had in his youth been a clerk, or in ſome ſuch way a ſervant, to the Lord Wotton, Sir Henry's brother, and by him, when he was Comptroller of the King's Houſhold, was preferred to be a great officer in his Majeſty's houſe (32). This and other favours being conferred upon Mr Pey, were always thankfully acknowledged by him, and his gratitude expreſſed by a willing and unwearied ſerviceableneſs to the family to his death. To him Sir Henry wrote to uſe all his intereſt at court to procure 500l. of his arrears, for leſs would not ſettle him in his college, and the want of ſuch a ſum *wrinkled his face with care* (his own expreſſion); and that money being procured, he ſhould the next day find him in his college, and *Invidiæ remedium* writ over his ſtudy door. One remarkable proof of his extreme indigence was taken notice of at that time. He was inſtituted, as is obſerved in the text, into the provoſtſhip July 26, 1724, and it was remarked in a letter, dated the 7th of Auguſt following, that when he went to the election at Eton ſoon after his being made Provoſt, he was ſo ill provided, that the Fel-

(32) So Mr Walton tells us; and in a letter of Sir Henry to the Marquis of Buckingham, dated from Venice, May 16 (apparently in) 1621, Mr Pey is expreſly called one of the clerks of the King's Kitchen.

After the publication of his *Elements of Agriculture* in 1624, 4to [U], his firſt ſtudy was the ſtatutes of the college, by which finding himſelf obliged to be a clergyman, he took deacon's orders in 1627 [W], and his life was ſuitable to that character. After the cuſtomary

lows of the college were obliged to furniſh his bare walls, and whatever elſe was wanting (33).

[U] *His Elements of Architecture.*] This treatiſe was wrote by him *con amore*, as the Italian ſays. It is his maſterpiece, and in reality is the beſt upon that ſubject that had then appeared in Engliſh, and was received as ſuch by the public with the higheſt applauſe; and it is evident that other writers upon architecture ſince have raiſed their ſtructure upon fundamentals borrowed from this piece. The author could not but be ſenſible of its merit; and the following letters are produced as proofs how much he valued himſelf upon it.

To the Lord Treaſurer Juxon.

'May it pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

'I was in hope long ſince to have waited on your Lordſhip with an account (I dare not ſay of any fruit, yet at leaſt) of ſome uſe of my private time: but through certain faſtidious fumes from my ſpleen (though of late, I thank God, well allayed) I have been kept in ſuch jealouſy, that ſome things under my pen have been born very ſlowly. In the mean while remembring an old pamphlet of mine of the *Elements of Architecture*, which I cannot in any modeſty ſuppoſe that your Lordſhip had ever ſeen, though it hath found ſome vulgar favour among thoſe whom they call gentle readers, I have gotten ſuch a copy as did remain to preſent unto your Lordſhip: and becauſe my fortunes were never able to raiſe any thing anſwerable to my ſpeculations in that art, I have newly made at leaſt an eſſay of my invention in the ſtructure of a little poor ſtandiſh, of ſo contemptible value, as I dare offer it to your Lordſhip without offence of your integrity. If I could have built ſome rural retreat worthy of your reception, according to the ſix precepts of my maſter Vitruvius, I would have invited and entertained your Lordſhip therein, how homely ſoever, yet as heartily as you were ever welcomed to any place in this world: and I would then have gloried to have had under my roof as worthy a Counſellor and Treaſurer as ever ſerved the beſt of Kings: but as I am, I can ſay no more for your Lordſhip's gracious reſpects and goodneſs towards me, than that I live in a tormenting deſire, ſome way to celebrate the honour of your name, and to be known

'Your moſt humble, profeſſed

'And obliged ſervant,

'H. WOTTON.'

This letter has no date; but it could not be written before 1636, when Juxon was made Lord Treaſurer. In another letter to ſome Lord, dated 1633, Sir Henry begins thus:

'Right Honourable,

'I received ſuch a letter from you touching my poor pamphlet of *Architecture*, which I yet preſerve among my pretiouſeſt papers; as I have made it a reſolution to put nothing forth under my name, without ſending one of the firſt copies unto your indulgent hands (34).'

[W] *He took Deacon's orders.*] In a matter of ſuch high concern he firſt of all acquainted the King with his deſign, in the view of obtaining his Majeſty's approbation. His addreſs is in theſe words:

'May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

'The gracious aſpect which I have ever obſerved in your Majeſty towards me, doth bind me (though there were no other reaſons) next under God, to approve all my actions to your judgment. Let me therefore moſt humbly make known unto your Majeſty, that it hath pleaſed the Fountain of all good thoughts to diſpoſe my mind by his ſecret providence, to enter into the ſacred orders of his church; having confirmed in me (for which his high name be ever bleſſed) the reverence and love for his truth, by a large experience of the abuſes thereof in the very ſeat and ſink of all corruption, Rome itſelf; to which my wandering curioſity carried me no leſs than four times in my younger years, where I fixed my ſtudies moſt upon the hiſtorical part in the politick management of religion; which I found plainly converted from a rule of conſcience to an inſtrument of ſtate, and from the miſtreſs of all ſciences into the very handmaid of ambition. Neither do I repent me of bending my obſervations that way; for though the truth perhaps may more compendiouſly appear *in ordine doctrinæ*, yet never more fully, than when we ſearch the original veins thereof, increaſe, the depravations, and decayes, *in ordine temporum*.

'This is the point wherein I have travelled moſt, and wherein I will ſpend the remainder of my dayes; hoping that the all-ſufficient God will in the ſtrength of his mercy enable my weakneſs, either by my voice or pen, to celebrate his glory. Now though I was thus far confident in myſelf (with all humility be it ſpoken) that neither my life nor my poor erudition would yield much ſcandal to others; and likewiſe might well have preſumed that this reſolution could no wayes offend your Majeſty's religious heart, but might rather be ſecure in your favour and encouragement; yet having been imployed ſo many years abroad in civil uſe, I thought it undutifull to change my calling without the foreknowledge and approbation of my dear Soveraign. This is the humble meſſage of theſe few lines unto your Majeſty.

'The Almighty, who hath indued your Majeſty with excellent virtues, and ſo early taught you the rare conſort between greatneſs and goodneſs, long protect your royal perſon and eſtates under his ſingular love.

'Your Majeſty's moſt faithful

'And devoted vaſſal,

'H. WOTTON.'

This letter was intitled, To the King, 1627. And in another, dated from the College, July 10th the ſame year, he writes to an intimate acquaintance, whom he therefore in a familiar way often ſtiles Dynely, acquainting him, that he had not yet entered into the firſt order of the church; 'upon which,' ſays he, 'there lyes likewiſe ſome civil note. The Biſhop of Lincoln [Williams] (ſometimes Lord Keeper) is the Prelate from whom I reſolved to take it; not for any perſonal reſpect, but becauſe he is our dioceſan, and viſiter at this college, and to whom I acknowledge a kind of homage for the place I hold, which fell into his diſpoſing formally by lapſe. This Biſhop (you muſt know) on this very day ſeven-night came to London about ten of the clock in the morning, to perform an election of the ſcholars at Weſtminſter, and in the evening Secretary Cook commanded him away. Away he went next morning — and ſo I am put upon another means, which before my next unto you will be done. For I abound in choice, but I am a little curious; and I will tell you hereafter the reaſon of my curioſity.'——— Accordingly, we find him in Deacons orders preſently after, as he informs the King in the following addreſs.

'My moſt dear and dread Sovereign,

'As I gave your Majeſty foreknowledge of my intention to enter into the church, and had your gracious approvement therein, ſo I hold it a ſecond duty to your Majeſty, and ſatisfaction to myſelf, to inform you likewiſe by mine own hand, both how far I have proceeded, and upon what motives; that it may appear unto your Majeſty, as I hope it will, an act of conſcience and of reaſon, and not of greedineſs and ambition. Your Majeſty will be therefore pleaſed to know, that I have lately taken the degree of Deacon; and ſo far am I from aiming

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(33) A letter of Mr Chamberlayne, Aug. 7th, 1624. quoted by Dr Birch in Bacon's letters as above.

(34) Reliq. Wot.

mary publick devotions he uſually retired into his ſtudy, and there ſpent ſome hours in reading the Bible and authors in divinity, cloſing his meditations with a private prayer. This was for the moſt part his employment in the forenoon. He was a great lover of his neighbours, and a bountiful entertainer of them very often at his table, where his meat was choice, and his diſcourſe better, and well ſeaſoned with chearfulneſs through the whole dinner. But ſome part of moſt days was ſpent in philoſophical concluſions. Nor did he forget his innate pleaſure of angling [*X*], which he would uſually call his *idle time not idly ſpent*; ſaying often, he would rather live five May months than forty Decembers. He was a conſtant cheriſher of all thoſe youths in the ſchool, in whom he found either diligence or genius, for whoſe encouragement, beſide many other things of neceſſity and beauty, he was at the charge of ſetting up in it two rows of pillars, on which he cauſed to be accurately drawn the pictures of divers of the moſt famous Greek and Latin hiſtorians, poets, and orators. He would alſo often make choice of ſome obſervations out of thoſe hiſtorians and poets; and would never leave the ſchool without dropping ſome Greek or Latin apophthegm or ſentence, worthy to be remembered by a growing ſcholar; of whom he conſtantly bred up one or more of the moſt hopeful, took them into his own domeſtic care, and to attend him at his meals: out of whoſe diſcourſe and behaviour he gathered obſervations for the better compleating of his intended work *Of Education*: of which, by his ſtill ſtriving to make the whole better, he lived to leave but part to poſterity (*t*). He had propoſed to himſelf, before he entered into his collegiate life, to write the life of Martin Luther, and in it the hiſtory of the reformation, as it was carried on in Germany: for which deſign he had many advantages by his ſeveral embaſſies into thoſe parts, and his intereſt in the ſeveral princes of the empire, by whoſe means he had acceſs to the records of all the Hans Towns, and the knowledge of many ſecret paſſages that fell not under common view, and in theſe he had made a good progreſs, when he was ſtopped from further proceeding in it by King Charles I. who perſuaded him to lay aſide Luther, and undertake the hiſtory of England, by a promiſe of allowing him five hundred pounds a year while he was engaged in it [*Y*]. But this work

‘ at any high flight out of my proper ſphere, that there I intend to reſt*. Perhaps I want not ſome perſuaders, that, meaſuring me by their affections, or by your Majeſty's goodneſs, and not by mine own defects or ends, would make me think, that yet before I die, I might become a great Prelate. And I need no perſuaſion to tell me, that if I would undertake the paſtoral function, I could peradventure by caſualty, out of the patronages belonging to your royal college, without further troubling of your Majeſty, caſt ſome good benefice upon myſelf, whereof we have one, if it were vacant, that is worth more than my Provoſtſhip. But as they were ſtrucken with horror, who beheld the Majeſty of the Lord deſcending upon the mount Sinai: ſo God knows the nearer I approach to contemplate his greatneſs, the more I tremble to aſſume any cure of ſouls even in the loweſt degree, that were bought at ſo high a price, *premant torcular, qui vindemiarunt*: Let them preſs the grapes, and fill the veſſels, and taſte the wine, that have gathered the vintage. But ſhall I ſit and do nothing in the porch of God's houſe, whereinto I am entred? God himſelf forbid, who was the ſupreme Mover. What ſervice then do I propound to the church? or what contentment to mine own mind? Firſt, *For the point of conſcience, I can now hold my place canonically, which I held before but diſpenſatively*; and withal I can exerciſe an archidiaconal authority annexed thereunto, though of ſmall extent and no benefit, yet ſometimes of pious and neceſſary uſe. I comfort myſelf alſo with this Chriſtian hope, that gentlemen and knights ſons, who are trained up with us in a ſeminary of churchmen (which was the will of the holy founder) will by my example (without vanity be it ſpoken) not be aſhamed, after the ſight of courtly weeds, to put on a ſurplice. Laſtly, I conſider that this reſolution which I have taken, is not unſuitable to my civil employments abroad, of which for the moſt part religion was the ſubject, nor to my obſervations which have been ſpent that way in diſcovery of the Roman arts and practices, whereof I hope to yield the world ſome account, though rather by my pen than by my voice. For though I muſt humbly confeſs, that both my conceptions and expreſſions be weak, yet I do more truſt my deliberation than my memory; or, if your Majeſty will give me leave to paint myſelf in higher terms, I think I ſhall be bolder againſt the judgments, than againſt the faces of men. This I conceive to be a piece of mine own character; ſo as my private ſtudy muſt be my theatre, rather than a pulpit; and my books my auditors, as they are all my treaſure. Howſoever, if I can produce nothing elſe for the uſe of church and ſtate, yet it ſhall be comfort enough to the little remnant of my life, to compoſe ſome hymns unto his endleſs glory, who hath called me (for which his name be ever bleſſed) though late to his ſervice, yet early to the knowledge of his truth, and ſenſe of his mercy; to which ever commending your Majeſty and your royal actions with moſt hearty and humble prayers, I reſt

‘ Your Majeſty's

‘ Moſt devoted

‘ Poor ſervant (35).’

[*X*] *He did not forget his innate pleaſure of angling.*] The year before his death he ſent a very curious book upon this darling ſport, illuſtrated by ſome remarks of his own, with a letter, dated April 8. 1628, addreſſed

To Sir Thomas Wentworth, Bart.

‘ Noble Sir,

‘ Promiſes are to be kept even to adverſaries, then much more to friends, and moſt to ſuch a friend as I am now ſaluting: nay, it will abide another gradation, that they are to be performed though at an unſeaſonable time. I did promiſe you, when we were laſt merry together at Medleys *, a piece of rural philoſophy, *Dubravius* his book *de Piſcinis*, which I now ſend you, having borrowed it of Mr Hales, one of our Burſars. And therefore when you have peruſed it at full pleaſure, I ſhall deſire it again. One thing will appear perchance ſtrange unto you, that a Bohemian gentleman therein named ſhould in one year gather *duodecies ſeſtertiûm* out of his ponds, which reſolved into our money I take to be about 6000 pounds Sterling: and that, for ought I conceive, only by *carp* and *pike*: for ſo I underſtand his *cyprinos* and his *lucios*. True it is, that Bohemia and Moravia are the moſt mediterranean countries of Chriſtendom, and their farneſs from ſea hath taught them the ſkill of nurturing land-fiſh to an incredible increaſe: inſomuch that they will tell you that an acre of pool there is more worth than an acre of ſaffron in Auſtria; who yet ſay they have the beſt of the world §.’

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(*t*) See that diſcourſe printed in Reliquiæ Wottonianæ.

* By the ſtatutes of the college the Provoſt is preſumed to be in prieſt's orders, is inſtituted by the viſitor [the Bp of Lincoln] *ad curam animarum*. He is rector of the pariſh, and has archidiaconal juriſdiction in the place, transferred from the archdeacon of Bucks. From the reſtoration all the Provoſts have been Preſbyters. Communicated by Dr John Burton, a fellow of this college. See Mr Waller's article. In ſhort, Sir Henry, courtier-like, ſeems to have trimmed the matter between the college ſtatutes and the royal diſpenſation.

(35) Idem.

* The ſeat of Sir Hen. Savile, remarkable for a long gallery, in the windows of which are painted the arms of the Yorkſhire nobility, as they were in Q. Elizabeth's reign. It is now [1763] the ſeat of Lord Pollington.

§ Straffordes's ſtate-papeſs, vol. 1. p. 76.

likewiſe proved abortive. Sir Henry omitted no proper opportunities of ſhewing his gratitude to the King, and in that ſpirit looking with indignation on the *ſmall welcome*, as he called it, given to him on his return from Scotland in 1633, *fecit indignatio plauſum* [Z]. He wrote a panegyrick in Latin, which was printed in 4to. the ſame year with this title, *Ad Regem è Scotia Reducem Henrici Wottonii Plauſus & Vota.* However, the next year, 1634, in coming from the Lord Treaſurer, where he had been to ſollicit the payment of a debt of four thouſand pounds, due to him from the crown, he was arreſted for a debt of three hundred pounds, and obliged to lie under the arreſt till the debt was diſcharged by an execution (*u*). He frequently lamented the bad ſtate of his finances, occaſioned by the delay in ſatisfying his arrears due for his expences in his foreign employments; and in 1637 finding himſelf in a declining ſtate of health, he made his will, in which were the moſt earneſt requeſts to his executors, truſtees, and legatees, to uſe their beſt endeavours for obtaining his ſaid arrears, and thereby the ſatisfaction of his creditors. [*AA*] He likewiſe in the ſame view applied to the King this year for the reverſion of the

(*u*) Letter of Mr Garrard to the Lord Deputy Wentworth, dated March 12, 1634, in Strafforde's letters, &c. vol. I. p. 388. edit. 1739.

[*Y*] *The Hiſtory of England.*] Lord Bacon had begun to write this hiſtory; but not living to finiſh it, the King, who was a great favourer of that work, and was not in want of choice of fit workmen, preferred Sir Henry Wotton before all others (36). On receiving the royal invitation, he took that opportunity of applying for the payment of ſome part of the debt due to him from the crown; to which purpoſe he addreſſed the following letter to the King.

(36) Life of Ld Bacon prefixed to his works, p. 176, ed. 1740. in 4 vol. folio.

‘ May it pleaſe your moſt ſacred Majeſty,

‘ It is more to be bound to your Majeſty's judgment, than to be bound to your favour; therefore I do not only joy but glory thus with humble acknowledgment, and feeling what myſelf am, that you have been pleaſed, as I underſtand from my Lord of Dorcheſter, to employ my pen for ſo noble an undertaking; being confident, that the very care not to diſgrace your Majeſty's good pleaſure, and indulgent choice of me, will invigorate my weakneſs. But before I enter into the deſcription of others actions and fortunes, which requires a free ſpirit, I muſt preſent at your royal feet, and even claim from your natural equity and goodneſs, ſuch compenſation as it ſhall pleaſe you in that which followeth.

‘ I ſerved the King your father of moſt bleſſed memory from the time he ſent for me at the beginning of his reign out of France (retaining then ſome gracious remembrance of my ſervice with him in Scotland) twenty years, that is almoſt now a third part of my life, in ordinary and extraordinary employments abroad. I had many comfortable contentments, or at leaſt of his gracious toleration of my poor endeavours: and I had under his royal hand two hopes in reverſion. The firſt, a moiety of a Six Clerks place in Chancery; the next, of the office of the Rolls itſelf. The firſt of theſe I was forced to yield to Sir William Becher, upon the late Duke of Buckingham's former engagements unto him, even after your Majeſty had been pleaſed to intercede for me with your ever bleſſed father; and that was as much in value as my provoſtſhip were worth at a market. The other of the reverſion to the Rolls, I ſurrendered to the ſaid Duke in the gallery at Wallingford houſe, upon his own very inſtant motion (the ſaid Duke then intending to beſtow it upon the now Attorney Sir Robert Heath) tho' with ſerious promiſe upon his honour, that he would procure me ſome equivalent recompence before any other ſhould be ſettled in the place.

‘ The truth of my humble claim, and of his ſincere intentions towards me, I preſent herewith unto your Majeſty, in a letter all under his own hand.

‘ I could likewiſe remember unto your Majeſty the loſſes I have ſuſtained abroad, by taking up moneys for my urgent uſe at more than 20 in the hundred; by caſualty of fire to the damage of near 400 l. in my own particular; by the raiſing of moneys in Germany, whereby my ſmall allowance when I was ſent to the Emperor's court fell ſhort 500 l. as Signor Burlemachi well knoweth; and other ways.

‘ Now for all this that I may not preſs your Majeſty with immoderate deſires, I moſt humbly beg from your royal equity, and I may ſay from your very compaſſion, but two things. Firſt, that your Majeſty will be pleaſed in diſpoſing of the Rolls (to which I was aſſigned) to reſerve for me ſome ſmall proportion towards the diſcharge of ſuch debts as I contracted in public ſervice, yet remaining upon intereſt. Next, that you will be likewiſe pleaſed to promiſe me the next good deanery, that ſhall be vacant by death or remove; whereof I alſo had a promiſe from your bleſſed father then at Newmarket, and am now more capable thereof in my preſent condition [in holy orders]. Thus ſhall your Majeſty reſtore me both to the freedom of my thoughts and of my life, otherwiſe ſo intricated, that I know not how to unfold it. And ſo with my continual prayers to the Almighty for his deareſt and largeſt bleſſings upon your royal Perſon, I ever reſt

‘ Your Majeſty's

‘ Moſt faithful, poor ſubject

Whitehall, Feb. 12. ‘ And ſervant,
ſtyl. vet. 1628.

‘ H. WOTTON (37).

(37) Among the letters in Reliq. Wotton.

The King's promiſe of a penſion of five hundred pounds per ann. as above mentioned, while he ſhould be engaged in this work, fully anſwered his expectations. Accordingly he ſet without delay upon the hiſtory, but lived to finiſh nothing more of it than the characters of ſome of our kings, which are inſerted in his poſthumous works.

[Z] *Fecit indignatio plauſum.*] He ſent this piece to a certain nobleman with a letter, in which he has theſe words: ‘ There is,’ ſays he, ‘ born a ſmall welcome to the King from Scotland (whom I have not yet ſeen ſince his return) I know not how out of a little indignation. They have ſent us over from Leiden, from France, from Polonia, &c. a tempeſt of Panegyricks and Laudatives of their Princes; whereupon I debated with myſelf, What! have we not as good a theam and theater as they? or do we want ſenſe or zeal to expreſs our happineſs? This ſtirred my very bowels, and within a while my pen, ſuch as it is. I confeſs, the ſubject is ſo high, as I fear may condemn my obſcurity to have undertaken it; but withal ſo true, as I hope will not miſbecome mine ingenuity. Howſoever I ſubmit it to your judgment, and if in charity you ſhall be pleaſed to like any thing in it, I humbly beſeech you, that you would be pleaſed to take ſome occaſion of ſpeaking favourably of it to the King himſelf; for though I aim at nothing by it, ſave the very doing it, yet I ſhould be glad to have it impreſſed by better judgments than my own (38).’

(38) Idem.

[*AA*] *He requeſted his executors to ſollicit the payment of his arrears.*] After appointing his two grand nephews, Albert Moreton and Thomas Bargrave, his executors, and Dr Bargrave Dean of Canterbury, Mr Nicholas Pey, and John Harriſon, ſuperviſors, he proceeds thus: And I do pray the foreſaid Dr Bargrave and Mr Nicholas Pey to be ſollicitors for ſuch arrearages as ſhall appear due unto me from his Majeſty's Exchequer at the time of my death; and to aſſiſt my forenamed executors in ſome reaſonable and conſcientious ſatisfaction of my creditors, and diſcharge of my legacies now ſpecified——And firſt having bequeathed to the King ſeveral curious pictures, and all the papers of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Knt. during his famous employment under Queen Elizabeth in Scotland and France; alſo to the Queen *Dioſcorides*, with the plants naturally coloured, and the text tranſlated by Matthiolo in the beſt language of Tuſcany, whence the maſterſhip of the Savoy [*BB*], of which ſtill he reaped no benefit. From the time of his ſettling at Eton he went uſually once a year, if not oftener, to Bocton Hall, which was much beloved by him, and where, he would ſay, he found a cure for all cares by the chearful company, which he called the living furniture of the place, and a reſtoration of his ſtrength by the connaturalneſs of that which he called his genial air. He yearly went alſo to Oxford; but the ſummer before his death he changed that for a journey to Wincheſter College; and in his way back made ſome very pathetic reflections [*CC*]. After his return to Eton, which was about five months before his death, he became much more retired and contemplative. In which time he was often viſited by the learned Mr John Hales, then a Fellow of that college, to whom he expreſſed a ſenſe of his drawing near the harbour (as he called it) of death, thanking God, that he was willing to leave this world in expectation of a better. Theſe and the like expreſſions were uttered by him at the beginning of a feveriſh diſorder, attended with an aſthma, or ſhort ſpitting [*DD*]. After

whence her ſaid Majeſty was lineally deſcended; and to the Prince a picture of his aunt the Queen of Bohemia; he leaves to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury a picture of Divine Love; to the Biſhop of London, Dr Juxon, Lord High Treaſurer, a picture of Heraclitus bewailing and Democritus laughing at the world: moſt humbly beſeeching the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop his Grace and the Biſhop of London, of both whoſe favours, ſays he, I have taſted in my life time, to intercede with my moſt gracious Sovereign after my death, in the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, that out of compaſſionate memory of my long ſervices (wherein I more ſtudied the publick honour than my own utility) ſome order may be taken out of my arrears due in the Exchequer for ſuch ſatisfaction of my creditors, as thoſe whom I have ordained ſupervisors of this my laſt will and teſtament ſhall preſent unto their Lordſhips, without their further trouble. Hoping likewiſe in his Majeſty's moſt indubitable goodneſs, that he will keep me from all prejudice, which I may otherwiſe ſuffer by any defect of formality in the demand of my ſaid arrears.— To Dr Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, he leaves his *Viol de Gambo*, which, ſays he, hath been twice with me in Italy. After which he concludes thus: To my other ſupervisor, Mr Nicholas Pey, I leave my cheſt or cabinet of inſtruments and engines of all kinds of uſes; in the lower box whereof are ſome fit to be bequeathed to none, but ſo entire an honeſt man as he is †: I likewiſe leave him forty pounds for his pains in the ſollicitation of my arrears, and am ſorry that my ragged eſtate can reach no further to one that hath taken ſuch care for me in the ſame kind, during all my foreign employments. To the Library at Eton college I leave all my MSS. not before diſpoſed; and to each of the Fellows a plain ring of gold, enamel'd black, all ſave the verge, with this motto within, *Amor unit omnia.* — Mr Walton aſſures us (39), that every perſon named in his will did gladly receive their legacies, by which, and his moſt juſt and paſſionate deſires for the payment of his debts, they joined in aſſiſting the overſeers of his will; and by their joint endeavours to the King (than whom none was more willing) conſcionable ſatisfaction was given for his juſt debts.

[*BB*] *He applied for the maſterſhip of the Savoy.*] His pretenſions to this place are ſuch as ſhew he had great confidence in the King's kindneſs to him. He addreſſes his Majeſty in theſe terms:

‘May it pleaſe my moſt gracious Sovereign,

‘If I were not more afraid to break the laws of that humble modeſty, which becometh the meanneſs of my deſert, than I am to exceed the bounds of your Majeſty's royal goodneſs, I ſhould be a poor ſuppliant unto your Majeſty to confer upon me the Maſterſhip of the Savoy, in caſe Dr Belcanquel (my good friend) ſhall (as the voice goeth) be removed to the deanery of Durham; wherein the remove and the ſubſtitution are but one ſtroke of your benignity.

‘God knows, and the value of the thing itſelf may ſpeak as much, that I do not aim therein at any utility: only it may be ſome eaſe of expence, and commodity of lodging, when I ſhall come (as I am afraid ſhortly) to overſee certain poor things of mine own at preſs; wherewith yet I hope your Majeſty, whoſe honour only I ſtudy, will not be diſpleaſed. I have further conſidered with myſelf, that the ſaid place is not incompatible with that which I now hold by your Majeſty's interceſſion with your ever bleſſed father, as it may pleaſe you to remember, tho' you forget nothing ſo eaſily as your own bounties; which place here, never before ſubſiſting in the memory of man without ſome addition, I have now near fourteen years ſuſtained in that integrity as I found it, and with as good ſcholars ſent to your royal college at Cambridge, of my particular choice, as have gone thither ſince the foundation; whereof I could ſhew your Majeſty a publiſhed teſtimony out of that univerſity, in Dr Winterton's dedication of *Dionyſius de ſitu orbis* unto me, if it were not a miſerable thing for me to make up ſo ſlight a merit even with a vanity. Beſides this, I moſt humbly confeſs, that tho' my fortunes are poor, and my ſtudies private, yet I cannot deny certain ſparkles of honeſt ambition remaining in me, whereby I deſire the world ſhould know, that my moſt vertuous and moſt dear and royal maſter hath not utterly forgotten me. And ſo I moſt humbly reſt

‘Your Majeſty's moſt humble

‘Faithful, hearty ſubject

‘And ſervant,

‘H. WOTTON (40).

[*CC*] *He made ſome pathetic reflections.*] Theſe were ſpoken to a friend, his companion in that journey. ‘How uſeful,’ ſaid he, ‘was that advice of a holy monk, who perſuaded his friend to perform his cuſtomary devotions in a conſtant place; becauſe in that place we uſually meet with thoſe very thoughts, which poſſeſſed us at our laſt being there. And I find it thus far experimentally true, that at my now being in that ſchool, and ſeeing that very place where I ſate when I was a boy, occaſioned me to remember thoſe very thoughts of my youth which then poſſeſſed me; ſweet thoughts indeed, that promiſed my growing years numerous pleaſures, without mixtures of cares; and thoſe to be enjoyed, when time (which I therefore thought ſlow-paced) had changed my youth into manhood. But age and experience have taught me that thoſe were but empty hopes: for I have always found it true, as my Saviour did foretell, *Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.* Nevertheleſs, I ſaw there a ſucceſſion of boys uſing the ſame recreations, and queſtionleſs poſſeſſed with the ſame thoughts, that then poſſeſſed me. Thus one generation ſucceeds another, both in their lives, recreations, hopes, fears, and deaths.’ (41)

[*DD*] *A feveriſh diſorder attended with an aſthma or ſhort ſpitting.*] This hectick was his conſtitutional diſtemper, which frequently attacked him. In one of theſe fits he compoſed a hymn, which neither in the ſentiments, expreſſion, nor yet even in the harmony of the numbers or rhythmus, yields to any of Mr Waller's. 'Tis intitled, *A Hymn to my God in a Night of my late Sickneſs*, and runs thus:

O Thou great Power, in whom I move,
For whom I live, to whom I die,
Behold me thro' thy beams of love,
Whilſt on this couch of tears I lie;
And cleanſe my ſordid ſoul within,
By thy Chriſt's blood, the bath of ſin.

No hallow'd oils, no grains I need,
No rags of ſaints, no purging fire;

One

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† In it were Italian locks, picklocks, ſcrews to force open doors, and many things of worth and rarity that he had gathered in his foreign travels.

(39) Ubi ſupra.

(40) Among the letters in Reliq. Wotton.

(41) Walton in his life.

After leſs than twenty fits, by the help of familiar phyſick and a ſpare diet, this fever abated, yet ſo as to leave him much weaker than it found him: and his aſthma ſeemed alſo to be overcome in a good degree by his forbearing tobacco, which, as many thoughtful men do, he alſo had taken ſomewhat immoderately. Thus he continued till about the end of October 1639, when he fell again into a fever, from which though he ſeemed to recover, yet the fits, which were wont to viſit him like civil friends, and after ſome ſhort time to leave him, came now both oftener and with more violence, and at laſt took up their conſtant habitation with him, ſtill weakening his body and abating his chearfulneſs, of both which he grew more ſenſible, and would the oftener retire to his ſtudy, where he made many papers that had paſſed his pen both in his youth and in the buſy part of his life uſeleſs by a fire made for that purpoſe. Thus he made ready for his approaching end, for which he ſeemed to thoſe many friends that obſerved him to be well prepared, and to be both patient and free from all fear; and ſeveral of his letters wrote on this laſt ſick-bed teſtify the ſame. About the beginning of December following he was ſeized more violently with a quotidian fever, the tenth fit of which ſtripped him of mortality, which he put off, ſays Mr Walton (*w*), with as much content and chearfulneſs as human nature is capable of, being then in great tranquillity of mind, and in perfect peace with God and man. He died in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age, and was interred, purſuant to his own requeſt, in the chapel of Eton College, under a grave ſtone marked with the following inſcription, for which an expreſs order was found in his will:

(*w*) In his life, as before.

Hic jacet hujus ſententiæ primus author,
DISPUTANDI PRURITUS ECCLESIARUM SCABIES.
Nomen alias quære.

He wrote ſeveral pieces beſides thoſe already mentioned in the courſe of theſe memoirs, all which were collected after his death, and publiſhed with the title of *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ* (*x*): the third edition of which came out in 1672, and the fourth, with the addition of ſeveral letters to the Lord Zouch, in 1685, 8vo. He wrote ſome other things not contained in this collection, which are mentioned with the reſt in Remark [*EE*]. As to his perſon, he was tall, and of a winning addreſs; and Dr King, Biſhop of Chicheſter, in 1663, who knew him well, gave this teſtimony of his parts: That he was a man of as florid a wit, and as elegant a pen, as any former (or ours, which in that kind is a moſt excellent) age hath ever produced. The ſame is no more than what is evident from his writings, which ſhew him to have been extremely well verſed in poetry, oratory, painting, ſtatuary, architecture, muſic, and indeed every branch of polite literature.— In ſhort, to make uſe of an Italian word, which language was ſo much his delight, he was a perſon of accompliſhed *virtù*. Soon after his death Mr Cowley wrote his elegy, which begins thus:

(*x*) That piece in this collection intituled, ‘ The ‘ difference and ‘ diſparity between G. Duke ‘ of Buckingham ‘ and Rob. Earl ‘ of Eſſex,’ is ſaid to be written by the Lord Chancellor Clarendon. See his article.

What ſhall we ſay, ſince ſilent now is he,
Who, when he ſpoke, all things would ſilent be?
Who had ſo many languages in ſtore,
That only fame ſhall ſpeak of him in more, &c.

One roſie drop from David's ſeed
Was worlds of ſeas to quench thine ire.
O precious ranſom! which, once paid,
That conſummatum eſt *was ſaid;*

And ſaid by him, that ſaid no more,
But ſeal'd it with his ſacred breath.
Thou, then, that haſt diſpung'd my ſcore,
And dying, waſt the death of Death,
Be to me now, on Thee I call,
My Life, my Strength, my Joy, my All.

Theſe truly muſical lines were probably not later in time than any of Mr Waller's compoſition. But it is much more than probable that a poem written by Sir Henry in his youth was compoſed long before Mr Waller's appearance. Though ambition ſhewed itſelf foremoſt in Sir Henry's nature, yet he was not without ſome mixture of the tender paſſion. In his youthful days we find him ſacrificing at the altar of Love, as well as Mr Waller; like Mr Waller too, he met with a Sachariſſa, who rejected his addreſſes; but unlike that bard in this, that Sir Henry cured his paſſion by turning it into diſdain, as may be collected from the poem, which run thus:

O faithleſs world! and thy more faithleſs part,
A woman's heart,
The true ſhop of variety, where ſits
Nothing but fits
And fevers of deſire, and pangs of love,
Which toys remove:
Why was ſhe born to pleaſe, or I to truſt
Words writ in duſt?
Suff'ring her eyes to govern my deſpair,
My pain for air,
And fruit of time rewarded with untruth,
The food of youth.
Untrue ſhe was: yet I believ'd her eyes
(Inſtructed ſpies)
Till I was taught that love was but a ſchool
To breed a fool.
Or ſought ſhe more by triumphs of denial
To make a trial
How far her ſmiles commanded my weakneſs?
Yield and confeſs.
O curſe no more thy folly, but for cure
Bluſh, and endure
As well thy ſhame as paſſion, that were vain,
And think 'tis gain
To know that love lodg'd in a woman's breaſt
Is but a gueſt.

[*EE*] *Some pieces not printed in his Remains.*] Theſe are, (1.) A Journal of his Embaſſies to Venice. (2.) Three Propoſitions to the Court of *Angoſciola* in Matters of Duels; comprehending, as it ſeems, the latitude of that ſubject.

WREN [Matthew] the pious and learned Biſhop of Ely, was deſcended of a very ancient family, which came originally from Denmark [*A*], and was eldeſt ſon of Francis Wren, Citizen and Mercer of London, where he was born in the pariſh of St Peter's Cheap, December 23, 1585 (*a*). Being a youth of bright parts, he was taken notice of while at ſchool by Biſhop Andrews, who being made *Maſter of Pembroke-hall* in Cambridge, procured *him to be admitted there June 23, 1601, and aſſiſted him in his* ſtudies afterwards. Thus encouraged he made a ſuitable proficiency, and diſtinguiſhing himſelf in all kinds of learning, he was choſen Greek ſcholar in his college, and taking his degree of Bachelor of Arts was elected Fellow November 9, 1605. He commenced Maſter of Arts, July 2, 1608. Having applied himſelf to the ſtudy of divinity, he was very deſirous to enter into the church, and accordingly was ordained Deacon January 20, 1610, and Prieſt February 10th following. Being elected Senior Regent Maſter on the 12th of October 1611, he kept the philoſophy act with great applauſe before K. James in 1614, and the following year was appointed Chaplain to Biſhop Andrews, and was preſented the ſame year to the rectory of Teverſham in Cambridgeſhire. In 1621 he was made Chaplain to Prince (afterwards King) Charles, whom he attended in that office to Spain in 1623 [*B*]; and the rectory of Bingham in Nottinghamſhire was conferred upon him, together with a ſtall in the Church of Wincheſter the following year. In July 1625, he was choſen Maſter of Peter Houſe in Cambridge [*C*]. And July 24th, 1628, he was promoted to the dignity of Dean of Windſor and Wolverhampton. On Auguſt 17, he entered into matrimony; was made Regiſter of the Garter [*D*] September 2, and Vice-chancellor of Cambridge on the 4th of November, all in the ſame year. On the 7th of April 1629, he was ſworn a Judge of the Star-chamber for foreign cauſes. In 1633 he attended K. Charles I. in his progreſs to Scotland [*E*]; whence returning home
July

(*a*) His diary, *printed in the Appendix to his life in Parentalia. He was bap*tized Jan. 2. following.

[*A*] *A family from Denmark.*] His father Francis Wren was the only ſon of Cuthbert Wren of Monks-Kirby in Warwickſhire, ſecond ſon of William Wren of Sherbourne-houſe and of Billy-hall in the biſhoprick of Durham; but the chief ſeat of the family was at Bincheſter in that county, which having been a Roman ſtation (1), might not improbably inſpire our prelate with a love for antiquities; for he was a true antiquary, and might be traced by his collections wherever he came, at Pembroke-hall, at Peter-houſe, at Windſor, and at Ely; ſeveral of which, ſays Mr Atwood, I have ſeen (2). Biſhop Kennet remarks, that from the Regiſter of Biſhop Wren of Ely for the firſt three years following the Reſtoration, we know ſeveral matters of fact relating to Patrons, Clerks, and Benefices, of ſingular uſe and application in the knowledge of things and times (3). And the Biſhop of St Aſaph in 1734 ſays of him, that he was certainly a perſon of great capacity for buſineſs, and vaſt induſtry. I have ſeen exact copies of all the Regiſters and Inſtitution-books in the Biſhop's office at Norwich and Ely under his own hand. We are alſo informed (4), that he made a new Body of Statutes for that cathedral, and got them confirmed under the Great Seal, 1666.

[*B*] *He attended Prince Charles to Spain.*] Our Chaplain went thither by ſea, and arrived April the 8th, and back at Portſmouth with the Prince October 5th. That Prince's firmneſs in the Proteſtant religion has been not improbably attributed, next to his own ſteady temper, to the inſtructions and diligence of our Biſhop, who was in this his Preceptor (5). His opinion of that Prince, after his return from Spain, was given plainly upon the following occaſion. After his return from Spain, he lodged ſtill, when he was in London, at Wincheſter-houſe, where he had ſome rooms reſerved for him; but being to ſet out for Cambridge by break of day, he went the night before to lye at his ſiſter's houſe in Friday-ſtreet, having taken his leave of the Biſhop; but before he could get up in the morning, there came a meſſage that he muſt without fail be at Wincheſter-houſe by ten o'clock. He went preciſely at the time; and though Biſhop Andrews uſed not to come from his ſtudy till near twelve, yet he found him now in his great gallery (a place where he came only once a year) where he was locked up with the Biſhops of Durham and St David's [Neil and Laud]. After the uſual ceremonies, all ſitting down again, the Biſhop of Durham ſaid, *Doctor, after you left us yeſterday at Whitehall, we entring further into diſcourſe of things, which we foreſee will ere long come to paſs* [meaning King James's death] *reſolved to ſpeak with you again before you go hence. We muſt now know of you what are your thoughts concerning your young maſter the Prince; you have been his ſervant above two years, and were with him in Spain; he reſpects you well; you cannot but have obſerved how things are like to go. What things, my Lord,* ſaid he? *In brief,* ſaid the Biſhop, *how the Prince's heart ſtands to the Church of England?* The Doctor replied, *However I am moſt unfit to give my opinion herein, attending but two months in the year, and then at great diſtance, except only in the cloſet, and at meals, yet being thus preſt, I'll ſpeak my mind freely. I know my maſter's learning is not equal to his father's, yet I know his judgment is very right; and as for his affections in the particular you point at* (for upholding the doctrine and diſcipline and right eſtate of the church) *I have more confidence of him than of his father; in whom you have ſeen better than I ſo much inconſtancy in ſome particular caſes.* Durham and St David's began to argue it with him, what grounds he had to think thus, which he gave them at large; and after an hour's debate, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who had been ſilent all this while, ſaid, *Well, Doctor, God ſend you may be a true prophet concerning your maſter's inclinations, which we are glad to hear from you. I am ſure I ſhall be a true prophet: I ſhall be in my grave, and ſo ſhall you, my Lord of Durham; but my Lord of St David's and you, Doctor, will live to ſee the day, that your maſter will be put to it upon his head and his crown, without he will forſake the ſupport of the church* (6).

[*C*] *He was choſen Maſter of Peter houſe.*] While he held this place, he built great part of the college from the ground, reſcued their writings and ancient records from the duſt and worms, and by indefatigable induſtry digeſted them into a good method and order; but ſeeing the public offices of religion leſs decently performed, and the ſervice of God depending on the courteſy of others, for want of a convenient oratory within the walls of the college, what then he could not do at his own charge, he compaſſed by his intereſt in well-diſpoſed perſons abroad, and procured ſuch conſiderable ſums of money, that he built and beautified a complete chapel, which he dedicated on the 17th of March 1632 (7).

[*D*] *Regiſter of the Garter.*] In this office he compoſed in Latin, A Comment upon the Statutes of Henry VIII. of the Order, ſhewing from the Statutes of that Order what alterations there hath been in the Law of the Garter, both before and ſince the year 1631, when the Comment was wrote. The Comment, with a Preface, wherein he acquaints us whence he collected his obſervations, was publiſhed by John Anſtis, Eſq; Garter King of Arms, in the *Regiſter of the moſt noble Order of the Garter* (8), uſually called, from its cover in black velvet, *The Black Book.* Mr Elias Aſhmole gives this character of the Comment: It is a work compoſed with a great deal of judgment, and exceeding uſeful; and had it been my good hap to have met therewith before I had ſo near finiſhed this work [*The Inſtitution of the Order of the Garter*] the ready directions therein would have ſaved me much toil while I was compoſing it (9).

[*E*] *He attended the King into Scotland.*] Soon after his return from Scotland, the King, ſays Lord Claren-
don

(1) Burton on Antoninus's Itinerary, p. 46.

(2) Extracts from Mr Atwood's memoirs (Aul. Pemb. ſoc.) relating to Bp Wren.

(3) Kennett's Regiſter, &c. p. 885.

(4) Parentalia, in a marginal note at p. 52.

(5) See his diary ubi ſupra.

(6) From a MS. concerning the Biſhops in England, written in Abp Sancroft's own hand; and printed in Parentalia, p. 48, 49. The ſame is printed with variations by Tho. Hearne, in his preface to Langtoft, p. 48.

(7) Oratio habita ad obitum M. Wren, a Johanne Pearſon, printed in the Appendix to Parentalia, N° 11.

(8) In p. 294. edit 1724. fol.

(9) Aſhmole's Inſtitution of the Garter, § 2. p. 193.

July the 21ſt, he was made on the 20th of October Clerk of the Cloſet to his Majeſty, and was created Doctor of Divinity at Cambridge on the 5th of March that year. In 1634 he was inſtalled into a prebend of Weſtminſter. This year he was alſo promoted to the Biſhoprick of Hereford [*F*], and was choſen a Governor of the Charter Houſe the ſame year. On the 5th of December 1635 he was tranſlated to the ſee of Norwich [*G*], and three months after, on Dr Juxon's advancement to the Treaſurer's Staff, Biſhop

don (10), left to the care of his Biſhops there to provide ſuch a Liturgy, and ſuch a book of Canons, as might beſt ſuit the nature and humour of the better ſort of that people, to which the reſt would eaſily ſubmit; and that as faſt as they made them ready, they ſhould tranſmit them to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to whoſe aſſiſtance the King joined Dr Juxon, the Biſhop of London, and Dr Wren, who by that time was become Biſhop of Norwich, a man of a ſevere four nature, but very learned, and particularly verſed in the old Liturgies of the Greek and Latin Churches. His Lordſhip then proceeds to relate the ſeveral ſteps taken in this matter; and obſerves, that after the Canons and Liturgy were ſo compoſed in Scotland, they were peruſed and ſome alterations made in them by the three aforementioned Prelates, and, with the conſent of thoſe Biſhops who brought them from Scotland, returned to the King, who impatient to ſee the good work ſo forward, after having given his royal approbation, ordered the Canons to be obſerved, and the Liturgy to be read in all their churches. To this haſty proceeding the noble hiſtorian imputes all thoſe tumults and confuſions that ended in rebellion. Archbiſhop Laud in his Diary relates (11), that together with this ſervice book, his Majeſty ſent inſtructions to the Biſhops in Scotland, that notwithſtanding he had eſtabliſhed it by his authority, yet they ſhould proceed with all moderation, and diſpenſe with ſuch things contained in the book, as they ſhould find them either not well perſuaded of them, or willing to be informed concerning them, or did hope that time and reaſon might gain to a better belief of them. This cautious advice and direction, added to the excellent compoſure of the Liturgy itſelf, was thought by Archbiſhop Laud ſufficiently to vindicate his Majeſty and his three Engliſh Prelates; and he obſerves, that the misfortunes which enſued were apparently owing to the weak, impolitic, unſeaſonable conduct of the Scottiſh Biſhops, upon whom too the Lords of the Council, in their complaint to the King of the tumults, ſpared not to lay the greateſt blame (12).

[*F*] *Clerk of the Cloſet, and Biſhop of Hereford.*] In the end of Auguſt 1633 Laud being made Archbiſhop, and ſucceeding him in the deanery of the King's chapel, his Majeſty deſigned Dr Wren to be Clerk of his Cloſet, but gave him time to remove his family. He came to London that morning that James Duke of York was born, and next day the King ſaid to him, Now you are at my elbow, there will be many devices to ſet the Archbiſhop and you at odds, but I warn you of it, that you ſuffer no ſuch trick to be put upon you; and therefore I require you both by that faith which I am ſure you both will perform to me, to bind yourſelves mutually, neither of you to believe any report againſt the other; and if you meet with any ſuch thing, though you believe it not, yet preſently to impart it to each other. This was done with much alacrity. In November Dr Hacket coming to wait at court as Chaplain, and with much wit congratulating the Clerk of the Cloſet's nearer acceſs to the King, began to tell him what hopes he and many others had, that he (Dr Wren) would have been made Biſhop of London, and that ſo the King firſt intended, had not the Archbiſhop interpoſed, that the Biſhop of London ſhould be a man of whom the Archbiſhop hath experience, and upon whom he may rely; and ſo obtained London for the Biſhop of Hereford. Dr Wren gave no regard to Dr Hacket's foolery, ſuſpecting it to be a contrivance of Biſhop Williams to breed in him a diſlike of the Archbiſhop; but reſolving to keep his faith with the King and Archbp, acquainted them preſently with what had paſſed. The King approved well his conduct herein, and told him there was no truth in the report, nor any thing but a plot to kindle coals between them two. In November next year Biſhop Lindſel died, and the Archbiſhop ſent Mr Dell to tell Dr Wren that the King would beſtow Hereford upon him, and the Deanery of Windſor upon his brother. Accordingly he was elected Biſhop of Hereford December 5, 1634; but the Archbiſhop's chapel at Lambeth not being ready, his ordination was deferred till the ſecond week in Lent, March 8th. Preſently after this, his ſpare time was taken up in framing an office for the conſecration of a church at Dore in Herefordſhire (13), and converting the impropriation into a clerical rectory. In the next place, our Biſhop preparing for the viſitation of his dioceſe, and calling for the ſtatutes of the cathedral, and finding they had none duly authoriſed (14), he compiled an entire body of ſtatutes for the government of that church, and the college of vicars and hoſpitals belonging to it. About Auguſt 20th, 1635, the King without any warning given removed to Oatlands; and ſeeing the Biſhop got thither the next day, he ſmiled upon him, ſaying, *I'll reward your diligence. I hear the Biſhop of Norwich is dead, and I'll remove you thither*, giving him his hand to kiſs. *But I'll have you go and diſpatch the viſitation you have warned at Hereford before you remove.* The Biſhop beſought his Majeſty not to put that upon him; for beſides that it would be conſtrued a point of great arrogance in him, it would undo him too. For having ſome tenants that deſired not to renew their leaſes till he ſhould come down among them, if he went now, he ſhould receive nothing, though it would coſt him a hundred pounds, nor be able to perform his promiſe to them; his Majeſty having ordered, that no Biſhop after he is named to remove ſhould let any leaſe. *I'll truſt you*, ſaid the King: *How many tenants have been with you?* He anſwered, Five. *I give you leave*, ſaid the King, *for them*. In his viſitation, Dr Richardſon the Dean having an inhibition upon him out of the Archbiſhop's court, and thinking his peculiar juriſdiction would be prejudiced, the Biſhop was not a little glad of it; for this ſhortned his ſtay, and he forced the Dean to be viſited by his Chancellor the week before he removed. He ſpent three days in viſiting the Chapter, finding there divers very reverend and learned men, far from rigid Puritaniſm, wherewith they had been ſlandered. He left them the book of ſtatutes he had compiled to be conſidered of, contracted with four of the five tenants, received of them five hundred pounds, and in a fortnight returned and gave the King an account of all. *But what have you done with the fifth leaſe*, ſaid the King? Reſerved it to your Majeſty's wiſdom, quoth the Biſhop. The caſe was this: Mr Geery of London, who had the fifth tenancy to the impropriation of Dilvin, had moved to add a life to his leaſe; but before the Biſhop came thither a ſecond life being fallen, his agents proffered a thouſand pounds for a new leaſe for three ſuch lives as they ſhould name. But the Biſhop conſidered that it was worth 300 l. a year, had a convenient houſe upon it within three or four miles of Hereford, and the remaining life, Dr Robotham's widow, above 60 years old; ſo that never could come a fairer opportunity to augment the biſhoprick, if the King would ſee that no ſucceeding Biſhop ſhould leaſe it, but hold it only as demeſnes for his time. The King was mightily pleaſed, and told the Biſhop, that he had done like an honeſt churchman; and began to let him into a reſolution which he had in his mind to augment the leſſer biſhopricks, if fairly he could: and he preſently gave ſuch orders, that not only Biſhop Field was ſtopt from renewing that leaſe, but after him Biſhop Cook alſo, though his brother Sir John Cook was much aggrieved at Bp Wren for it (16).

[*G*] *Tranſlated to Norwich.*] He ſat in this ſee two years and a half. In that time there was a foul riot at Ipſwich, with which they would have ſcared him. Sir John Banks, the Attorney-general, proſecuted them for it in the Star-chamber (17). There was alſo a conſpiracy againſt his life diſcovered out of Holland by Sir William Boſwell, whoſe letters the King commanded Secretary Windebank by poſt to convey to him, being then at Ludham in Norfolk. Two petitions againſt him from Ipſwich and Norwich were ſecretly conveyed to the King's hand by ſome great ones; but his Majeſty gave anſwer to them with check enough (18), and afterwards ſent the petitions to the Biſhop, and told him who delivered them.

(10) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, b. 2. p. 874. ed. 1706. folio.

(11) Ruſhworth's collections, part 2. vol. I. p. 387.

(12) Idem, p. 390, ſee alſo p. 321.

(13) This was the gift of John Lord Scudamore, whoſe departure on his embaſſy to France was ſtaid upon the diſpatch of this gift, which was executed by the Biſhop of St David's.

(14) They had two books of ſtatutes, one of ſome antiquity, though without a date, and of no authority, inſcribed, Hæ ſunt leges & conſtitutiones Eccleſiæ Herefordenſis. The other was a book of ſtatutes compiled by Bp Whitgift, then of Worceſter, upon a mandate from Q. Elizabeth, but never confirmed by her. See Abp Whitgift's Article.

(15) Theſe ſtatutes were confirmed ſoon after.

(16) Parentalia, &c.

(17) The Biſhop reſided at Ipſwich ſome time after his tranſlation to this ſee. See the following Rem.

(18) In 1636 Prynne firſt publiſhed his *News from Ipſwich*, ſome extracts from which were afterwards taken to make the articles againſt the Bp.

ſhop Wren ſucceeded him, March the 7th, in the Deanery of his Majeſty's chapel. He was tranſlated to the Biſhoprick of Ely May 5, 1638. But he had enjoyed that biſhoprick not a great many months above two years, when the day after the impeachment of Archbiſhop Laud, on the 9th of December 1640, Mr Hampden was ſent with a meſſage to the Houſe of Peers, to acquaint their lordſhips, that the commons had received informations of a very high nature againſt Matthew Wren, Lord Biſhop of Ely, for ſetting up idolatry and ſuperſtition in diverſe places, and acting ſome things of that nature in his own perſon, and alſo to ſignify, that becauſe they hear of his endeavouring to eſcape out of the kingdom, he was commanded to deſire that ſome courſe might be taken for his putting in ſecurity to be forthcoming, and abide the judgment of parliament. Thereupon the biſhop being ordered to withdraw, the lords decreed him to give ten thouſand pounds bail, upon which being called, he conſented thereto, hoping to get friends to be bound with him. He gave a bond of ten thouſand pounds at preſent for his daily appearance, and on the 22d of that month the Biſhops of Bangor, Peterborough, and Llandaff became bound with him in the ſame penalty for his forthcoming, and ſtanding to the judgment of the Houſe of Lords. In conſequence of this beginning he was impeached July 5, 1641, of high crimes and miſdemeanours by the Houſe of Commons, who having voted him unfit and unworthy to hold or exerciſe any office or dignity in the church or commonwealth, reſolved likewiſe, that a meſſage be ſent to the Lords, deſiring them to join with the Commons in a petition to his Majeſty to remove him both from his perſon and ſervice; and July the 20th, twenty-four articles of impeachment were delivered to that houſe [*H*] by Sir Thomas Widdrington. As ſoon as his Lordſhip received notice

In April 1638, the King, by his letters from Newmarket, removed him to Ely; but told him one day, he would have an account from him of the biſhoprick of Norwich and its ſtate. The Biſhop anſwered, that an opportunity there would be, when he ſhould be in his grave (but the King, by God's grace, ſtill living to effect it) to make it one of the beſt biſhopricks in England; or rather, if he ſhould ſee it more for the public good to divide that over great dioceſe (having in it 1200 titles) to make two competent ones of it. A cathedral for Suffolk might be either at Sudbury or St Edmundſbury. There are in it two archdeaconries; a Dean and four Prebends might without difficulty be raiſed upon benefices, and ſome other particulars in that county within the gift of his Majeſty and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and for ſupply of maintenance there is, ſays he, a leaſe of the greateſt part of the biſhoprick of Norwich, containing eighty parcels, granted at very low rates to Queen Elizabeth by Dr Scambler (a Chaplain of Archbiſhop Parker's, who ſo deſperately pillaged the biſhoprick of Peterborough before, that he was by means of Secretary Heneage tranſlated to Norwich, to pleaſure him with the like there) which would well bear a treble reſerved rent, and yet yield the leſſor ſome competent fine. So that if, when the ſaid leaſe ſhould be within twenty years of expiring, the King ſhould order the then Biſhop to grant no new leaſe of any parcel thereof, without reſerving a treble rent upon the ſame, it would be an increaſe of a thouſand pounds a year to that ſee. His Majeſty liked it, and reſolved to look to it. *But*, ſays the Biſhop, *God has taken him away, and at the writing hereof by Biſhop Wren, May* 25, 1660, *the opportunity of doing this was at the height, the leaſe being within eight years of expiring* (19).

[*H*] *Twenty-four Articles of Impeachment.*] Theſe are as follow: 1. Whereas many chancels of churches during Queen Elizabeth's reign and ever ſince were flat, and ordered to continue as they were by the Rubrick, he, being Biſhop of Norwich, without any lawful authority, injoined, in 1636, that the ſame ſhould be raiſed with two or three, and ſometimes four ſteps, that the communion-table placed alter-wiſe might be ſeen by the people. 2. In the ſame year, he ordered that the communion-table, appointed by the Rubrick to be placed in the body of the church, ſhould be ſet at the eaſt end of the chancel. 3. In the ſame year, he ordered that a rail ſhould be ſet about the table, within which the miniſter only ſhould enter, as being too holy for the people; ſome of whom, as Daniel Weyman, were puniſhed for going within it. 4. The more to advance blind ſuperſtition, he in the ſame year cauſed all the pews in the churches to be ſo placed, that all the people might kneel with their faces towards the communion-table, ſo ſet altarwiſe. 5. He in the ſame year injoined, that after morning prayer was read in the deſk, the miniſter ſhould go to that table as a more holy place, and read part of the communion ſervice. 6. Both he and his Chaplains uſed many bowings and other adorations towards it. 7. In the ſame year he injoined all the people to receive the ſacrament kneeling. 8. In the ſame year he injoined, that there ſhould be no ſermon in the afternoon on the Lord's day, or on week days, without his licence; and no catechizing beſides ſuch queſtions and anſwers as are contained in the Common prayer book; and enjoined the miniſters to read publicly in the churches the book of Sports, and ſuſpended ſome for diſobeying. 9. He ordered that the different ringing of bells uſed when there was a ſermon and when only prayers, ſhould be left off. 10. He prohibited the preaching a preparation ſermon as uſual two or three days before the communion. 11. He enjoined that no miniſter ſhould pray before ſermon, but only move the people to pray in the words of the 50th Canon. 12. He ordered all miniſters to preach in their hood and ſurplice. 13. During his being Biſhop of Norwich, he ordered ſeveral miniſters to be excommunicated, ſuſpended, or deprived, for not reading the ſecond ſervice at the communion-table. 14. He forced the pariſhes to contribute towards raiſing their chancels about the communion-table. 15. He harraſſed and vexed many with his excommunications, penances, and cenſures, for not coming up and kneeling at the communion rails, not ſtanding at the Goſpel, &c. 16. By rigorous proſecutions he cauſed three thouſand of the King's ſubjects, many of whom uſing trades, employed a hundred poor people each, to go into Holland and other places beyond ſea, where they have ſet up and taught their manufactures, to the great hindrance of trade, and impoveriſhing of the people of this kingdom. 17. He often publicly ſaid, he introduced innovations by the King's command; thereby tending to alienate the minds of his ſubjects from his Majeſty. 18. At Ipſwich, in 1638, he uſed idolatrous actions in conſecrating the bread and wine, by bowing with his face towards the eaſt, elevating them, and bowing with his face to them when ſet down on the table. 19. To manifeſt his Popiſh affections, he in the ſame year cauſed a crucifix to be engraven on his epiſcopal ſeal. 20. He has employed Commiſſioners affected to Popery. 21. He has filled up vicarages with his own chaplains, to the injury of the patrons, to whom he had promiſed the contrary *in verbo ſacerdotis.* 22. He enjoined penance to ſeveral churchwardens, for not preſenting according to a book of ſtatutes of his own ridiculous making, and contrived to raiſe fees. 23. He forced the inhabitants of Norwich to pay two ſhillings in the pound of their rents as tythes, contrary to the laws of the realm and the ancient uſage of that city. 24. He compelled the pariſhioners to pay exceſſive wages to pariſh clerks, threatening to proſecute ſuch as refuſed in the High Commiſſion Court.

Among the papers and evidences preparatory to his defence was the following, endorſed, Archbiſhop of Canterbury Laud's Certificate to Biſhop Wren touching Norwich dioceſe, and the King's notes upon the ſame, 1636. *Extract e Regiſtro principali Sedis Archiepiſ-*

(19) From Bp Wren's autograph in Parentalia, p.49—52.

tice to prepare for his trial on a day appointed, he compoſed a long and nervous defence of himſelf [*I*], with great ſerenity of mind and courage. But this being put into the hands

epiſcopalis Cantuarienſis. For this dioceſe my Lord of Norwich hath given me a very careful and particular account, very large, and in all particulars very conſiderable; and I ſhall return it to your Majeſty as briefly as I can reduce it. And firſt, he hath for this ſummer, but by your Majeſty's leave, lived (from both his epiſcopal houſes) in Ipſwich, partly becauſe he was informed that *that* ſide of his dioceſe did moſt need his preſence, and he found it ſo; and partly becauſe the chapel at his houſe in Norwich was poſſeſſed by the French congregation; but warning has been given to provide elſewhere by Eaſter next. His Lordſhip found a general neglect of catechiſing, but hath reſtored it; and in Norwich, as there was no ſermon on Sunday in the morning, but all put off till the afternoon, and ſo no catechiſing, he hath ordered a ſermon in the morning, and catechiſing in the afternoon. For lectures, they abounded with many ſet up by private gentlemen, without the knowledge of the Ordinary, and without due obſervation of the courſe or diſcipline of the church: divers of them he has regulated, eſpecially at St. Edmundſbury, and with their very good content. And at Ipſwich it is not unknown to them, that now Mr Ward ſtands cenſured in the High Commiſſion, and obeys not, yet the Biſhop was ready to have allowed them another, if they would have ſought him, but they reſolve to have Mr Ward or none; and that, as is conceived, in deſpite of the cenſure of the court. At Yarmouth, where there was great diviſion heretofore for many years, their Lecturer being cenſured in the High Commiſſion, about two years ſince went into New England; ſince which time there has been no lecture, and very much peace in the town, and all eccleſiaſtical orders well obſerved. But in Norwich one Mr Bridge, rather than conform, hath left his lecture and two cures, and is gone into Holland. The Lecturers in the country generally obſerve no church orders at all, and yet the Biſhop hath carried it with temper; and upon their promiſes, and his hopes of conformity, he hath inſtituted but three in Norfolk, and as many in Suffolk, of which one is no Graduate, and hath been a common ſtage-player. His Lordſhip humbly craves direction what he ſhall do with ſuch ſcholars, ſome in holy orders and ſome not, as knights and private gentlemen keep in their houſes, under pretence to teach their children; as alſo with ſome divines that are beneficed in towns or near, but live in gentlemens houſes for the moſt part. I think it very fit that the beneficed men were commanded to reſide upon their cures; and for the reſt, your Majeſty's inſtructions allow none to keep chaplains but ſuch as are qualified by law. All which I humbly ſubmit, as the Bp doth, to your Majeſty's judgment. *The King. I approve of your judgment in this; I only add, that care muſt be taken that even thoſe qualified by law keep none but conformable men.* For recuſants, whereas formerly there were wont to be but two or three preſented, his Lordſhip hath cauſed above forty to be indicted at the laſt aſſizes at Norwich; and at the aſſizes in Suffolk he delivered a liſt of ſuch as were preſented, upon the oath of the churchwardens, to the Lord Chief Juſtice, and his Lordſhip delivered it to the Grand Jury; but they ſlighted it, pretending the Biſhop's certificate to be no evidence*: but the true reaſon is conceived to be, becauſe he had alſo inſerted ſuch as had been preſented to him for *Recuſant Separatiſts*, as well as Recuſant Romaniſts.

His Lordſhip's care hath been ſuch, as that though there are above fifteen hundred clergymen in that dioceſe and many diſorders, yet there are not thirty excommunicated, or ſuperſeded; whereof ſome are for contumacy, and will not yet ſubmit; ſome for obſtinate refuſal to publiſh your Majeſty's *Declaration*; and ſome for contemning all the orders and rites of the church, and intruding themſelves, without licence from the Ordinary, for many years together. Laſt of all, he found that one half of the churches had not a clerk able to read and to anſwer the miniſter in divine ſervice, by which means the people were wholly diſuſed from joining with the prieſt, and in many ſo much as ſaying *Amen*; but concerning this his Ldſhip hath taken care for a reformation. If this account given in by his Lordſhip of Norwich be true, as I believe it is, and ought to believe till it can be diſproved, he hath deſerved very well of the Church of England, and hath been very ill rewarded for it. His humble ſuit to your Majeſty is, that you will be graciouſly pleaſed in your own good time to hear the complaints that have been made againſt him, and that he may not be overborne by an outcry for doing ſervice. The King: *His ſuit is granted, and aſſuredly his negative conſequence ſhall follow.*

[*I*] *A defence of himſelf.*] The whole is much too long to have a place here, and indeed in general the charge too trifling to deſerve it, except in two articles, the 16th and the 19th. As to the former, Lord Clarendon ‡ and others from him relate, that 'in the dioceſe of Norwich the Biſhop ſo paſſionately and warmly proceeded againſt the diſſenting congregations, that many left the kingdom, to the leſſening of the wealthy manufacture there of kerſeys and narrow cloths, and, which was worſe, tranſporting that myſtery into foreign parts.' To this the author of the *Parentalia* anſwers, That this deſertion was chiefly procured through the policy and management of the Dutch, who wanting that manufacture, which was improved there to a great degree of perfection, left no means unattempted to engage theſe weavers to ſettle in their towns, with an aſſurance of full liberty of conſcience, and greater advantages and privileges than they had obtained in England; and, ſays he, his Lordſhip's zeal for the diſcipline and ſervice of the church raiſed theſe and other calumnies. He denied that any of his Majeſty's ſubjects, to the number of ſeven hundred, withdrew on account of his proceedings; for the humour of ſeparating from the church of England is of much earlier date than 1636. That from theſe Plymouth and Boſton in New England were long ſince ſettled. That this departure from Norfolk into Holland did not begin in 1636, the year of the Biſhop's firſt viſitation, nor ended in 1637, when he was tranſlated to Ely: for that they began to ſettle at Rotterdam and Haerlem in 1633, and continued to 1638. Out of other parts in that dioceſe, there went 146 in 1635, and in 1638. 150; whereas out of the ſame parts in 1636 and 1637 there went in all not above 100, and out of another part in the ſame dioceſe, from Michaelmas 1637 to the Annunciation 1638, 110. In the next half year, which was after this defendant left the ſee, there went above 230. He alledges that this deſertion was owing to the ſmall wages and decay of trade by reaſon of the plague in London in 1636, which, he ſays, appears from the oaths of ſeveral hundred perſons before the council board.—In anſwer to the 19th article, he allows the crucifix upon his epiſcopal ſeal, denying it done with any Popiſh affection, without which that figure may be had. That the ſaid figure upon his ſeal did itſelf declare what affection it was to manifeſt; for there was this poſy engraven with it, Ἐν ὧ κόσμος ἐμοι, κἀγὼ τῶ κόσμῳ, being taken from *Gal.* vi. 14. and applied to the ſame purpoſe, and uſed with the ſame affection, that St Paul there uſed the ſame. *God forbid that I ſhould rejoice* [*glory*] *ſave in the croſs of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.* In an holy imitation whereof, this defendant, who beareth divers coats of arms (as the uſe is) upon the ſaid ſeal, viz. the arms of the ſee of Norwich and of Hereford, the deanery of Windſor, and maſterſhip of Peter-houſe, together with his own paternal coat of an ancient deſcent, conſidering with himſelf that theſe were emblems all and badges but of worldly and temporal glories, and deſiring that the world ſhould have a right apprehenſion of him, and to teſtify that he did no ways glory in any thing of this tranſitory world, but humbly endeavoured to wean himſelf from all temporal and vain rejoicings, he therefore cauſed ſuch a ſmall figure of Chriſt on the croſs to be ſet over the ſaid coats, as profeſſing by that as he was only *to preach Chriſt crucified*, 1 Corinth. xxi. and that as *he eſteemed not to know any thing but Jeſus Chriſt and him crucified*, 1 Cor. xi. 2. ſo much more he had and ſtill would ſtrive to take joy in none of theſe his honours and preferments, as they were human and worldly, but only would uſe them ſo as if he had them not, and as if he was dead and crucified to them, and they to him; but that his whole ſtudy and reſt and rejoicing ſhould be in the croſs of our Lord Jeſus, and unto it he would cauſe all his worldy eſtate public and private to ſtoop and do ſervice. He then proceeds to declare that this

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* Biſhop's certificates in this caſe muſt be moſt unqueſtionable evidence.

‡ In his hiſtory of the rebellion, part 1.

hands of a lawyer, his reputed friend, for his advice in ſome points and forms of law, that perſon, though ſtrictly enjoined ſecrecy, diſcovering, on the peruſal, ſome things which he conceived might be very expedient for the proſecutors to be forewarned of, delivered up all the papers to the chief perſons in power; whereupon the reſolution of bringing him to trial for life was countermanded, and an order made by the Houſe of Commons to continue him in priſon in the Tower during pleaſure, whither he was ſent September 17th, 1642. And apparently to palliate the ſeverity of keeping him in priſon, without calling him to a trial, we find his name among thoſe delinquents who were to expect no pardon by the firſt of the propoſitions which were tendered to his Majeſty, November 23, 1644. The ſame year he had a remarkable conference in the Tower with General Monk [*K*]. In 1648, there paſſed an order of the Houſe of Commons for ſending him with ſome other priſoners, among whom was Mr Capel, ſon to the Lord Capel, to General Fairfax, to be exchanged or uſed as the committee of Eſſex in reſtraint with the Lord Goring [*L*] are, and upon a report of the Council of State, March 14th following, it was voted, That Dr Wren, Biſhop of Ely, and the Marquis of Wincheſter be not tried for life, but impriſoned till further order of the Houſe. During his confinement, which laſted eighteen years, he employed his time chiefly in meditation and ſtudy, and compoſed many volumes upon theological ſubjects [*M*]. After the King's death he conſtantly rejected many overtures that were made to him at different times, in order to his releaſement by Oliver Cromwell [*N*]. Upon the dawn of the Reſtoration in 1659 he was frequently conſulted by the Royaliſts upon the affairs of the church, and ſoon after the members of the long parliament were reſtored to their ſeats in the houſe, he was diſcharged March the 15th that year from the Tower, and returned to his palace at Ely in

was all the affection intended by him, according to thoſe words of the heavenly ſpouſe to his church, *Pone me ut ſigillum ſuper cor tuum*, Cant. viii. 6. That it could not be done out of any Popiſh affection, ſince he had ſet his ſeal to the certificate of his preſentments at the aſſizes in Suffolk of two hundred Popiſh Recuſants. He concludes, that though the ſaid ſeal lay all the year locked up in a cheſt but at the time of ſealing, and that when any ſealing was, there was no worſhip done by any one, and that as ſoon as he underſtood that any had taken ſcruple at it, he preſently, to avoid all pretence of ſcandal, cauſed the ſaid ſeal to be altered, and the figure of Chriſt to be wholly omitted.

[*K*] *A conference with General Monk.*] This General was taken priſoner in 1643-4, commanding an Iriſh brigade in the King's ſervice at the ſiege of Namptwich [beſieged by the rebels], and ſecured firſt in Hull, and thence removed to the Tower of London, where he continued for ſome years. Here he found an opportunity to gain the acquaintance of the Lord Bp of Ely, to which, by the connivance or inadvertency of the Warder, he had free acceſs. The Bp underſtood perfectly well the character and temper of his fellow-priſoner, and concluding he might poſſibly have it in his power ſome time or other to do ſignal ſervice to the royal cauſe, took all occaſions to animate and confirm him in his principles of religion and loyalty. After a long ſevere confinement in the Tower, and no hopes of recovering his liberty, the royal cauſe daily growing more deſperate, when Cromwell, knowing his experience and courage in military affairs, had long courted him to come over to his ſide, and at laſt offered him a command in the Iriſh ſervice, Monk, to obtain his liberty, was perſuaded to accept the offer, but with this proteſtation, that he would bear arms againſt the Iriſh rebels, but by no means againſt his King. And when all matters were agreed, and he was going to take leave of his friends, he came to the Biſhop, and throwing himſelf at his feet, begged the venerable Prelate's benediction; binding himſelf at the ſame time with this ſolemn engagement, *that he was going to do his Majeſty the beſt ſervice he could do againſt the rebels in Ireland, and hoped he ſhould one day do him ſervice in England* (20).

(20) Life of Dr John Berwick, p. 16. ed. 1721. 8vo.

[*L*] *As Lord Goring*, &c.] On ſuſpicion probably of being concerned in writing a note that was ſent on the 26th of June this year to *Burgeſs* in his pulpit, deſiring him to give thanks to God for preſerving his Majeſty from poiſoning, and to pray for the forces under the Earl of Norwich, the Lord Capel, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale (21).

(21) Parentalia.

[*M*] *Upon theological ſubjects.*] Though deſtitute of books, he committed to paper an infinite number of Annotations on the Bible, compleating ſo many volumes (22), that poſterity muſt imagine him to have been more than eighteen years in the Tower; all which he wrote himſelf in fair and accurate manuſcripts. One great work is intitled, *Meditationes Criticæ in S. Paginam de genuino ſenſu & exacta noſtra Verſione divinorum Textuum.* There are alſo *Epiſtolæ variæ ad viros doctiſſimos*, among whom was Gerard John Voſſius. 2. *The abuſing of the Scotch Covenant.* 3. *A brief theological treatiſe touching that unlawful Scotch Covenant, which in the late ungracious times was with fraud enough and force obtruded upon the people of England, written firſt upon ſundry private occaſions by Matthew Wren, Biſhop of Ely, after the manner of a ſermon, upon theſe words of* Pſalm xliv. 18. *Nor behave ourſelves frowardly in thy covenant; but now (viz. June* 1662.) *thought fit to be publiſhed by him for the preſent uſe of this dioceſe, the readier to prepare all therein, divines and others, for that due abrenunciation of the ſaid Covenant, which they are out of hand to make, by virtue of the Act of Uniformity.* Biſhop Kennet obſerves, that there were but very few of the parochial *clergy deprived* within this dioceſe in 1662 for not ſubmitting to the Act of Uniformity, though more of the old loyal incumbents had been ſequeſtred about the year 1644 than in proportion within any other dioceſe. This being one of the aſſociated counties under the early pretended reformation made by the then prevailing powers; and though the zeal of this Biſhop was diſtinguiſhed above all his brethren in purging his dioceſe from diſaffected miniſters; a zeal that was apt, ſays this author, to carry him beyond the bounds of the law (23).

(22) MS. in Bennet College Library, Cambridge.

(23) Kennet's Regiſter, p. ed. 1728. folio.

[*N*] *He rejected an offer to be diſcharged by Cromwell.*] Some ſpace before Oliver's death, Mr Chriſt. Wren, only ſon of Dr Chriſtopher Wren, and nephew to the Biſhop of Ely, became acquainted with Mr Claypole, who married the Uſurper's favourite daughter. This gentleman being a lover of the mathematics, had great eſteem for Mr Wren, and took all occaſions to cultivate his friendſhip and to court his converſation; particularly by frequent invitations to his houſe and table. It happened upon one of theſe invitations that Cromwell came into the company as they ſat at dinner, and without any ceremony (as was his uſual way to his own family) took his place. After a little time fixing his eyes on Mr Wren, *Your uncle*, ſays he, *has been long confined in the Tower. He has ſo, Sir,* anſwered Mr Wren; *but he bears his affliction with great patience and reſignation. He may come out if he will,* ſays Cromwell. *Will your Highneſs permit me to tell him this from your own mouth*, purſued Mr Wren? *Yes, you may*, anſwered Cromwell. As ſoon as Mr Wren could decently retire, he haſtened with no little joy to the Tower, and informed the Biſhop of all the particulars of this interview with Cromwell. Upon which his Lordſhip expreſſed himſelf warmly to this effect: That this was not the firſt time he had received the like information from that miſcreant, but he diſdained the terms projected for his releaſe, which were to be a mean acknowledgment of his [Cromwell's] favour, and an abſolute ſubmiſſion to his deteſtable tyranny. That he was determined patiently to tarry the Lord's leiſure, and owe his deliverance (which he truſted was not far off) to him only (24).

(24) Parentalia, p. 33, 34.

1660 [O]. He introduced to the convocation, May 18, 1661, the form of prayer and thankſgiving which is ſtill in uſe on the 29th of May. In 1663 he built a new chapel at Pembroke Hall in Cambridge at his own expence [P], and ſettled an eſtate upon the college for the perpetual ſupport of the building. He paid his laſt debt to nature at Ely Houſe in Holborn, London, on the 24th of April 1667, aged 81 years and upwards. His body was conveyed by the heralds with all decent pomp and ceremony to Cambridge, and depoſited in a ſtone coffin in a vault under his own chapel; the Vice-chancellor, Heads of Colleges, and the whole Univerſity attending the ſolemnity of his obſequies, and the very eminent and learned Dr John Pearſon, firſt bred at Pembroke Hall, but then Maſter of Trinity College, and afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter, pronounced his funeral oration in Latin.— His wife died December 8, 1646, but not before ſhe had brought him ſeveral children, of whom his eldeſt ſon, Matthew Wren, was born Auguſt 20, 1629, at Peter Houſe in Cambridge, where he was admitted a ſtudent October 22, 1642, after his father was ſent to the Tower. He reſided ſeveral years during the uſurpation in the Univerſity of Oxford, not in a college, but in a private houſe. He was afterwards one of the ſociety which met at Greſham College in 1660, and after the reſtoration became ſecretary to the Earl of Clarendon, and upon the fall of the Chancellor he was taken in the ſame quality by the Duke of York, afterwards King James II. in whoſe ſervice he continued till the day of his death, which happened in 1672, aged 42 years. His body was conveyed to Cambridge, and there interred in the ſame vault under Pembroke Hall chapel with his father. He publiſhed ſeveral books; as, I. *Conſiderations on Mr Harrington's commonwealth of Oceana, reſtrained to the firſt part of the Preliminaries.* Lond. 1657. Before theſe conſiderations is a large letter by the author to Dr John Wilkins, Warden of Wadham College, afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter, by whom the ſaid author was deſired to give his judgment concerning the *Commonwealth of Oceana.* II. *Monarchy aſſerted, or the ſtate of monarchical and popular government, in vindication of the Conſiderations on Mr Harrington's Oceana.* Lond. 1659, 1660. III. *Increpatio Bar Jeſu, ſive polemicæ adſectiones locorum aliquot S. Scripturæ ab impoſturis perverſis in catecheſi Racoviana, collectæ* hinc inde ex opere prægrandi inedito, *Critica in S. Paginam conſcripta a patre ſuo, Epiſcopo Elienſi, in ſolitude carceraria.* The reverend Dr Berwick had recommended to Mr Matthew Wren to anſwer Mr Hobbes's Leviathan, from which Mr Wren excuſed himſelf as inſufficient, and would have it undertaken by ſome profeſſed divine. This was done afterwards by Lord Chancellor Hyde, who in a letter to Dr Berwick from Bruſſels, June 27, 1659,

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[O] *He returned to his palace at Ely in* 1666.] Biſhop Kennet, in the place above cited, relates an extraordinary inſtance of the intemperate zeal of his Lordſhip after this. ‘ The rectory of Levington,’ ſays that writer, ‘ in the Iſle of Ely, had been ſome years poſ‘ ſeſſed by a worthy perſon, Mr Richard Reynolds, ‘ M. A. who having been epiſcopally ordained, and ‘ having no ſurviving predeceſſor, and conforming ‘ alſo to the Act [of Uniformity], had a lawful title ‘ to it; yet the Biſhop not liking the man, becauſe ‘ he had come in without his patronage, gave a new ‘ collation, February 9. 1662, to Mr John Randolph, ‘ M. A. who being denied admittance, commenced ‘ a ſuit againſt Mr Reynolds, who in the iſſue ob‘ tained an eviction of his rightful title. In the mean ‘ time he got a friend to complain to the King of the ‘ needleſs and chargeable vexation given to him, and ‘ his Majeſty was ſo gracious as to ſpeak to the Biſhop ‘ to give no further diſturbance; but his Lordſhip was ‘ ſo unyielding as to inſiſt upon defending the rights ‘ of his ſee; and when the King ſeemed to expect to ‘ be obeyed, the Bp bluntly ſaid, *Sir, I know the way* ‘ *to the Tower*, where his former long confinement, ‘ and his now declining years, might be ſome apology ‘ for his haſty humour.’ Thus far Biſhop Kennet from hearſay only; and the author of the *Parentalia* obſerves, that little credit can be given to the laſt particular in this account, and leſs to the following ſtory tacked to it, and recited by the ſame collector. ‘ And ‘ this,’ proceeds he, ‘ might make the ſtory more pro‘ bable, that a gentleman of good reputation (a church ‘ royaliſt) who had an eſtate by leaſe from this ſee, ‘ and had ſo much honour as to pay the Biſhop his ‘ reſerved rent during all the time of his Lordſhip's ‘ ſufferings, outliving the Uſurpation, and having one ‘ life in the eſtate remaining, waited on his Lordſhip ‘ to treat for filling up the lives decently, intimating ‘ that he had been a good tenant in the worſt times, ‘ and perhaps the only one, who had duly paid his ‘ rent, while his Lordſhip had no power to demand ‘ it, for which he hoped to find his Lordſhip the more ‘ eaſy in a new leaſe. But the Biſhop it is ſaid chid ‘ him for ſeeking to be paid for what he ought to have ‘ done out of pure conſcience, and would make no ‘ abatement of the full fine required.’ To refute theſe ſtories the author laſt mentioned appeals to his Lordſhip's whole life, exemplary for benefactions, and to Dr Pearſon's funeral oration, where are theſe words, *Neq; ſuæ familiæ, qua tantopere recreabatur, nimium proſpexit, pace & in hac ordinanda contentus ſtuduit; non ad eam ditandam aliena inviolavit, non omnia, quæ ad ipſam pertinebant, arripuit ſucceſſoribus ex induſtria non ſpicilegium, ſed amplam meſſem reliquit.* i. e. Nor was he ſollicitous about making a large proviſion for his family, in which he took ſo much delight; he was content, and ſtudied the well ordering of it in peace; he violated no man's property to enrich it; nay, he forbore to take all that was his own property, and deſignedly left to his ſucceſſors not a mere gleaning, but an ample harveſt. However, Mr Atwood obſerves, it muſt be allowed that he was arbitrary to the laſt, as appears by his admitting Dr Beaumont to the maſterſhip of Peter-houſe as Viſitor by a ſtretch of power, notwithſtanding the college had nominated Dr Laurence Skippon and Dr Iſaac Barrow, two deſerving perſons (25). In a letter of Dr John Worthington, dated Nov. 5. 1660, he writes thus: ‘ Laſt Saturday the Fellows of Jeſus College came down from attending on the Biſhop of Ely, who inſtituted them into their fellowſhips. It was ſuppoſed that there would have been a refuſal of ſome, but he was very fair and civil towards them, without the uſual height of the Prelate, and perſuaded them to ſtudiouſneſs and peace againſt all animoſities (26).’

(25) Memoirs extracted in Parentalia, p. 144.

(26) Parentalia, p. 134.

[P] *He built the chapel at Pembroke-hall.*] The charge of this edifice amounted to five thouſand pounds, beſides the royalty of Artwick in Cambridgeſhire, with which he endowed it for reparations, and he furniſhed it with communion-plate from his own chapel. On the 13th of May 1663, Dr Frank, Maſter of Pembroke-hall, did in the Biſhop's name, and in the preſence of divers Heads of colleges (Dr Pearſon of Trinity, &c.) and of the Dean, Archdeacon, and many of the Prebendaries of Ely, lay the firſt ſtone of the foundation of the new chapel of Pembroke-hall, which the Biſhop finiſhed, at his own charge only, in the year 1666 (27). He had a great affection for the Univerſity, where he reſided much, as appears by his Regiſter; and when he was Vicechancellor, he aſſerted the privileges, reſtored the diſcipline, kept all cloſe to their reſpective duties, and taught the Univerſity to conſider and underſtand itſelf.

(27) Bp Wren's autograph, as before.

writes thus: “ I ſhould be glad to hear that you had prevailed with the young gentleman” [Mr Wren] “ to beſtow ſome of his time upon the *Leviathan*, and I beſeech you to preſent my humble ſervice to his father” [the Biſhop of Ely] “ upon whom no man looks with more reverence.” In another letter from the ſame hand to Dr Berwick, dated July 25th, 1659, are theſe words: “ I hope it is only modeſty in Mr Wren, that makes him pauſe upon undertaking the work you have recommended to him; for I ſwear by what I have ſeen of his, he is very equal to anſwer every particular of it; I mean every part that requires an anſwer: nor is there need of a profeſſed divine to vindicate the Creator from making man a verier beaſt than any of thoſe in the field, or to vindicate ſcripture from his licentious interpretation. I dare ſay, he will find ſomewhat in Mr Hobbes himſelf, I mean, in ſome of his former books, that contradicts what he ſets forth in this, in that part in which he takes himſelf to his beloved philoſophy. And here there is ſomewhat due to Ariſtotle and Tully, and to our univerſities, to free them from his reproaches. And it is high time, if what I hear be true, that ſome tutors read his *Leviathan*, inſtead of the others, to their pupils. Mr Hobbes is my old friend, yet I cannot abſolve him from the miſchief he has done to the King, the church, the laws, and the nation; and ſurely there ſhould be enough to be ſaid to the politicks of that man, who having reſolved all religion, wiſdom, and honeſty into an implicit obedience to the laws eſtabliſhed, writes a book of policy, which, I may be bold to ſay, muſt be by the eſtabliſhed laws of any kingdom or province in Europe condemned for impious and ſeditious; and therefore it will be very hard, if the fundamentals of it be not to be overthrown. But I muſt aſk yours and Mr Wren's pardon for enlarging ſo much, and antedating the animadverſions he will make upon it (*b*).”— Dr Thomas Wren, the Biſhop's ſecond ſon, was born January 11, 1632, at Peter Houſe in Cambridge; was alſo ſome time a ſtudent there: was created Doctor of Phyſick on the 2d of Aug. 1660, by virtue of the Chancellor's letters, ſetting forth, that by force of the late unhappy times he was conſtrained to leave the Univerſity of Cambridge (in divers colleges whereof his father was viſitor) and for his proficiency in ſtudies was fain to ſettle himſelf within the verge of the Univerſity of Oxford. That the preſſures under which his father lay for ſeventeen years together were ſuch, that he could not (his eſtate being taken away) allow his children bread, much leſs ſupply their expences for living in colleges and the taking of their degrees, only to have the benefit of the public library, &c. While he ſtudied at Oxford, which was about 8 years, he was much addicted to Muſick. After his Majeſty's reſtoration he was made Archdeacon of Ely by his father, and had other eccleſiaſtical preferments, and became a member of the Royal Society. He died in 1679 at Wilberton in the Iſle of Ely. Charles Wren, third ſon, and Sir William Wren, fourth ſon of the Biſhop, were created Maſters of Arts Auguſt 2, 1660, at Oxford, in which univerſity they were then, and had been for ſome time ſojourners. Charles was afterwards a Burgeſs for the town of Cambridge, in the parliament that began in Weſtminſter, May 19, 1685, 1 Jac. II. (*c*)

(*b*) Appendix to Dr Berwick's life, p. 429.

(*c*) Ath. Oxon. vol. 2. Faſti, col. 133, 134.

WREN [Sir CHRISTOPHER] an illuſtrious Architect and Mathematician, the only ſon of Dr Chriſtopher Wren, was born October 20, 1632, at Eaſt Knoyle in Wiltſhire, of which place his father was then Rector [*A*]. Being of a tender conſtitution,

the

[*A*] *His father was then Rector.*] He was younger brother to Matthew Wren, Biſhop of Ely, born in 1589, and educated in St John's College in Oxford, of which he became a fellow in 1610 (1). In 1619 he was Senior Proctor of the Univerſity (2); and being in orders he took his degree of B. D. in 1620, and was made domeſtic chaplain that year to Dr Lancelot Andrews, Biſhop of Wincheſter, who gave him the rectory of Knoyle above mentioned, to which he was inſtituted and inducted in 1623; and in 1628 he was appointed chaplain in ordinary to King Charles (3). On the 5th of July 1630 he was incorporated B. D. at Cambridge, and being then created D. D. (4), was the firſt of the two in nomination by the Fellows of Peter Houſe to ſucceed his brother in that maſterſhip, Feb. 6. 1634, but loſt it by the ſuperior intereſt of his competitor with the Bp of Ely, who has the choice by the ſtatutes of the college (5). However, this diſappointment was ſcarcely felt; for upon the advancement of his brother to the ſee of Norwich ſoon after, he ſucceeded him in the deanery of Windſor and the office of regiſter of the Garter (6) in April 1635; and in 1638 he was preſented to the rich rectory of Hoſeley in Oxfordſhire. In the rebellion, when the royal chapel of St George at Windſor, together with the treaſury, were plundered, and every thing therein carried away and delivered to the truſtees appointed by the parliament for the ſale of the King's goods, the Dean, by great application, expence, and long attendance on the truſtees at their meetings in Somerſet houſe, by favour of their chairman, Major Withers, performed at length a memorable piece of ſervice to the order, recovering out of their hands firſt the two old Regiſters ſtiled the Black and the Blue, and ſome time after he retrieved the Red alſo, with other books and papers relating to the ſtatutes and councils; all which were carefully concealed and preſerved by him to the time of his death in 1658, and afterwards by his ſon, Sir Chr. Wren, till the Reſtoration, when he preſented them to the Sovereign (7). The Dean alſo endeavoured to preſerve the George and Garter of the great Guſtavus Adolphus, K. of Sweden. This was the richeſt that had ever been preſented by any ſovereign, each letter of the motto being made of diamonds, in number 498, great and ſmall: to preſerve theſe, he buried them in 1642 under the floor of the treaſury; a note of which he depoſited in the hands of a friend to find them in caſe of his death. Here they remained ſecurely till the beginning of March 1645, when being diſcovered by Cornelius Holland, they were ſold by order of the aforementioned truſtees. The plundering of the chapel and treaſury in October 1642, was followed by that of the Dean's houſe (8), though at that time under a formal protection of the Committee of Lords and Commons for the ſafety of the kingdom, dated Sept. 21, 1641; and it ſhould ſeem by an order of parliament, October 18, 1642, upon an information of this violence to the Dean and many other inhabitants of Windſor, that both Houſes denied the giving of any commiſſion or warrant to the dragoons or troopers

ſent

(1) Parentalia, p. 46.

(2) Wood's Faſti, vol. 1. p. 212.

(3) Parentalia.

(4) On the 5th of July 1630. See that Univerſity Regiſter.

(5) Socii collegii Petri nominaverunt ex parte auſtrali Angliæ Chriſtopherum Wren, S. T. D. & ex parte boreali Johannem Coſins, S. T. D. But though Dr Wren was firſt in nomination, yet the Biſhop preferred Coſins, probably the rather becauſe he was of his own college, viz. Caius. Atwood's memoirs, p. 44.

(6) He was inſtalled Dean Ap. 4, and ſworn into the regiſtrary on the 7th. Aſhmole's hiſtory of the Garter, p. 203. 641. He was alſo made at the ſame time Dean of Wolverhampton in Staffordſhire that being annexed to the Deanery of Windſor.

(7) They were put into the cuſtody of the new Regiſter, Dr Brune Ryves, who gave his note for the receiving them, a copy of which is in Parentalia.

(8) About this time and before, ſeveral Jeſuits came to England, and profeſſed themſelves Preſbyterians, others Anabaptiſts, and others Royaliſts, liſting ſuitably into the Parliament's or King's army, and keeping an intelligence with each other in order to ruin the King's affairs, whoſe death was profeſſedly their deſign. See Dr Bramhall's letter to Abp Uſher in the appendix to his Grace's life by Dr Parr.

the Rev. Mr William Shepherd, A. M. was taken into the houſe as a private tutor to inſtruct him in the rudiments of grammar and claſſical learning; and he made ſuch an extraordinary progreſs therein, that after ſome ſhort ſtay at Weſtminſter-ſchool under Dr Buſby, he was ſent to Oxford, and admitted a gentleman-commoner of Wadham College in 1646 at fourteen years of age. He early diſcovered a ſurprizing genius for the mathematicks, in the principles of which ſcience he was firſt initiated by his brother in law, Mr (afterwards Dr) William Holder [*B*]; and he was no more than thirteen years of age, when he invented a new aſtronomical inſtrument, which he dedicated to his father in an elegant copy of Latin verſes [*C*], together with an exerciſe *De Ortu Fluminum.* About the ſame time he alſo invented a curious pneumatic engine, a deſcription of which, with the drawing, he alſo preſented to his father [*D*]. With ſuch rare talents as theſe it is no wonder that in the univerſity he ſoon engaged the admiration and obtained the

ſent by their order to ſecure the caſtle, for ſuch unjuſt proceedings of plundering and pillaging; and declared that reſtitution ſhould be made to the ſeveral owners, and the offenders puniſhed. All that the Dean was able to recover, was a habit of about 10l. value, which being ſeized with his other goods by col. Venn the governor, was carried to London, and after ſix years returned. Among other things which the dean loſt at this time, was a large cheſt filled with books, one of which was, *Caſtor's Inſtitutions to the Romiſh Emiſſaries, with Dr Wren's Diſcovery of their ſubtle Practices,* a MS. undertaken by command, and almoſt finiſhed (9); three large and valuable pictures, in gold frames, of K. Edward III. Charles I. of England, and Henry IV. of France. The Dean died on the 29th of May 1658, at Blechington in Oxfordſhire, in the houſe of his ſon-in-law, Mr William Holder, Rector of that pariſh, whither he had retired from oppreſſion; and was interred in the chancel of the church there. He was well ſkilled in all branches of the mathematics. There are extant ſome marginal notes written by him in Sir Henry Wotton's *Elements of Architecture*, Lond. 1624. 4to, which ſhew his knowledge in that art. In theſe notes, among other things, he refers to the contrivance of a very ſtrong roof made by him at Knoyle, where he was Rector, the figure of which is there ſubjoined (p. 79). The following particular is tranſcribed by his grandſon, and inſerted in the *Parentalia*, p. 142, in his own words. " For diſpoſing the current of a river to a mighty length in a little ſpace, I invented the ſerpentine, a form admirably conveying the current in circular and yet contrary motions, upon one and the ſame level, with walks and retirements between, to the advantage of all purpoſes either of gardening, planting, or banquetting, or airy delights, and the multiplying of infinite fiſh in a little compaſs of ground, without any ſenſe of their being reſtrained." In brief, 'tis to reduce the current of a mile's length into the compaſs of an orchard, p. 112. The Dean ſometimes indulged himſelf with a ſpecies of wit, which, low as it is, was however much in vogue in his time. We have the following chronogram made by him upon the death of Villiers Duke of Buckingham, who was ſtabbed by Felton. " Georgius Dux Buckinghamius, inter medias copias in expeditione ad inſulam Rupellanam a Feltono gregario milite ultro erat confeſſus. Exitus hujus diri præſagum omen implevit non ſolum nomen ipſius ſed & titulum ejus honorarium in hoc ſtupendo chronogrammate GeorgIVs DVX BVCkInghaMIæ periit ſcilicet 1628 MDCXVVVIII." Some time before his being ſeated at Knoyle, he married Mary daughter and heir of Mr Robert Cox, of Founthill in the ſame county, by whom he had one ſon, the ſubject of the preſent article, and one daughter, Suſan; ſome account of whom is inſerted in the next remark (10).

[*B*] *Dr William Holder.*] This learned gentleman, of whom ſome account has been already inſerted in theſe memoirs (11), married our author's ſiſter about the year 1643 (12), when ſhe was only ſixteen years of age, (13) but was eminent for her great virtues and rare accompliſhments. Beſides her exemplary prudence and piety, and other good qualities expreſſed on her ſepulchral monument, ſhe applied herſelf, in compaſſion to the poor, to the knowledge of medicinal remedies, wherein God gave ſo great a bleſſing, that thouſands were happily healed by her, and no one ever miſcarried. King Charles II. Queen Catherine, and very many of the court, had alſo experience of her ſucceſsful hand. She died June 30th, 1688, aged 67 years, 45 of which ſhe had happily paſſed in a conjugal ſtate, and lies buried with her huſband in the vault under St Paul's cathedral, near her brother Sir Chriſtopher Wren (14).

[*C*] *An elegant copy of verſes.*] The dedication begins thus: ' Reverendo Patri Domino Chriſtophero Wren S.T.D. & D.W. Chriſtopherus filius hoc ſuum panorganum Aſtronomicum D. D. xiii Calend. Nov. An° 1645.' Then follow the verſes:

Si licet & ceſſent rerum (Pater Alme) Tuarum
Pondera, devotæ reſpice prolis opus.
Hic ego ſidereos tentavi pingere motus,
Aſtraque in modulos conciliare breves
Que (prolapſa diù) renoventur tempora gyro,
Sæculaq; & menſes, imparileſq; dies.
Quomodo Sol abeat redeatq; & temperet annum
Et (reptum contra) grande perennet Iter;
Cur naſcens gracili, pleno orbe refulget, adulta
Cur gerit extinctas menſtrua Luna faces.
His ego numinibus dum lito, atq; ardua mundis
Scrutor, & arcanas conor inire vias,
Adſis, O! faveaſq; Pater! ſuccurre volenti,
Suſpenſum implumis dirige prolis Iter,
Ne male præcipiti nimium pro viribus audax,
(Sorte, ſub Icaria) lapſus ab axe ruam.
Te duce fert animus ſtudiis ſublimibus hiſce
Patri dum ſaperas detur adire domos.

The dedication to the other tract runs thus:

Dedicatio ad Patrem tractatus de Ortu Fluminum.

Jure accepta tibi refero Flumina, pulchre
Derivata ſuum reſpicit unda caput.

[*D*] *He likewiſe dedicated his pneumatick engine to his father.*] The introduction is in theſe terms: *Permitte mihi obſecro* (Reverende Pater) *proluſiones meas tuæ ſemper paternitati vivere, & ſi arrideant quæ olim in* PHYSICIS *de* ORTU FLUMINUM, *quæq; nuper in* OPTICIS *nova tentavi, ſolita nunc etiam indulgentia pneumaticum hoc, quod ante inter alia excogitavi, jamq; ad incudam reduxi, excipias rogo.* Some time after he alſo made the following copy of verſes upon it, inſcribed, *In Automaton* ΑΙΘΕΡΟΚΡΙΤΙΚΟΝ *chorda muſica animatum.* Authore & Inventore Chriſtophero Wren.

Grandior Italici ſolito modulamina plectri
Quæ tremuit nuper pollice tacta fides,
Cum cælo tacitum ſervat, nunc fædus & auſu
Indicat æthereos, nobiliore, modos.
Quicquid vis gelidæ regionis in aëra noſtrum
Imprimit, oblata machina fronte refert.
Sive Leoninum rabies Canis augeat æſtum,
Quo gravis exhauſtum fervor hiulcat humum.
Sive ſub hydrophoro ſiluram virtute procellas
Depliat imbriferi roſcida herba noti.
Aerios quocunq; modo vaga ſidera tractus
Nutibus efficiunt nocte dieve ſuis
Sphærarum ſtudioſa fides diſcernit, & inde
Impiger in ſcripto protinus orbe notat.
Tantane vis nervo eſt? Deſpectæ viſcera felis
Concinere ætheriis ſic potuiſſe choris?
Anguæ vis felis vivæ prædicere nimbos *,
Extinctæ ſervant viſcera ſicca parem?
Quis neget harmonicis volvi cæleſtia gyris
Sudere qui fidibus ſidera & ipſa videt.

(9) This book in 1750 was in the hands of Elias Aſhmole. See Dr Wallis's Art.

(10) See the next Remark [*B*].

(11) Under Dr Wallis's article.

(12) He was preſented to Blechingdon about the ſame year. Wood's Faſti Oxon. vol. col. 1. 139.

(13) This appears from the inſcription on his monument, mentioned below.

(14) Parentalia, &c.

* Cum caput pede tergit poſt aures.

friendſhip and eſteem of Dr Wilkins, the Warden of his college, and Dr Seth Ward the Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy, who then reſided in that college. By the Warden he was introduced into the knowledge and favour of Charles Elector Palatine, to whom he preſented ſeveral mechanical inſtruments of his own invention [*E*]. In 1647 he became acquainted with Sir Charles Scarborough [*F*], at whoſe requeſt he undertook the *Tranſlating of Oughtred's geometrical Dialling into Latin*, and the ſame year he invented ſeveral other mathematical inſtruments, and wrote *A treatiſe of Spherical Trigonometry in a new method, with an epitome of the ſame.* At the age of ſixteen he contrived and modelled in paſteboard, illuſtrated with curious aſtronomical delineations in proper colours, a new hypotheſis, intituled, *Hypotheſis proſtaphereſων Lunæ, in qua circulationes ejus ſecundùm rationes Tychonianas nova hac hypotheſi exacte demonſtrantur.* March 18, 1650, he commenced Bachelor of Arts, and the following year he compoſed a ſhort algebraical tract relating to the Julian period, very uſeful in chronology [*G*]. He was elected a Fellow of All Souls College in the beginning of November 1653, and December 11 following, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts. In the mean time he became one of the firſt members of the philoſophical ſociety at Oxford. At whoſe firſt aſſemblies in Wadham college, he exhibited many new theories, inventions, experiments, and mechanic improvements [*H*]. In 1656 he

[*E*] *He preſented ſeveral inſtruments of his own invention.*]. We have the following rough draught of a Latin letter, with which he introduced theſe preſents.

To his moſt illuſtrious Highneſs Prince Charles
Elector Palatine of the Rhine.

" Moſt illuſtrious Prince,

When of old a votive table was hung up to ſome deity or hero, a few ſmall characters modeſtly obſcuring themſelves in ſome ſhady corner of the piece (as yet the modern cuſtom is) were never prohibited from revealing the poor artiſt, and rendering him ſomewhat a ſharer in the devotion. Indeed I was almoſt prompted to ſuch a preſumption out of my own zeal to a Prince ſo much *mercurialium cuſtos virorum.* But the learned votary ‡, who conſecrates theſe tables to your Highneſs, (being one who ſuffers me to be a moſt addicted client of his) civilly obſtetricated my affection to your Highneſs, by adding his commands to me to tender this oblation ; and had not my too indulgent patron, by undeſervedly thinking them not unfit for his own preſenting (though exceedingly beneath your Highneſs's acceptance) robbed me of my humility, and taken away the extreme low thoughts I ſhould otherwiſe have had of them, I muſt needs have called the firſt device but a ruſtic thing concerning agriculture only, and therefore an illiberal act, tending only to the ſaving of corn †, improper in that glorious prodigal ſoil of yours, where every ſhower of hail muſt neceſſarily preſs from the hills even torrents of wine. The other conceit I muſt have deplored as a tardy invention impertinently now coming into the world after the divine German art of printing. Of the third paper I cannot ſay any thing too little. 'Tis extenuation enough to ſay, that they are two mites, two living nothings, nay but painted nothings, the ſhadow of nothing, and this ſhadow rarefied too even to forty thouſand times its former extenſion. If it preſents you with any thing in nature, 'tis but with a pair of atoms. Now, if it be poſſible for your Highneſs to force yourſelf to accept of ſuch extreme littleneſſes as theſe, you will therein imitate the Divinity, which ſhews itſelf *maxime in minimis* ; and preſerve that devotion towards your Highneſs, which I conceived while yet a child, when you was pleaſed to honour my father's houſe with your preſence for ſome weeks, who therefore muſt eternally retain a ſenſe of being

‡ Suppoſed to be Dr Wilkins.

† A planting inſtrument, which being drawn by a horſe over a land ready plowed and harrowed, would plant corn equally without want or waſte.

Your Highneſs's moſt humble

And moſt devoted ſervant,

CHRISTOPHER WREN."

By his father's houſe, he means the deanery at Windſor, which his Highneſs occaſionally made uſe of for retirement and benefit of the air. Our author muſt be (as he obſerves) then a child, for he could not be above nine years of age at moſt ; ſince that houſe was plundered in October 1642, at which time Colonel Venn ſeized all the Dean's plate (which by order of parliament ſhould have been reſtored); among the parcels whereof were more eſpecially two large ſilver tankards given by this Prince Charles Elector Palatine, in acknowledgment of the many civilities and reſpectful entertainment his royal Highneſs had occaſionally received in the deanery-houſe. The Elector uſually expreſſed a great ſatisfaction in this commodious retirement from Whitehall (where the parliament had appointed him a lodging) and the opportunity of converſing with the Dean, and ſome other perſons of learning his friends, who uſed to reſort there. The Prince lived here in a very private way, with two gentlemen only of his retinue, a ſecretary, and one who waited in the bedchamber, and a few inferior ſervants. He dined at a little table by himſelf, the others with the Dean and his family †.

† Parentalia;

[*F*] *He became acquainted with Sir Charles Scarborough.*] Of this he gives ſome account to his father in the following epiſtle, written in the year above-mentioned. *Doctoris chariſſimi conſortio (Reverende Pater) ſupra modum mihi amiciſſimi utor, nec dedignatur affabilis & humillimus Vir plurima, quæ in mathematicis multo cum pla ſu egit, meæ (non dicam judicio) ſed phantaſiæ ineptæ ſubjicere, & quid ſentiam leniſſima aure attendere ; ſæpe etiam imparibus meis ratiociniis inniti. Dum Ipſe viciſſim quicquid in Organicis Mechaniciſve pulchrum inveni, aut a Te accepi magna cum illius delectatione profero ; quorum aliqua, ut ex ære ſibi ſuis fabrefieri expenſis curarem, fieri a me impetravit :* ÆTHEROCRITICON *ſcilicet, &* MEMORIALE CYLINDRUM, *cujus ope noctu & in tenebris ſcribitur. Compoſui nuper* TRIGONOMETRIÆ TRACTATUM *qui methodo nova, totam, puto, Trigonometriæ ſphericæ theoriam paucis quibuſdam regulis breviſſime complectitur. Cujus Epitomen ipſe rurſus in rotula ænea, Jacobi circiter aurei magnitudine, deſcripſi, multumq; in ea propria manu, accepto Artificis ſtylo, ſculpſi *. Hac viſa a Doctore Rotula non acquievit, donec ſibi ſimilem acquiſiverit. Extare noſtri in lingua vernacula laudatiſſimum Oughtredi de* HOROLOGIOGRAPHIA GEOMETRICA *tractatum, quem ut lingua Romana veſtiret Doctorem [Scarborough] ſæpiſſime, ſenio fatigatum, Author rogaverat. Ille vero majoribus implicatus negotiis in me laborem tranſtulit, cui jam pene finem impoſui, epiſtolam quoq; Authori additurus, ut hoc modo in magnum mei commodum (talia promittente Doctore) ſenis conciliem favorem ſimulq; totius ſtudioſorum in Matheſi choro, qui* OUGHTREDUM *quaſi patrem & magiſtrum agnoſcunt.*

* Deſideratur.

N. B. The friendſhip between Dr Scarborough and Mr Wren was of no ſmall advantage to the former, as will be ſeen in his article in the Appendix.

[*G*] *An algebraical tract relating to the Julian period.*] It was inſerted after the *Prologomena*, without a name, in the fifth edition of Helvicus's *Theatrum hiſtoricum & chronologicum*, printed at Oxford, 1651. In this he alſo obeyed his father's requeſt, as appears from the following manuſcript note by the Dean in that chronology: ΠΟΛΥΧΡΗΣΤΟΝ *dilucidum & rebus chronologicis appoſitiſſimum, in quo annus periodæ Julianæ datis regulis indagari & erui docetur, editioni quintæ Helvici aſſutum ab Authore ægre efflagitavit Typographus, utpote quod Egregius Ille Juvenis annorum novendecim haud adeo dignum Helvici Theatro ſpectaculum verecunde cenſebat. De qua re inſuper hanc notam Pater ejus reverendus memoria tradidit. Deniq; filio meo modeſte renitenti incentivum adhibui, ut tractatulum illum algebraicum e cyclis in hiſtoria datis expiſcandæ accommodatiſſimum, ſudante hoc prælo Oxonienſi, præfigi fineret.*

[*H*] *He exhibited many new theories, inventions, &c.*]

The

he invented the method of infuſing liquors immediately into the maſs of blood in an animal body [*I*]. Auguſt the 7th, 1657, he was choſen Aſtronomy-Profeſſor at Greſham College, London, when he made a very remarkable ſpeech on his inauguration [*K*]. In 1658 he firſt of any one found out a ſtreight line equal to the cycloid and parts thereof; and about the ſame time he alſo ſolved the problem relating to the then newly diſcovered Elliptical Aſtronomy: This problem had been propoſed by the celebrated Monſ. Paſcal, under the feigned name of *Jean de Montfert*, to all the Engliſh mathematicians as a challenge. Mr Wren ſent his ſolution to the challenger, and returned another problem in the like ſpirit to the Mathematicians in France (formerly propoſed by Kepler; and then ſolved likewiſe by our author) of which they never gave any ſolution [*L*]. Not long after

The following is a catalogue of them. 1. A Picture of the Pleiades. 2. Hypotheſis of ♄ in ſolid. 3. Hypotheſis of the Moon's Libration in ſolid. 4. Illumination of the Moon and Planets in a dark room. 5. A new projection of a Goniſcope to take the meaſures of angles. 6. New, facile, exact ways of obſervation. 7. To find whether the earth moves. 8. The weather wheel. 9. The *libra expanſionis aëris*. 10. Weather clock. 11. Perpetual motion, or weather wheel and weather clock, compounded. 12. The balance to weigh without weights. 13. Strainer of the breath, to make the ſame air ſerve in reſpiration. 14. An artificial eye, with the humours truly and dioptrically made. 15. The like eye made with one humour only. 16. How to write in the dark. 17. To write double by an inſtrument. 18. A ſcenographical inſtrument to ſurvey at one ſtation. 19. A perſpective box to ſurvey with it. 20. Several new ways of graving and etching. 21. Many curious and new ways of turning. 22. To weave many ribbons at once with only turning a wheel. 23. Divers improvements in the art of huſbandry*. 24. Divers new engines for raiſing of water. 25. A pavement, harder, fairer, and cheaper than marble. 26. To grind glaſſes. 27. A way of embroidery for beds and hangings, &c. cheap and fair. 28. New ways of printing. 29. Pneumatic engines. 30. New deſigns tending to ſtrength, conveniency, and beauty in building. 31. Many new deſigns in ſciography. 32. Divers new muſical inſtruments. 33. A ſpeaking organ articulating ſounds. 34. New ways of ſailing. 35. The beſt ways of reckoning time, way, longitude, and obſerving at ſea. 36. Probable ways for making freſh water at ſea. 37. Fabrick for a veſſel of war. 38. To build in the ſea, forts, moles, &c. 39. Inventions for better making and fortifying havens, for clearing ſands, and to ſound at ſea. 40. To ſtay long under water. 41. Ways of ſubmarine navigation. 42. Eaſier ways of whale fiſhery. 43. New offenſive and defenſive engines. 44. Secure and ſpeedier ways of attacking forts than by approaches and galleries. 45. New ways of intelligence by new cyphers. 46. Some inventions in fortification. 47. To pierce a rock in mining. 48. To purge or vomit, or alter the maſs by injections into the blood, by plaiſters, and by various dreſſings of a fontanel. 49. Some anatomical experiments. 50. To meaſure the baſe and height of a mountain only by journeying over it. 51. To meaſure the ſtraight diſtance by travelling the winding way. 52. A compaſs to play in a coach, or in the hand of the rider. 53. To perfect coaches for eaſe, ſtrength, and lightneſs. Some of theſe were improved and perfected, and communicated, with other uſeful diſcoveries, to the Royal Society, of which Mr Oldenburg, the firſt Secretary, was very unfaithful to his truſt, in clandeſtinely communicating to foreigners in Germany and France divers inventions and original experiments of our author, which being afterwards unfairly claimed by others, and publiſhed abroad under their names, Sir Chriſtopher was heard ſometimes to complain of.

[*I*] *A method of infuſing liquors immediately into the maſs of blood.*] This invention, which was firſt found out by our author, and by him ſhewn to Mr Boyle and Wilkins at Oxford, was, like many other diſcoveries and invenions of his, falſely challenged by the Germans and other foreigners, which occaſioned the Royal Society to publiſh a paper in defence of Sir Chriſtopher's juſt claim †. The experiments were afterwards purſued with much induſtry by that learned phyſician Dr Timothy Clark. Great things were expected from it in the phyſical art, eſpecially from the transfuſion of blood; but all theſe hopes vaniſhed at laſt by the diſappointment of finding, after innumerable repeated trials, no effectual change or alteration to be made thereby in the maſs of blood. The whole ended in nothing more than the method of injecting a preparation of melted wax into the veins for the uſes of anatomy.

[*K*] *Speech on his inauguration at Greſham.*] Mr Ward § has given us a copy of the original in Latin, and in the *Parentalia* we have the pleaſure of ſeeing the rough draught of it in Engliſh. Among others, he has this curious remark; "Some, it may be, will knit the brow, if I ſhould ſay, that even holy ſcripture itſelf ſometimes requires an aſtronomical interpreter; who elſe ſhall give a good account of the hexemeron, or decide the controverſy about the retroceſſion of the ſhadow upon the dial of Ahaz, when, without a miracle, that might be many ways done by the mere fabric of the dial? For it is eaſy to form a dial with ſuch a ſtyle, that every day at ſuch a time the ſhadow ſhall ſeem to return. But what the dial was we know, if we may believe the Hebrew writer, who deſcribes it obſcurely, yet ſo that I can eaſily fancy it to be the ſame with that which the eaſtern nations uſed, and which, Vitruvius tells us, Beroſus Chaldæus brought into Greece, *Hemycyclum excavatum ex quadrato ad enclimaque ſuccifum, h.q. ad elevationem poli*; the retroceſſion muſt therefore be real either in the ſun or ſhadow only; but what if it were in neither truly, but from a parhelion? The ſun returned ten degrees by which it had gone down, might not a parhelion ſuddenly appear at ten degrees diſtance from the ſun, the ſun being juſt ſet under the horizon, or being hid by a cloud? For parhelions are refractions made in nitrous vapours higher than the clouds, ſo the ſhadow of this parhelion would make an appearance as if the ſun had ſtarted back. 'Tis what Cadamaſtus and other deſcribers of the Indies ſay happens often in the iſland of Sumatra in the month of April, for ten or fifteen degrees the ſun ſeeming to ſtart back, and then to return again, where otherwiſe he would have appeared; this may be done either by a parhelion or a ſtrong refraction through a vapour in an angular form like a glaſs priſm paſſing between the eye and the ſun. For if you gently paſs a priſm of chryſtal before any objects, the objects will appear to ſtart out of their places. Neither need we fear to diminiſh a miracle by explaining it. The retroceſſion of the ſun was given as a ſign, ſo was the rainbow, though, had it never appeared ſince, had been miraculous." In proceeding he mentions the improvers of aſtronomy, among whom he reckons Dr Gilbert not only as the ſole inventor of magnetics, a new ſcience to be added to the bulk of learning, but as the father of the new philoſophy, giving occaſion to Kepler, as he himſelf confeſſes, of introducing magnetiſm into the motions of the heavens, and conſequently of building the elliptical aſtronomy. Yet being ſenſible of the unphiloſophical reaſoning of Kepler upon that hypotheſis, he takes notice that the perfection of this elliptical aſtronomy, as well as dioptrics, was to be juſtly expected from others; men of our nation then living and known to moſt of his auditory. To their induſtry he therefore recommends theſe two ſciences §. Mr Ward tells us, that ſome of his firſt lectures were upon teleſcopes, and that in 1658 he read a deſcription of the body and different phaſes of Saturn, which ſubject he propoſed to purſue.

[*L*] *He gave the ſolution of a problem, and returned another problem, which was never ſolved by the French mathematicians.*] The problem was introduced thus: *Spectatiſſimos viros matheſeos profeſſores & alios præclaros in Anglia mathematicos, ut hoc problemā ſolvere dignentur Jean de Montfert maxime deſiderat.* And it was —*Extremis ellipſeos diametris, diſtantia centri ab aliquo puncto in axi tranſverſo, ubi linea eundem ſecet ſub angulo dato, in numeris datis: ſegmenta ejuſdem lineæ, ſi opus eſt productæ, & intra tranſverſum axem & ellipſin terminatæ, in numeris invenire.* After the ſolution of this problem ter this he ſuggeſted, in the year 1659, a method for finding the different preſſure of the air, which occaſioned the diſcovery of the uſe of the barometer, as a weather-glaſs. In 1660 he invented a method for the conſtruction of ſolar eclipſes, which has now for many years been generally followed as the moſt conciſe and plain. He was very inſtrumental in concerting thoſe weekly meetings, which were begun this year at Greſham College [*M*]; but he ſoon after removed back to Oxford, being appointed Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy in the room of Dr Seth Ward, Feb. 5th this year. Upon which reſigning his Greſham Profeſſorſhip on the 8th of March following, he entered upon May the 18th 1661, and was created Doctor of Laws on the 12th of September that year. Soon after this, the Lord Brouncker applied to him for ſome proper experiments to be ſhewn before his Majeſty King Charles II. [*N*] at Greſham College. Among his other ſurprizing accompliſhments he had acquired ſo great a ſkill in architecture, that he was ſent for from Oxford by his Majeſty's order to aſſiſt Sir John Denham the Surveyor-general of the King's works, and a commiſſion to ſurvey and direct the works of the mole, harbour, and fortifications of the citadel and town of Tangier in Africa was propoſed for him, with an ample ſalary and a promiſe of other royal favours, particularly a diſpenſation for not attending the buſineſs of his profeſſorſhip during his continuance in the

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* See Muſæum of the R. S. by Dr Grew, p. 371.

† Phil. Tranſ. No. 7. p. 128. 1665.

§ In his lives of the Greſham profeſſors.

§ Ubi ſupra.

King's

blem he ſubjoined in the ſame paper the following (propoſed formerly by Kepler) which he had himſelf ſolved geometrically. Aream datam ſemicirculi dati vel ellipſeæs datæ, ex quocunque puncto diametri cujuſcunque etiam ſi libet productæ in data ratione ſecare. And he adds: *Rogo igitur præſtantiſſimos in Gallia mathematicos, ut problema Keplerianum ſolvere dignantur, numerice quidem ſi fieri poſſit, ſaltem geometrice.* In the beginning of July the ſame year, he communicated the four tracts mentioned in the margin * to Dr Wallis, who publiſhed them in 1659, as an Appendix to his *Tractatus de Cycloide*; in which he obſerves, that there was a reward promiſed by the challenger to the perſon who ſhould give a ſolution to the problem ſent from France. That the ſolution was given, and the premium demanded, but with-held by a piece of chicanery, an account of which has been already given in his article.

* 1. De recta tangenti cycloidem primariam. 2. 'Ενθυσμὸς curvæ lineæ cycloidis primariæ ſecundum methodum antiquorum demonſtratus. 3. De dimenſione cycloidum contractarum & protractarum. 4. De problemate Kepleriano per cycloidem ſolvendo.

[*M*] *He was inſtrumental in concerting the weekly meetings at Greſham.*] On the 28th of November this year, there being then preſent at his lecture William Lord Brouncker, Mr Boyle, Mr Bruce, Sir Robert Moray, Sir Paul Neile, Dr Wilkins, Dr Goddard, Dr Petty, Mr William Balle, Mr Rooke, Mr Wren, and Mr Hill, they withdrew afterwards into Mr Rooke's apartment, where they agreed to form themſelves into a ſociety, and to continue their weekly meetings on Wedneſday at three o'clock, at Mr Rooke's chamber in the terms, and at other times at Mr Balle's in the Temple.

[*N*] *Lord Brouncker applied to him for ſome proper experiments to be ſhewn to his Majeſty.*] In the anſwer which he wrote to his Lordſhip, we have an account of ſuch experiments as then engaged him moſt, as well as his opinion of what he had already done that way. It preſents a hiſtory of his ſtudies in experimental philoſophy, and the progreſs he had made at this time in improving it; a view of which in ſo great a genius is both uſeful and entertaining. He begins thus:

'My Lord,

'The act and noiſe at Oxford being over, I retired myſelf as ſpeedily as I could to obey your Lordſhip, and contribute ſomething to the election of experiments deſigned by the Society for his Majeſty's reception. I concluded on ſomething I thought moſt ſuitable for ſuch an occaſion: but the ſtupidity of our artiſts here makes the *apparatus* ſo tedious, that I foreſee I ſhall not be able to bring it to any thing within the time propoſed. What in the mean time to ſuggeſt to your Lordſhip I cannot gueſs: the ſolemnity of the occaſion, and my ſollicitude for the honour of the ſociety, makes me fear we have nothing proper remarkable enough. 'Tis not every year will produce ſuch a maſter-experiment as the Torricellian, and ſo fruitful of new experiments as that is, and therefore the ſociety have deſervedly ſpent much time upon that and its offspring: and if you have any notable experiment, that may appear to open new light into principles of philoſophy, nothing would better beſeem the pretenſions of the ſociety, though poſſibly ſuch would be too jejune for this purpoſe, in which there ought to be ſomething of pomp. On the other ſide, to produce knacks only, and things to raiſe wonder, ſuch as Kircher's ſcholars, and even juglers abound with, will ſcarce become the gravity of the occaſion. It muſt therefore be ſomething between both; luciferous in philoſophy, and yet whoſe uſe and advantage is obvious without a lecture, and beſides may ſurpriſe with ſome unexpected effect, and be commendable for the ingenuity of the contrivance. Half a dozen of experiments thus qualified will be abundantly enough for an hour's entertainment; and I cannot believe the ſociety can want them, if they look back into their own ſtores. For myſelf I muſt profeſs freely, I have not any thing by me ſuitable to the idea I have of what ought to be performed before ſuch an aſſembly. Geometrical problems and new lines, new methods, how uſeful ſoever, will be but taſteleſs in a tranſient view. New theories or obſervations, or aſtronomical inſtruments either for obſervation or facilitation of the calculus, are valuable to ſuch artiſts only, who have particularly experimented the defects that thoſe things pretend to ſupply. Sciographical knacks, of which yet a hundred varieties may be given, ſo eaſy in the invention, that now they are cheap. Scenographical, catoptrical, and dioptrical tricks require excellent painting, as well as geometrical truth in the profile, or elſe they deceive not. Deſigns of engines for eaſe of labourers promoting any thing in agriculture or in trades, I have occaſionally thought of divers, but they are not intelligible without letters and references, and often not without ſomething of demonſtration. Deſigns in architecture, and the few chymical experiments I have been acquainted with, will I fear be too tedious for an entertainment. Experiments in anatomy, though of ſhort value for their uſe, are ſordid and noiſom to any but thoſe, whoſe deſire of knowledge makes them digeſt it. Experiments for the eſtabliſhment of natural philoſophy are ſeldom pompous: 'tis upon billiards and tennis-balls; upon the ling of ſticks and tops, upon a vial of water, or a wedge of glaſs, that the great Des Cartes has built the moſt refined and accurate theories that human wit ever reached to: and certainly nature, in the beſt of her works, is apparent enough in obvious things, were they but curiouſly obſerved, and the key that opens treaſures is often plain and ruſty, but unleſs it be gilt, it will make no ſhew at court.

'If I have been converſant in philoſophical things, as I know how idle I have been, it hath been principally in theſe ways, which I have accounted to your Lordſhip, by which your Lordſhip perceives how uſeleſs I am for this ſervice; yet if your Lordſhip will ſtill purſue me, I know not what ſhift to make, but to retire back to ſomething I have formerly produced. I have pleaſed myſelf not a little with the play of the weather-wheel, the only true way to meaſure expanſions of the air; and I imagine it muſt give others ſatisfaction, if it were once firmly made, which I ſuppoſe may be done, if the circular pipes, which cannot be truly done if blown in glaſs, were made of braſs by thoſe who make trumpets and ſackbuts, who wire-draw their pipes through a hole to equal them, and then filling them with melted lead, turn them round with what flexures they pleaſe: the inſide of the pipe muſt be varniſhed with China varniſh, to preſerve it from the quickſilver, and the glaſſes fixed to it with varniſh, which I ſuppoſe will be the beſt cement in the world; for thus the Chineſe fix glaſs and mother of pearl in their works. It would be no unpleaſing ſpec-

tacle

King's ſervice abroad, and likewiſe a reverſionary grant of the office of Surveyor-general of the royal works on the deceaſe of Sir John Denham; but he declined this employ at Tangier, on account of his tender health, and humbly begged his Majeſty to command his ſervice in England, which was accepted by the King, and a royal commiſſion having paſſed in 1663 for expediting the general repair of St Paul's cathedral, Dr Wren was ordered to prepare deſigns for that purpoſe. He was this year alſo choſen a Fellow of the Royal Society, being one of thoſe who were firſt appointed by the council after the grant of their charter, in preparing the firſt draught of which he had been very ſerviceable [O]; and he afterwards promoted that noble deſign by many curious and uſeful diſcoveries

tacle to ſee a man live without new air as long as you pleaſe: A deſcription of a veſſel for cooling and percolating the air at once I formerly ſhewed the ſociety, and left in Mr Ball's hands, I ſuppoſe it worth putting in practice: you will at leaſt learn thus much from it, that ſomething elſe in air is requiſite for life than that it ſhould be cool only and free from fuliginous vapours and moiſture it was infected with in expiration, for all theſe will in probability be depoſited in paſſing through the inſtrument. If nitrous fumes be found requiſite, which I ſuſpect ways may, poſſibly be found to ſupply that too, by placing ſome benign chymical ſpirits, that by fuming may infect the air within the veſſel. If an artificial eye were truly and dioptrically made, which I would have at leaſt as big as a tennis-ball, it would preſent the picture as nature makes it. The cornea and chryſtalline muſt be glaſs, the other humours, water. I once ſurveyed a horſe's eye as exactly as I could, meaſuring what the ſpheres of the chryſtalline and cornea were, and what the proportions of the diſtances of the centers of every ſphere were upon the axis: the ways by which I did it are too long to rehearſe, but the projection in triple the magnitude Sir Paul Neile may poſſibly find, or if your Lordſhip thinks it worth while, I ſhall reiterate the experiment.*

'A Needle that would play in a coach would be as well uſeful to know the coaſt and way, joined with the way-wiſer, a pleaſant diverſion to the traveller, and would be an acceptable preſent to his Majeſty, who might thus, as it were, ſail by land. The fabric may be thus: In a ſphere of glaſs of two inches diameter half full of water, cauſe a ſhort heavy broad needle fixed to a chart to ſwim, being buoyed up by the chart, and both varniſhed; and inſtead of a cap or pin, let the perforated needle play about a ſmall wire or horſe hair extended like a perpendicular lying in the glaſs ſphere, whoſe nadir being weighty with lead, and an horizon as it were cemented to it, let it play in circles like the compaſs: then let a hemiſpherical concave, containing the ſphere in its circles, be hung upon ſprings after this manner. Suppoſe a baſis upon which are erected perpendicularly three ſtiff braſs ſprings, from the end of which ſprings are ſtrings ſtrained forming an equilateral triangle, the middles of whoſe ſides paſs through three ſmall loops on the brim of the concave, which therefore hanging on the ſtrings repreſents a circle inſcribed in a triangle. From the middle of the baſe ariſes a worm-ſpring faſtened by a ſtring to the nadir of the concave, drawing it down a little, and acting againſt the other three ſprings. Theſe ſprings I ſuppoſe will take off at once much of both the downright and collateral concuſſions, and the circles will take off oſcillations; the agitations remaining will be ſpent in the water, and ſtilled by the chart; for thus we ſee a trencher ſwimming in a bucket keeps the water from ſpilling in the carriage, and the Chineſe have their compaſs ſwimming in water, inſtead of circles.

'Laſtly, I would have all the bottom of the baſis briſtled round like a bruſh ſomewhat inclined, which is a cheap addition, and will eaſe it like 100 ſprings. It ſhould be placed on the middle of the floor of the coach, where by opening a window you might ſee likewiſe the way-wiſer on the pearch.

'My Lord, if my firſt deſigns had been perfect, I had not troubled your Lordſhip with ſo much tattle, but with ſomething performed and done; but I am fain in this letter to do like ſome chymiſt, who when a projection (his fugitive darling) hath left him threadbare, is forced to fall to vulgar preparations to pay his debts. My Lord,

I am,

Yours, &c.

CHRIST. WREN.'

It ſeems his Lordſhip did however expect ſomething ſtill from Sir Chriſtopher upon this article. For after the charter was granted to the Royal Society in 1663, it appears from the letter books of that ſociety, (15) that upon a like application from my Lord, then Preſident, Sir Chriſtopher (then Dr) Wren returned an anſwer, dated July 30, 1663, wherein he recommends principally the Torricellian experiment and the weather-needle for the reaſons mentioned in his former letter to his Lordſhip (16).

[O] *He was ſerviceable in drawing their charter.*] The following is a copy of his rough draught.

CHARLES, &c.

Whereas amongſt our royal hereditary titles, to which by divine providence and the loyalty of our good ſubjects we are now happily reſtored, nothing appears to us more auguſt or more ſuitable to our pious diſpoſition, than that of Father of our country, a name of indulgence as well as dominion, wherein we would imitate the benignity of heaven, which in the ſame ſhower yields thunder and violets, and no ſooner ſhakes the cedars, but, diſſolving the clouds, drops fatneſs; We therefore, out of a paternal care of our people, reſolve, together with thoſe laws which tend to the adminiſtration of government and the people's allegiance to us, inſeparably to join the ſupreme law of *Salus populi*, that obedience may manifeſt not only the publick but private felicity of every ſubject, and the great concern of his ſatisfactions and enjoyments in this life. The way to ſo happy a government we are ſenſible is in no manner more facilitated than by the promoting of uſeful arts and ſciences, which upon mature inſpection are found to be the baſis of civil community and free governments, which gather multitudes together by an Orphean charm into cities, and connect them in companies; that ſo, by laying in a ſtock, as it were, of ſeveral arts and methods of induſtry, the whole body may be ſupplied by a mutual commerce of each others peculiar faculties, and conſequently that the various miſeries and toils of this frail life may by as many various experiments ready at hand be remedied or alleviated, and wealth and plenty diffuſed in juſt proportion to every one's induſtry, that is, to every one's deſerts.

And there is no queſtion but the ſame policy that founds a city doth nouriſh and encreaſe it, ſince theſe mentioned allurements to a deſire of cohabitation do not only occaſion the populoſity of a country, but render it more potent and wealthy than a more populous but barbarous nation, it being the ſame thing to add more hands, or by the aſſiſtance of art to facilitate labour, and bring it within the power of a few.

Wherefore our reaſon hath ſuggeſted to us, and our own experience in our travels in foreign kingdoms and ſtates hath abundantly confirmed, that we proſecute effectually the advancement of natural experimental philoſophy, eſpecially thoſe parts of it which concern the increaſe of commerce by the addition of uſeful inventions, tending to the eaſe, profit, or health of our ſubjects, which will beſt be accompliſhed by a company of ingenious and learned perſons, well qualified for this ſort of knowledge to make it their principal care and ſtudy, and to be conſtituted a regular ſociety for this purpoſe, endowed with all proper privileges and immunities.

Not that herein we would withdraw the leaſt ray of our influence from the preſent eſtabliſhed nurſeries of good literature and education, founded by the piety of our royal anceſtors and others to be the perpetual fountains of religion and laws; that religion, and thoſe laws, which, as we are obliged to defend, ſo the holy blood of our martyred father hath inſeparably endeared to us; but that we purpoſe to make further proviſion

(15) No. 1. p. 97.

(16) Ward, p. 98.

coveries in every branch of ſcience for which it was inſtituted [*P*]. In 1664 he aſſiſted Dr Willis in his excellent treatiſe intituled *Cerebri Anatome*, publiſhed that year. But for the

proviſion for this branch of knowledge likewiſe, NATURAL EXPERIMENTAL PHILOSOPHY, which comprehends all that is required towards thoſe intentions we have recited, taking care in the firſt place for religion, ſo next for the riches and ornament of our kingdoms, as we wear an imperial crown, in which flowers are abundantly intermixed with the enſigns of chriſtianity. And whereas we are well informed, that a competent number of perſons of eminent learning, ingenuity and honour, concording in their inclinations and ſtudies towards this employment, have for ſome time accuſtomed themſelves to meet weekly and orderly to confer about the hidden cauſes of things, with a deſign to eſtabliſh certain, and correct uncertain theories in philoſophy, and by their labours in the diſquiſitions of nature to approve themſelves real benefactors to mankind; and that they have already made a conſiderable progreſs by diverſe uſeful and remarkable diſcoveries, inventions, and experiments in the improvement of mathematicks, mechanicks, aſtronomy, navigation, phyſick, and chemiſtry; we have determined to grant our royal favour, patronage, and all due encouragement to this illuſtrious aſſembly, and ſo beneficial and laudable an enterprize: Know therefore, &c.

Every one ſees that this draught is too verboſe, florid, and particular for the deſign, and inconſiſtent with that plainneſs, ſhortneſs, and gravity ſo eſſential to Majeſty; but let it be remembered, that it is only a firſt draught, where the author ſets down every particular that occurs to his preſent thoughts, which ſerves as a ſtore abounding with materials of every kind, the choice of which is the buſineſs of the judgment employed in the finiſhing part, and for that reaſon we have inſerted it here, as a fit ſpecimen of our author's manner in ſuch rude draughts, the ſame rule being obſerved by him in compoſing his inauguration ſpeech at Greſham, as may be ſeen by comparing the firſt draught in Engliſh with the Latin formed upon it, and actually ſpoken, which was too long to find a place here, but we have given a hint of it in a marginal note.

[*P*] *He enriched with many curious inventions*, &c.] The diſingenuity of Mr Oldenburg before-mentioned provoked Dr Sprat in the mere conſideration of juſtice, as he declares, though it might be expected from his friendſhip to Dr Wren, to publiſh in his hiſtory of the Royal Society a ſeparate account of our author's endeavours in promoting the deſign of that ſociety; becauſe in turning over the regiſters he perceived that many excellent things, whoſe invention ought to be aſcribed to Dr Wren, were caſually omitted. His ſon obſerves, this was done rather deſignedly, telling us, that his father uſed ſometimes to reflect ſharply on Mr Oldenburg's behaviour for this neglect; and the ſame neglect is charged upon that ſecretary by Dr Wallis. The account by Dr Sprat has been ſo often publiſhed, that barely to repeat it would be tedious. The time will be better ſpent in the following remarks, which may be looked on as explanatory notes upon it. 1. The large *Terrella*, in parag. 2. is in the muſæum of the Royal Society, as is alſo the inſtrument mentioned in the 3d parag. ſhewing the reaſon of ſailing to all winds, and that too for drawing perſpective with, and are mentioned in Grew's catalogue. As to the laws of motion, &c. in the congreſs of bodies, ſee Sir Iſaac Newton's article. The clock to be added to a weather-cock is likewiſe in Dr Grew's catalogue, p. 357. To his inventions of the weather-cock other motions were added afterwards by Mr Hooke: it hath ſix or ſeven motions, firſt a pendulum clock which goes with 40 Cwt. and makes the greateſt part of the work; with this a barometer, thermometer, and rain-meaſurer, ſuch an one as is next deſcribed; a weather-cock, to which ſubſerves a piece of wheel-work analogous to a way-wiſer, and a hygroſcope, each of which has their regiſter, and the weather-cock has two, one for the points, the other for the ſtrength of the wind, all working upon a paper falling off a roller, which the clock alſo turns. The inſtrument for meaſuring the rain is a triangular veſſel hanging in a frame like a bell, with one angle lowermoſt, from whence one ſide riſes up perpendicularly, the other ſloped, whereby the water, as it falls, ſpreads only on one ſide from the center, till at length it fills and empties itſelf; which being done, a leaden poiſe on the other ſide immediately pulls it back to fill again.—— To what is ſaid in the 9th parag. concerning the theory of Saturn, it may be obſerved, that by a 36 foot glaſs he drew many exact pictures of Saturn, not only of his anſulæ, but of his ſpots, and attained to a theory of rotation and various inclination of his body. He alſo drew the ſpots of Mars.——He made the Tube, an aſtronomical inſtrument to obſerve by ſeconds, by which he took the motions of Jupiter's ſatellites and Saturn's moon.—— And not only drew pictures of the moon, as Hevelius had done, but gave more exact ſurveys and maps of her, and diſcovered exactly her various inclinations, and therein Hevelius's errors.——He cauſed a needle to be made of 40 inches, in order to diſcover the annual motion of variation in it.—— The lunar globe, mentioned in parag. 10. was made at the particular requeſt of his Majeſty K. Charles II. in 1661. and the directions of the royal ſociety, and preſented to the King at Whitehall, fixed on a pedeſtal of Lignum vitæ, curiouſly turned with a ſcale of miles, and this inſcription engraved on the foot; "CAROLO SE-"CUNDO, M. B. F. ET HIB. R. CUJUS AMPLI-"TUDINI, QUIA UNUS NON SUFFICIT, NOVUM "HUNC ORBEM SELENOSPHÆRIO EXPRESSUM, "D. D. D. CHR. WREN."———His Majeſty received it with particular ſatisfaction, and ordered it to be placed among the curioſities of his cabinet; this globe, repreſenting not only the ſpots and various degrees of whiteneſs upon the ſurface, but the hills, eminencies, and cavities, moulded in ſolid work, ſo that as you turn it to the light it repreſents all the menſtrual phaſes, with the variety of appearances that happen from the ſhadow of the mountains and vallies.—— In parag. 15. to what is ſaid of etching may be added, that he was the firſt inventor of the art of graving in mezzotinto, which was afterwards proſecuted and improved by his royal highneſs Prince Rupert, in a method ſomewhat different, upon the ſuggeſtion, as is ſaid, of John Evelyn, Eſq; Of this art ſome original eſſays are extant, as, the head of a Moor, by the inventor Dr Wren, and the executioner of St John Baptiſt, by the Prince; on the ſword is this mark, R. P. f. and over it an electoral coronet.——To parag. 12. add as follows. In 1661 he received his Majeſty's command to proceed to the ſhapes of little inſects as they appear in the microſcope, ſent to him then at Oxford in a letter from Mr Henry Powle, which concludes thus; and that he [the King] doth expect an account of this from you ſhortly. It ſeems Dr Wren in anſwer deſired to be excuſed, as appears from the following letter, dated from Whitehall in Aug. 1661, from Sir Robert Moray, in which having acquainted Dr Wren with the King's commands to bring his lunar globe (then finiſhed) to court, he proceeds thus: 'I have alſo to tell you, that in compliance with your deſire to be eaſed of the further taſk of drawing the figures of ſmall inſects by the help of the microſcope, we have moved his Majeſty to lay his commands on another, one Vander Dives, and we have alſo perſuaded Mr Hooke to undertake the ſame thing. Accordingly we find that gentleman, in the preface to his micrographia, printed in 1665, declaring that he firſt ſet about this enterpriſe by the advice of Dr Wilkins, but ſtill came to it with much reluctancy; becauſe, ſays he, I was to follow the footſteps of ſo eminent a perſon as Dr. Wren, who was the firſt that attempted any thing of this nature, whoſe original draughts do now make one of the ornaments of that great collection of rarities in the King's cloſet. This honour, which his firſt beginnings of this kind received, to be admitted into the moſt famous place of the world, did not ſo much encourage, as the hazard of coming after Dr Wren did affright me; for of him I muſt affirm, that ſince the time of Archimedes, there ſcarce ever met in one man ſo great a perfection, ſuch a mechanick hand and ſo philoſophical a mind. As to the other part of this paragraph, which relates to the invention for hatching eggs, &c. it muſt be obſerved, that he made it no ſmall part of his buſineſs to have a fire frequently in the elaboratory for choicer experiments in chymiſtry, with which he had many opportunities of entertaining his Majeſty and Prince Rupert, who were both illuſtrious ſpagyriſts and operators. The Prince, as a diſtin-the reaſons above-mentioned, turning his thoughts chiefly to architecture, he took a journey to Paris [*Q*] in 1665, in order to improve himſelf in that art: to which end, during

diſtinguiſhing mark of his eſteem, was pleaſed to enrol him in the liſt of thoſe ſpecial friends to whom he yearly ſent a preſent of wine from his appenage on the Rhine. Mr Wood tells us, that Sir Chriſtopher was one of the ſcholars to that noted chymiſt and roſicrucian Peter Sthael of Straſburgh in Royal Pruſſia, who was brought to Oxford by Mr Boyle in 1659.— To the 8th parag. concerning the manner of grinding glaſſes, we ſhall obſerve, that he firſt diſcovered that a plain ſtraight edged chiſſel ſet any way obliquely to a cylinder of wood did neceſſarily turn it into a cylindroides hyperbolicum convexo-concavum, the ſeveral ſections whereof are accurately demonſtrated by Dr Wallis (†).— To all which we may add, that the way-wiſer for a clock was given by Biſhop Wilkins to the Royal Society, as was alſo the catoptric paint now known by the name of the anamorphoſis way of painting, of which he was the firſt contriver. He alſo contrived a box-hive, given to the ſociety by Sir Robert Moray, the deſcription whereof was firſt publiſhed by Mr Hartlib in 1652, and ſince that by Mr Moſes Reiden; it was deſigned to keep the bees warmer and more ſafe, but eſpecially to prevent their ſwarming, and the better to propagate them into colonies.——With regard to the art of double-writing by the diplographical inſtrument, it was invented by him about the year 1650, as appears by a letter, wrote probably to Dr Wilkins, where he expreſſes himſelf thus:

(†) In his treatiſe De motu.

'Sir,

'The account you gave me in your laſt letter of a double-writing inſtrument hath of late been at London pretended to by ſeveral as a production of their own, and ſo divulged to others, has given me occaſion of putting into your hands, what certainly I have more right to diſpoſe of than any late pretender: that double-writing inſtrument, of the effect of which about three years ago, yourſelf, Sir, as I remember among other of the Ingenioſi were judges at the ſame time, when accidentally it was commanded to the view of the then great, now greateſt perſon in the nation.' [Oliver Cromwell, then Protector]

This letter bears no date; yet by theſe laſt words it appears the firſt device was made three years before the Protectorate in 1650. It is evident that our author at this time had no knowledge of Sir William Petty's art and patent granted him in 1647 by the parliament for 17 years to teach this art of double-writing (17). However, Mr Wren made ſo ſlight of it, as not to think it worth publiſhing, and ſays in the firſt mentioned letter, 'I accuſe none of plagiary, becauſe having ſhewn it to few, I think it would be more trouble to any knowing perſon to enquire it out of others than to invent it a-new, and therefore that had it been thought of by any other about that time I ſhewed it, I ſhould readily have imagined, becauſe of the obviouſneſs of the experiment, that it might as eaſily had a double-father as have produced a twin-copy.' The truth is, that as the invention was eaſy, ſo it proved to be of no uſe for diſpatch in writing. Indeed, a double copy was produced, but not without double the time and pains ſpent in producing it. After the reſtoration he applied it by way of compliment to K. Charles II. in the following Latin epigram:

(17) See his article. Rem. [*B*]

AD REGEM FELICITER REDUCEM.

Diffluit en gemino quam prodiga ſepia ductu,
Ut cadat in titulos, Carole magne, tuos
Marte ac conſilio; nam Te bis ſcribere magnum
Unica ſi nequeat, dextera dupla valet.

Of which it may be ſaid, the wit is as poor as the invention of the inſtrument which occaſioned it.—— We ſhall cloſe this remark with another work of our author's hand (mentioned by Dr Plot) the erect ſouthern declining dial, ſays he, over All Souls College-chapel is a neat piece of work, ſo curiouſly contrived by Sir Chriſtopher Wren, that though it ſtands high, yet by the help of two half-rays and one whole ray for every hour, one may ſee to a minute what it is a-clock, the minutes being depicted on the ſides of the rays, viz. fifteen on each ſide, and divided into fives by a different character from the reſt.

[*Q*] *He took a journey to Paris.*] How he ſpent his time there is a matter of no unuſeful curioſity, which will in ſome meaſure be gratified by a ſhort account he gave of it in a letter to a particular friend, to whom after returning thanks for his recommendation of him to the Earl of St Albans, who in the journey, and ever ſince, as he ſays, had uſed him with all the kindneſs and indulgence imaginable, and made good his character of him as one of the beſt men in the world, he proceeds to the following particulars: "I have, continues he, 'buſied myſelf in ſurveying the moſt eſteemed fabricks of Paris and the country round. The Louvre for a while was my daily object, where no leſs than a thouſand hands are conſtantly employed in the works, ſome in laying mighty foundations, ſome in raiſing the ſtories, columns, entablements, &c. with vaſt ſtones by great and uſeful engines. Others in carving, inlaying of marbles, plaſtering, painting, gilding, &c. which all together make a ſchool of architecture, the beſt probably this day in Europe. The college of the four nations is uſually admired, but the artiſt hath purpoſely ſet it ill favouredly, that he might ſhew his wit in ſtruggling with an inconvenient ſituation. An academy of painters, ſculptors, architects, and the chief artificers of the Louvre, meet every firſt and laſt Saturday of the month. Monſ. Colbert ſurintendant comes to the works of the Louvre every Wedneſday, and, if buſineſs hinders not, Thurſday. The workmen are paid every Sunday duly. Monſ. Abbe Chales introduced me to the acquaintance of Bernini, who ſhewed me his deſigns of the Louvre and of the King's ſtatue. Abbe Bruno keeps the curious rarities of the Duke of Orleans's library, filled with metaglios, medals, books of plants and fowls in miniature. Abbe Burdelo keeps an academy at his houſe for philoſophy every Monday afternoon. But I muſt not think to deſcribe Paris and the numerous obſervables there in the compaſs of a ſhort letter. The King's houſes I would not miſs. Fountainbleau has a ſtately wildneſs and vaſtneſs, ſuitable to the ſtreet it ſtands in. The antique maſs of the caſtle of St Germains and the hanging gardens are delightfully ſurprizing (I mean to any man of judgment) for the pleaſures below vaniſh away in the breath that is ſpent in aſcending. The palace, or, if you pleaſe, the cabinet of Verſailles called me twice to view it. The mixture of brick, ſtone, blue tile, and gold make it look like a rich livery; not an inch within but is crouded with little curioſities of ornaments. The women, as they make here the language and faſhions, and meddle with politics and philoſophy, ſo they ſway alſo in architecture; works of filigrand and little knacks are in great vogue: but building certainly ought to have the attribute of eternal, and therefore is the only thing incapable of new faſhions. The maſculine furniture of the Palais Mazarine pleaſed me much better, where is a great and noble collection of antique ſtatues and buſtoes (many of porphyry) and baſſo relievos, excellent pictures of the great maſters, fine arras, true moſaics, beſides *pierres de raport* in compartments and pavements, vaſes of porcelain painted by Raphael, and infinite other rarities, the beſt of which now furniſh the apartment of the Queen-mother at the Louvre, which I ſaw many times. After the incomparable villas of *Vaux* and *Maiſons*, I ſhall but name *Ruel*, *Courances*, *Chilly*, *Eſſoane*, *St Maur*, *St Mande*, *Iſſy*, *Meudon*, *Rincy*, *Chantilly*, *Vernoueil*, *Lioncour*, all which, and I might add many others, I have ſurveyed. And that I might not loſe the impreſſions of them, I ſhall bring you almoſt all France in paper, which I found by ſome or other ready deſigned to my hand, in which I have ſpent both labour and ſome money. Bernini's deſigns of the Louvre I would have given my ſkin for; but the old reſerved Italian gave me but a few minutes view; it was five little deſigns in paper, for which he has received as many thouſand piſtoles. I had only time to copy it in my fancy and memory. I ſhall be able, by diſcourſe and a crayon, to give you a tolerable account of it. I have ring his ſtay in France, he made a ſurvey of all the royal palaces, and took particular notice of what was moſt remarkable in every branch of mechanicks, and contracted an acquaintance with all the moſt conſiderable virtuoſi whom he found in that country. While he was at Paris, he fell into a feveriſh diſorder, of which he was cured by an extraordinary incident [*R*]. Not long after his return to England, having finiſhed and digeſted his deſigns for the entire reparation of St Paul's, he laid them before the King and the commiſſioners in the beginning of the year 1666 [*S*], but that part of the plan by which a dome, with a cupola and a lanthern with a ſpiring top was to be raiſed in the room of the old ſteeple [*T*] being oppoſed by ſeveral of them, a conteſt aroſe, which

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‘ purchaſed a great deal of taille-douce, that I might give our countrymen examples of ornaments and groteſtes, in which the Italians themſelves confeſs the French to excel. I hope I ſhall give you a good account of all the beſt artiſts of France. My buſineſs now is to pry into trades and arts. I put myſelf into all ſhapes to humour them; it is a comedy to me, and ſometimes expenſive, I am loth yet to leave it. Of the moſt noted artiſts within my knowledge and acquaintance, I ſend you only this general detail, and ſhall enlarge on their reſpective characters and works at another time. Architects are the Cavalier Bernini, Monſ. Vaux, Monſ. Gobert, Meſſ. Anguoiſe and Sarazin.— Sculptors and ſtatuaries, Monſ. Perrot, famous for baſſo-relievoes; Van Oſtad, Mr Arnoldin, plaiſterers, who perform the admirable works at the Louvre. Monſ. Orphelin and Mr De Tour, gravers of medals and coins. Painters in hiſtory, Meſſieurs Le Brun, Bourdon, Pouſſin, Ravane, Champaine, Villereal, Loyre, Coypel, Picard, Miniard in hiſtory and portraits. Monſ. Reaubran in portraits for women. Monſ. Baptiſt Robert for flowers. Mr Matthews, an Engliſh painter at the Rue Gobelines, works for the arras-weavers, where Monſ. Bruno is the deſigner and an excellent artiſt. There I ſaw goldſmiths working in plate admirably well. Abbe Burdelo works in enamel; Monſ. de la Quinlinge has moſt excellent ſkill in agriculture, planting, and gardening.

‘ My Lord Berkeley returns to England at Chriſtmas, when I propoſe to take the opportunity of his company, and by that time to perfect what I have on the anvil, obſervations on the preſent ſtate of architecture, arts, and manufactures in France.’

[*R*] *He recovered by an extraordinary incident.*] He was taken ill and feveriſh, made but little water, and had a pain in his reins. He ſent for a phyſician, who adviſed him to be let blood, thinking he had a pleuriſy, but bleeding much diſagreeing with his conſtitution, he would defer it a day longer. That night he dreamed he was in a place where palm-trees grew [ſuppoſe Egypt] and that a woman in a romantick habit reached him dates, which cured him of the pain in his reins. His diſeaſe ſeems to have been the gravel, for which dates are a well-known medicine; and as Sir Chriſtopher had good ſkill in phyſic, he could not be unacquainted with their virtue, and it is probable he had thought of them, which occaſioned his dream. Whence Homer's remark Οναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἐϛι is hardly applicable to this inſtance.

[*S*] *Having finiſhed his deſign for the repair of St Paul's.*] Upon the reſtoration it was reſolved to proceed in theſe repairs which had been interrupted by the great rebellion, and Dr Wren was ordered to prepare proper deſigns for that purpoſe, and his predeceſſor Inigo Jones had, purſuant to a royal commiſſion in 1631 7 Car, I. put the quire into very good repair. He had alſo proceeded to caſe a great part of the outſide with Portland ſtone, had rebuilt the north and ſouth fronts, and alſo the weſt front, with the addition of a very graceful portico of the Corinthian order, built of large Portland ſtone. The great tower remained to be caſed inſide and outſide, and the whole inſide, from the quire to the weſt door, to be new caſed and reformed in ſome meaſure. The vaulting wanted much to be amended, in order to which it was well ſecured and upheld by ſtandards of ſome hundreds of tall maſts. In this ſtate was the fabrick, when the rebellion began; but in 1643 all the materials aſſigned for the repairs were ſeized, the ſcaffolds pulled down, and the body of the church converted into a horſe-quarter for ſoldiers, The beautiful pillars of Inigo Jones's portico were ſhamefully hewed and defaced for ſupport of the timber work of ſhops for ſempſtreſſes and other trades, for which uſes that ſtately colonade was wholly taken up. Upon taking away the inner ſcaffolds which ſupported the arch vaults, in order to their late intended repair, the whole roof of the South Croſs tumbled down, and the reſt in ſeveral places of the church did often fall, ſo that the ſtructure continued a woful ſpectacle of ruin until the reſtoration. In 1662 the dean and chapter had taken care to fit up for divine ſervice the eaſt part of the church beyond the old choir, enlarging it the length of one arch into the choir, until the repairs of the remaining part of the old fabric ſhould be perfected; for the expediting of which general repair a royal commiſſion paſſed, as is obſerved above in 1663. After this the time was ſpent in taking down houſes and nuſances that had been raiſed by the late uſurpers at the weſt end and ſides of the church, in clearing the rubbiſh, ſearching the decays, repairing the portico, in proviſion of ſtone, timber, and all neceſſary reparations, till the beginning of the year 1666.

[*T*] *In the room of the old ſteeple.*] This lofty ſpire, which anciently roſe from the great middle ſtone tower, the ſurveyor obſerved was not originally intended of ſtone, for there were no diagonal arches to reduce it into an octagon; it was therefore finiſhed with timber caſed with lead, that was twice fired by lightning, and the laſt time, in 1561, totally conſumed. Antiquaries differ in the accounts of its altitude. By Stow's meaſures the ſtone tower and ſpire were equally 260 feet, which in the whole is 520 feet. Mr Camden's meaſures riſe to 534 feet. Dugdale, ſeemingly by good authority, who took his relation from a braſs table, heretofore hung on a pillar on the north part of the quire, makes the height of the tower 260 feet, and of the ſpire 274, and yet the whole not to exceed 520 feet, as is teſtified by the table, whereof there is a manuſcript copy alſo in the public library at Cambridge. Dr Gibſon accounts well enough for this difference, in obſerving that the ſpire did not riſe from the ſummit of the battlements, but, as ſpires generally do, much below them: the battlements here riſing 14 feet above the baſe of the ſpire, muſt occaſion the difference.

All the ſtone tower was ſtanding when Dr Wren meaſured it before the fire, and agreeable with other accounts it was 260 feet. The baſis of the ſpire he found was 40 feet. Therefore, according to the uſual proportion of ſpires in Gothic fabrics, which was four diameters, or five at moſt, it could riſe no higher than 200 feet, and make the whole altitude not to exceed 460 feet to the ball of copper gilt and croſs; upon which, after the firſt fire by lightning, was added a weather-cock, repreſenting an eagle of copper gilt likewiſe. The proportions of theſe copper ornaments are thus recorded. The ball was in circumference 9 feet and 1 inch, the height of the croſs from the ball 15 feet 6 inches, and its traverſe 5 feet 10 inches. The eagle from the bill to the tail 4 feet, the breadth over the wings 3 feet and a half, by all as to height 28 feet, which, added to 460, makes the whole amount to 488 feet. Our ſurveyor propoſed to change the Gothic deſign into a Roman meaſure in general; and as the tower leaned manifeſtly by the ſettling of one of the pillars that upheld it, four new arches had been made incorporated with the old ones, which had ſtraitened and hindered both the room, and the clear thorough view of the nave in that part, where it had been more graceful to have been rather wider than the reſt. Beſides the deformity of the tower itſelf, he took notice of others near it; whence he concluded that the tower was incorrigible by any expence that could be laid out in dreſſing it; for which reaſons he conjectured it was formerly reſolved to be taken down. Therefore propoſed as the beſt remedy, to cut off the inner corners of the croſs, and reduce the middle part into a ſpacious dome or rotunda, with a cupola or hemiſpherical five days after was put an end to by the fire of London on the 2d of September. That dreadful calamity furniſhed matter abundantly to exerciſe all the extraordinary talents of our young architect. Upon this occaſion he was appointed Surveyor-general and principal Architect for rebuilding the whole city, in which was included not only the cathedral of St Paul, but fifty-one parochial churches, which were enacted by parliament to be built in lieu of thoſe that were burnt and demoliſhed, beſides other public ſtructures, and alſo for the diſpoſition of the ſtreets. He preſently drew up excellently beautiful plans for this purpoſe, which were laid before the King and the Houſe of Commons [*U*]. But the execution of that noble deſign was unhappily prevented by the diſputes which aroſe about private property, and the haſte and hurry of rebuilding [*W*]. On the 6th of March 1666-7, his Majeſty granted him a warrant under the privy-ſeal to execute the office of Surveyor-general of the royal works. This was done in purſuance of a deputation which he had before received from Sir John Denham, upon whoſe deceaſe before the expiration of the ſame month he ſucceeded in that poſt. In 1668, at the requeſt of his friend Dr Seth Ward, then Biſhop of Saliſbury, he took an accurate ſurvey of that cathedral [*X*], pointing out the errors and defects, and the preſent decays thereof, together

roof, and upon the cupola for the outward ornament a lantern, with a ſpiring top to riſe proportionably, though not to that unneceſſary height of the former ſpire of timber and lead burnt by lightning. In the poſtſcript he obſerves, that if there ſhould be occaſion for ſtucco, he had great hopes, from ſome experience already had, that England afforded materials to be brought by ſea at an eaſy rate, that will make as good plaiſter as any in the world, and that with the mixture of cheaper ingredients than marble meal, which was the old, and is now the modern way of Italy. The propoſer alſo, conſidering that high buildings grew more and more expenſive as they riſe, by reaſon of the time and labour ſpent in raiſing the materials, took that occaſion to acquaint the commiſſioners, that having had the opportunity of ſeeing ſeveral ſtructures of greater expence than this while they were in raiſing, conducted by the beſt artiſts Italian and French, and having had daily conference with them, and obſerving their engines and methods, he hath promoted this geometrical part of architecture yet further, and thinks the raiſing of materials may yet be more facilitated, ſo as to ſave in lofty fabrics a very conſiderable part of the time and labourer's hire. And an illuſtrious proof of this he gave afterwards in rebuilding the preſent dome, which was raiſed upon a center that ſupported itſelf without any props from below.

[*U*] *A plan for that purpoſe.*] Immediately after the fire, he took an exact ſurvey of the whole area and confines of the burning, and deſigned a model of the new city, in which the deformity and inconveniencies of the old one were remedied, by enlarging the ſtreets and lanes, and carrying them as near parallel to one another as might be (18). To explain this. From that part of Fleet-ſtreet, which remained unburnt about St Dunſtan's church, a ſtreight ſtreet of 90 feet wide croſſes the valley, paſſing by the ſouth ſide of Ludgate priſon, and thence in a ſtreight line ends in a piazza at Tower-hill; but before it deſcends into the valley, where Fleet-ditch runs about the once middle of Fleet-ſtreet, it opens into a round piazza the centre of two ways, where at one ſtation are theſe views. Firſt, ſtreight forward quite through the city. Second, obliquely towards the right hand to the beginning of the quay that runs from Bridewell dock to the Tower (19). Third, obliquely towards the left to Smithfield. Fourth, ſtreight on the right to the Thames. Fifth, ſtreight on the left to Hatton ſtreet and Clerkenwell. Sixth, ſtreight backwards towards Temple-bar. Seventh, obliquely on the right to the walks of the Temple Eighth, obliquely on the left to Curſitor's alley. Paſſing forward, we croſs the valley, once ſullied with an offenſive ſewer, now to be beautified with a uſeful canal of 120 feet wide, with ſeſſes at Holborn-bridge, and at the mouth, to cleanſe it of all filth, and ſtores of coals on each ſide, paſſable by as many bridges as ſtreets that croſs it. Leaving Ludgate priſon on the left ſide of the ſtreet, inſtead of which gate was deſigned a triumphal arch to the founder of the new city King Charles II. This great ſtreet preſently divides into another as large, which carries the eye and paſſage to the ſouth front of the Exchange; and before theſe two ſtreets ſpreading at acute angles can be clear of each other, they form a triangular piazza, the baſis of which is filled by the cathedral of St Paul (20). But leaving that on the left-hand, we proceed, as our firſt way led us, toward the Tower, the way being all along adorned with parochial churches, to be placed ſo as to be ſeen at the end of every viſta of houſes, and diſpoſed in ſuch diſtances from each, as to appear neither too thick nor thin in proſpect, but to give a proper heightning to the whole bulk of the city, as it filled the landſcape. Returning to Ludgate, we paſs, leaving St Paul's on the right hand, along the other great branch to the Royal Exchange, ſeated in the place where it was before, but free from buildings, in the middle of a piazza included between the two great ſtreets, the one from Ludgate leading to the ſouth front, and another from Holborn over the canal to Newgate, and then ſtreight to the north front of the Exchange.

[*W*] *Prevented by diſputes about private property.*] The practicability of the whole plan, without loſs to any man, or infringement of any property, was at that time demonſtrated, and all material objections fully weighed and anſwered. The only, and as it happened, inſurmountable difficulty remaining, was the obſtinate averſeneſs of great part of the citizens to alter their old properties, and to recede from building their houſes again on the old ground and foundations; as alſo the diſtruſt in many, and unwillingneſs to give up their properties, though for a time only, into the hands of public truſtees or commiſſioners, till they might be diſpenſed to them again with more advantage to themſelves, than otherwiſe was poſſible to be effected. For ſuch a method was propoſed, that by an equal diſtribution of ground into buildings, leaving out church-yards, gardens, &c. which were to be removed out of the town, there would have been ſufficient room both for the augmentation of the ſtreets, diſpoſition of the churches, halls, and all public buildings, and to have given every proprietor full ſatisfaction; and although few proprietors ſhould happen to have been ſeated again exactly upon the very ſame ground they had poſſeſſed before the fire, yet no man would have been thruſt any conſiderable diſtance from it, but been placed at leaſt as conveniently, and ſometimes more, to their own trade than before.

[*X*] *A ſurvey of Saliſbury cathedral.*] The manuſcript in the author's own hand, dated 1668, is yet in the regiſtry of the Dean and Chapter of this church. Among other errors in the original deſign itſelf, he firſt takes notice of that of building it in a low and marſhy ſoil, and that ſufficient care is not taken of the foundation, eſpecially under the pillars. A ſecond error, is not raiſing the floor of the church above the fear of inundations; concerning which I ſhall obſerve, that making the river navigable increaſed the danger from theſe ſo much, that Dr Sherlock, while Biſhop of this ſee, forbid the uſing of the river for navigation.

Theſe ſurveys, and other occaſional inſpections of the moſt noted churches and chapels in England and foreign parts, induced him to make ſome enquiry into the riſe and progreſs of this Gothic mode. He was of opinion, that what we now vulgarly call the Gothic, ought properly to be termed the *Saracen architecture refined by the Chriſtians*, which firſt of all began in the Eaſt, after the fall of the Greek empire, by the prodigious ſucceſs of thoſe people that adhered to Mahomet's doctrine, who, out of zeal to their religion, built moſques, caravanſeras, and ſepulchres, wherever

(18) The ſtreets to be of three widths, 90 feet, 60 feet, and lanes 30 feet.

(19) Upon the quay to ſtand the publick halls of the companies, and the principal merchants houſes, with ſome large docks for barges deep laden.

(20) This was to be the nave or center of the town, whence the 60 f. ſtreets to proceed to all principal parts of it. The building to be after the form of the Roman forum, with double porticoes.

ther with the method of repairing and preſerving from further declenſion that ancient Gothic ſtructure, which he has ſhewn to be juſtly eſteemed one of the beſt patterns of that kind of building. In 1669 he finiſhed the Theatre at Oxford [Y]. March 9, 1673 he reſigned his Savilian Profeſſorſhip in the Univerſity [Z], and had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him by his Majeſty the enſuing year. The ſame year 1674, in re-
building

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wherever they came. Theſe they contrived of a round form, becauſe they would not imitate the Chriſtian figure of a croſs, nor the old Greek manner, deemed by them idolatrous; and for that reaſon all ſculpture became offenſive to them. They then fell into a new mode of their own invention, though it might have been expected with better ſenſe, conſidering that the Arabians wanted not geometricians in that age, nor the Moors, who tranſlated many of the moſt uſeful old Greek books. As they propagated their religion with great diligence, ſo they built moſques in all their conquered cities in haſte. The quarries of great marble (by which the vanquiſhed cities of Syria, Egypt, and all the Eaſt, had been ſupplied for columns, architraves, and great ſtones) were now deſerted. The Saracens therefore were neceſſitated to accommodate themſelves to ſuch materials, whether of marble or free-ſtone, as every country readily afforded. They thought columns and heavy cornices impertinent, and might be omitted, and affecting the round form for moſques, they elevated cupolas in ſome inſtances with grace enough. The holy war gave the Chriſtians, who had been there, an idea of the Saracens works, which were afterwards imitated by them in the Weſt; and they refined upon it every day, as they proceeded in building churches. The Italians (among which were yet ſome Greek refugees) and with them the French, Germans, and Flemings, joined into a fraternity, procuring papal bulls for their encouragement, and particular privileges. They ſtiled themſelves *Free Maſons*, and ranged from nation to nation, as they found churches to be built (for very many in thoſe days were every where in building) through the piety of multitudes. Their government was regular, and where they fixed near the building in hand, they made a camp of hills. A ſurveyor governed in chief, every tenth man was called a warden, and overlooked each nine. The gentlemen of the neighbourhood, either out of charity, or commutation of penance, gave the materials and carriage. Thoſe who have ſeen in records the exact accounts of the charge of ſome of our cathedrals near 400 years old, cannot but have a great eſteem of their oeconomy, and admire how ſoon they erected ſuch lofty ſtructures. Indeed, great height they thought the greateſt magnificence; few ſtones were uſed, but what a man might carry up a ladder, or on his back, from ſcaffold to ſcaffold, though they had pullies, and ſpoked wheels upon occaſion; but having rejected cornices, they had no need of great engines, ſtone upon ſtone was eaſily piled up to great heights; therefore the pride of the works was in pinnacles and ſteeples. In this they eſſentially differed from the Roman way, who laid all the mouldings horizontally, which made the beſt perſpective. The Gothic carried all their mouldings perpendicular; ſo that the ground work being ſettled, they had nothing to do, but to ſpire all up as faſt as they could, though they made the pillars of a bundle of little toruſes, which they divided into more when they came to the roof, and theſe toruſes ſplit into many ſmall ones, and traverſing one another, gave occaſion to the tracery-work, as they called it, of which this ſociety were the inventors. They uſed the ſharp-headed arch, which would riſe with little centring, which required lighter key-ſtones, and leſs butment and yet would bear another row of doubled arches riſing from the key-ſtone, in diverſifying of which they erected eminent ſtructures, ſuch as the ſteeples of Vienna, Straſburgh, and many others. They affected ſteeples, though the Saracens affected cupolas. The church of St Mark at Venice is built after the Saracen's manner. Glaſs began to be uſed in windows, and a great part of the ancient ornaments of churches conſiſted in the tracery-works of diſpoſing the mullions of the windows for the better fixing in of the glaſs. Thus the work required fewer materials, and the workmanſhip was for the moſt part performed with flat moulds, in which the wardens could eaſily inſtruct 100 of artificers. It muſt be confeſſed this was an ingenious compound of work, ſuited to theſe northern climates; and I muſt own, that works of the ſame height and magnificence in the Roman way, would be very much more expenſive, than in the other Gothic manner managed with judgment. But as all modes, when once the old rational ways are deſpiſed, turn at laſt into unbounded fancies, this tracery introduced too much mincing of the ſtone into open battlements, ſpindling pinnacles, and little carvings, without proportion of diſtance; ſo the eſſential rules of good perſpective and duration were forgot. But about 200 years ago, when ingenious men began to reform the Roman language to the purity which they aſſigned and fixed to the time of Auguſtus, and that century the architects alſo, aſhamed of their modern barbarity of building, began to examine carefully the ruins of old Rome and Italy, to ſearch into the orders and proportions, and to eſtabliſh them by inviolable rules, ſo to their labours and induſtry we owe in a great degree the reſtoration of architecture.

[Y] *The theatre at Oxford.*] It was opened on the 9th of July with great ſolemnity, and followed with a moſt ſplendid act, ſuch as had not been equalled in the memory of man. The munificent founder, Archbiſhop Sheldon, honoured the architect, on this firſt eſſay of his ſkill, with the preſent of a golden cup, and by his ſtatutes appointed him, jointly with the Vice Chancellor, perpetual curator of the fabric. In 1720, upon a groundleſs report that it wanted repairs, Dr Robert Shippen, then Vice-Chancellor, cauſed a ſurvey to be made by William Thompſon, maſon, James Franklin, and Thomas Speakman, carpenters, all of Oxford, who ſigned a certificate on the 8th of March, that upon a ſtrict examination they found it in perfect repair, and in good order, the walls not in the leaſt defective, and the roof, which formerly had been ſwagged and ſunk in the middle about 11 inches, occaſioned by the ſhrinking of ſome of the timbers, and great weight of books formerly laid upon it, appeared to them to be in as good a condition as it was 20 years before, when the like examination was made. They likewiſe further certified, that the whole fabric was, in their opinion, in ſuch good repair and condition, as to ſtand for one or two hundred years yet to come.

[Z] *He reſigned the Savilian profeſſorſhip in* 1673.] To account for this ſtep, we muſt go back to examine into the ſtate of St Paul's after the fire, when the firſt thing deſigned was to fit ſome part of the church, thus ruined, for a quire, wherein the Dean and Prebendaries might have divine ſervice, till the repair of the whole, or a new ſtructure could be accompliſhed. Two years were ſpent in preparations for this, of which the two following letters from Dr Sancroft, then Dean, to our ſurveyor, exhibit a clear account.

To my worthy friend Dr Wren, profeſſor of aſtronomy at Oxford.

‘ Sir, April 25, 1668.

‘ As he ſaid of old, *Prudentia eſt quædam divinatio*;
‘ ſo ſcience, at the height you are maſter of it, is
‘ prophetic too. What you whiſpered in my ear at
‘ your laſt coming hither is now come to paſs; our
‘ work at the weſt end of St Paul's is fallen about
‘ our ears; your quick eye diſcerned the walls and
‘ pillars gone off from their perpendiculars, and I
‘ believe other defects too, which are now expoſed
‘ to every common obſerver. About a week ſince,
‘ we being at work on the third pillar from the weſt
‘ end on the ſouth ſide, which we had now caſed with
‘ ſtone, where it was moſt defective, almoſt up to the
‘ chapitre, a great weight falling from the high wall
‘ ſo diſabled the vaulting of the ſide iſle by it, that
‘ it threatened a ſudden ruin ſo viſibly, that the
‘ workmen preſently removed, and the next night
‘ the whole pillar fell, and carried ſcaffolds and all
‘ with it to the very ground. The ſecond pillar,
‘ which you know is bigger than the reſt, ſtands now
‘ alone, with an uncommon weight on the top of it,
‘ which we cannot hope ſhould ſtand long, and yet
‘ we

building ſome parts of the Tower of London, he found the bones of King Edward V. and thoſe of his brother Richard Duke of York, both murdered by King Richard III. [*AA*]; and the year was not ended when he entered into a marriage with Faith, daughter of Sir Thomas Coghill of Blechingdon in Oxfordſhire, upon whoſe deceaſe the next year he ſoon after married Jane, daughter of the right honourable William Lord Fitz-William Baron of Lifford in the kingdom of Ireland. This year 1705, Auguſt 10, the foundation of the Royal Obſervatory was laid at Greenwich in purſuance of a propoſal made by Sir Chriſtopher, who was one of the Commiſſioners appointed by his Majeſty to find a proper place for that purpoſe. On the 29th of July 1677-8, the Houſe of Commons having voted the ſum of 70,000 l. for a ſolemn funeral of King Charles I. and for a monument to be erected to his memory, the Surveyor drew a general plan, orthography, and ſection with the ſtatues and ornaments for that deſign [*BB*]. This year he finiſhed the

we dare not venture to take it down. This breach has diſcovered to all, that look on it, two great defects in Inigo Jones's work; one, that his new caſe of ſtone in the upper wall, maſſy as it is, was not ſet upon the upright of the pillars, but upon the cove of the groins of the vaulting; the other, that there were no key-ſtones at all to tie it to the old work; and all this being very heavy, with the Roman ornaments upon the top of it, and being already ſo far gone outwards, cannot poſſibly ſtand long. In fine, it is the opinion of all men, that we can proceed no farther at the weſt end. What we are to do next, is the preſent deliberation; in which you are ſo abſolutely and indiſpenſibly neceſſary to us, that we can do nothing, reſolve on nothing, without you.

‘It is therefore, that in my Lord of Canterbury's name, and by his order, already as I ſuppoſe intimated to you by the Dean of Chriſtchurch, we moſt earneſtly deſire your preſence and aſſiſtance with all poſſible ſpeed.

‘You will think fit, I know, to bring with you thoſe excellent draughts and deſigns you formerly favoured us with; and in the mean time, till we enjoy you here, conſider what to adviſe, that may be for the ſatisfaction of his Majeſty and the whole nation; an obligation ſo great and ſo public, that it muſt be acknowledged by better hands than thoſe of

‘Your very affectionate friend and ſervant,

‘W. Sancroft.’

To Dr Wren at Oxford.

‘Sir, July 2, 1668.

‘Yeſterday my Lords of Canterbury, London, and Oxford, met on purpoſe to hear your letter read once more, and to conſider what is now to be done, in order to the repair of St Paul's; they unanimouſly reſolved, that it is fit immediately to attempt ſomething, and that without you they can do nothing.

‘I am therefore commanded to give you an invitation hither in his Grace's name, and the reſt of the commiſſioners, with all ſpeed, that we may prepare ſomething to be propoſed to his Majeſty; the deſign of ſuch a choir, at leaſt, as may be a congruous part of a greater and more magnificent work to follow; and then for the procuring contributions to defray this, we are ſo ſanguine as not to doubt of it, if we could but once reſolve what we would do, and what that would coſt. So that the only part of your letter we demur to, is the method you propoſed of declaring firſt what money we would beſtow, and then deſigning ſomething juſt of that expence; for quite otherwiſe the way their Lordſhips reſolve upon is, to form a deſign, handſome, noble, and ſuitable to all the ends of it, to the reputation of the city and the nation, and to take it for granted, that money will be had to accompliſh it, or however to let it lie by, till we have a proſpect before us of ſo much as may reaſonably encourage us to begin.

‘Thus far I thought good to prepare you for what will be ſaid to you when you come, that you may not be ſurprized with it; and if my ſummons prevail not, my Lord the Biſhop of Oxford hath undertaken to give it you warmer *ore tenus*, the next week, when he intends to be with you, if at leaſt you be not come towards us before he arrives, which would be a very agreeable ſurprize to us all, and eſpecially to your

‘Very affectionate humble ſervant,

‘W. Sancroft.’

Preparations for the new ſtructure being thus made, ſeveral deſigns were preſented to the King for the purpoſe by our ſurveyor; one of which his Majeſty approving, commanded a model to be made; and for the more ſpeedy procedure in the work, iſſued his letters patent under the great ſeal, bearing date the 12th day of November, in the 25th year of his reign, A. D. 1673. and it appears by the royal warrant, under the ſign manual and privy ſeal for beginning the work, that this model was approved, becauſe it was ſo ordered, that it might be built and finiſhed by parts. Hence we ſee the reaſon of our author's reſigning his Savilian profeſſorſhip. He was ſo entirely taken up with the great undertaking to rebuild St Paul's, that he could not attend the buſineſs of that lecture.

[*AA*] *He found the bones of Edward V. and his brother.*] They were found about ten feet deep in the ground in a wooden cheſt, as the workmen were taking away the ſtairs which led from the royal lodgings into the chapel of the white tower. The circumſtances of this diſcovery being fully repreſented to the King by the Surveyor, Sir Thomas Chicheley, then Maſter of the Ordnance, and other perſons of worth and credit, eye witneſſes to the whole ſcrutiny, the following warrant from the Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's houſhold was directed to the Surveyor: In purſuance whereof he deſigned an elegant urn of white marble on a pedeſtal, with an inſcription, all which being approved by his Majeſty, was erected in the Eaſt wall of the north aile of King Henry VIIth's chapel:

H. S. S. Reliquiæ Edvardi Vti Regis Angliæ & Ricardi Ducis Eborac. *Hos fratres germanos in Arce Londinenſi concluſos, injectiſque calcitris ſuffocatos, abdite & inhoneſte tumulari juſſit patruus* Ricardus, *perfidus Regni Prædo. Oſſa deſideratorum diu & multum quæſita, poſt annos* CXCI *ſcalarum in ruderibus (ſcalæ nuper iſtæ ad ſacellum turris albæ ducebant) alte defoſſa, indiciis certiſſimis ſunt reperta,* XVII *die Julii A. D.* 1674. Carolus Secundus *Rex clementiſſimus acerbam ſortem miſeratus inter avita monumenta Principibus infeliciſſimis juxta perſolvit, Anno Domini* 1678, *annoque regni ſui* 30.

[*BB*] *A plan for the deſign of King Charles 1ſt's monument.*] The form of this ſtructure was a rotunda, with a beautiful dome and lantern, a circular colonade without, of the Corinthian order, reſembling the temple of Veſta. The enrichments on the out and inſide are deſigned coſtly and magnificent. To inſtance only in a few articles of the firſt eſtimate, and particularly of the inſide. Eight baſes of black marble for the great pillars under the dome, at 30 l. each. Eight ſhafts of rich marble in whole ſtones, 28 feet long, and 3½ feet diameter, to be brought from the Levant, valued at 400 l. each. Eight capitals of braſs work gilt for the above-named pillars at 250 l. each; 3520 feet of incruſtation with various marbles in the lower order of pilaſters within the niches. Entablatures of white marble. In the ſpandrils over the niches marbles inlaid, 1606 feet moſaic work in the heads the monument of London [*CC*]. In 1680 he was elected Preſident of the Royal Society. In 1683, March 23d, he began to build the palace of Wincheſter [*DD*], and the ſame year he was appointed Architect and a Commiſſioner for Chelſea College. In 1684 he was conſtituted, in the room of Hugh May, Eſq; deceaſed, principal officer by the ſtile of "Comptroller of the Works in the Caſtle of Windſor, and of all Manors and Lodges in "the Foreſt thereof." In 1685 he was choſen Member of Parliament for Plympton in Devonſhire. In 1690 he began to build the two royal apartments at Hampton Court, which were finiſhed in 1694, juſt before the death of Queen Mary [*EE*]. In 1698, an act of parliament being paſſed to charge a branch of the duty on coals for repairing of Weſtminſter Abbey, Sir Chriſtopher was appointed ſurveyor-general and a commiſ-

heads of the niches, 4620, ſuperficial, of the beſt painting in freſco in the cupola. Ten figures of great life caſt in braſs and gilt, at 400 l. each. Seven genii or cherubims of braſs gilt, with the ornaments appertaining, at 150 l. each. A Coloſſe ſtatue of Fame of gilt braſs on the ſummit of the lantern. Twenty ſtatues of great life, the acretaria of the order on the outſide. Twenty feſtoons of marble between the capitals on the outſide, &c. The whole charge eſtimated at 343,663 l. The monument thus deſigned was approved by the King, and determined to be erected at Windſor Caſtle at the eaſt end of St George's chapel, in the place where now ſtands a little Gothic building raiſed by Cardinal Wolſey, called the Tomb-houſe, in the middle whereof he deſigned to erect a goodly monument for King Henry VIII. and had well nigh finiſhed it before he died. This was demoliſhed in April 1646 by command of the long parliament, and the ſtatues and figures provided to adorn it, being all of copper gilt, and exceedingly enriched by an eminent Italian ſtatuary, were taken thence. This called the Tomb-houſe having been long neglected and in a ruinous ſtate, was propoſed to be taken down, and the mauſoleum erected. But after ſome time the King returned the drawing and eſtimates to the ſurveyor, with orders to keep them till called for again. And in concluſion the whole deſign of the funeral and tomb was laid aſide.

[*CC*] *He finiſhed the monument at London.*] The ſolidity of this whole fabrick from the loweſt plinth to the black marble under the urn, the cylinder, the ſtaircaſe only deducted and the ſtone for the carving not allowed for, is 37796 feet. of black marble that covers the capital 287 f. lantern 64 f. From this deduct for 8 great niches 81 feet, for three doors and paſſages 289 feet, for three ſides reveyled 486; for rough block 1499, for rubble work 7185; in all 9740 feet, the remainder is 27656 feet. To this add upon the account of the carvings in the front, the four great dragons, and the feſtoon, 540 f, makes the amount 28196 ſolid feet of Portland ſtone; 343 black marble ſteps, the whole ſhaft fluted after it was built being 4784 ſuperficial feet, marble harch-paces 56 feet, marble, paving, and other ſmall articles not in this meaſurement. The inſcription was thus drawn at firſt by C. W.

> *Qui celſam ſpectas molem, idem quoque infauſtum & fatalem toti quondam civitati vides locum. Hic quippe* MDCLXVI. 2 *Sept. altera poſt mediam noctem hora, ex caſa humili prima ſe extulit flamma. Quæ auſtro flante adeo brevi invaluit, ut non tantum tota fere intra muros Urbs, ſed & Ædificia quæcunque Arcem & Templariorum hoſpitium interjacentia, quæcunque denique ripas & remotiſſima civitatis interjacent mœnia, ferali abſumpta fuerunt incendio. Tridui ſpatio* C *templa, plateæ* CCCC, *& plura quam* XVI *domorum millia flammis abſorpta fuere. Innumeri cives omnibus ſuis fortunis exuti, & ſub dio agitare coacti. Infinitæ & toto orbe congeſtæ opes in cinerem & favillam redactæ. Ita ut de Urbe, omnium quotquot ſol aſpicit ampliſſima & feliciſſima, præter nomen & famam & immenſos ruinarum aggeres vix quicquam ſupereſſet.*
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> *Carolus Secundus Dei gratia Rex Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, anno regni* XVIII *& plerique proceres conſumpta incendio urbe pene univerſa eademque triennii ſpatio in ampliorem modum inſtaurata, & non, ut ante, ligneis aut luteis, ſed partim lateritiis, partim marmoreis ædificiis & operibus ita ornata, ut e ruinis ſuis palchrior mnlto prodiiſſe videatur; auctis præterea ad immenſam magnitudinem urbis pomœriis; ad æternam utriuſque faſti memoriam hic, ubi tantæ cladis prima emicuit flamma, Monumentum poſuere.*
>
> *Diſcat præſens & futura ætas, ne qua ſimilis ingruat clades, tempeſtivis numen placare votis. Beneficia vero Regis & Procerum, quorum liberalitati, præter ornatum, major etiam Urbi acceſſit ſecuritas, grata mente recognoſcat.*

In the inſcription, as it now ſtands, are theſe words: 'which [fire] was mercileſs to the eſtates and fortunes 'of the citizens, but favourable to their lives, that 'it might in all things reſemble the laſt and great 'conflagration.'

It is obſervable, that the Surveyor's father, who, as is before mentioned, was fond of chronographical wit, left a prophetic remark in a ſmall note book, written, as it ſhould ſeem, in 1623. Latinæ literæ numerales nullæ ſunt præter has ſeptem nobis adhuc in uſu quotidiano MDCLXVI, notes, that all the numeral letters in the Latin tongue can make up but 1666, ſo that when the odd 666 are completed in the year of Chriſt, it may bode ſome ominous matter, and perhaps the laſt end.

[*DD*] *Palace at Wincheſter.*] This was proſecuted with that diligence, that the greateſt part was finiſhed as to the ſhell, before the King's deceaſe in February 168$\frac{4}{5}$. It extends to the weſt 326 feet, to the ſouth 216 feet. There was particularly intended a large cupola 30 feet above the roof, which would have been ſeen a great way to the ſea, and alſo a regular ſtreet of handſome houſes leading in a direct line down the hill from the front of the palace to the weſt gate of the cathedral, for which and for the parks the ground was procured. The ſurveyor had projected alſo to have brought from the Downs a river through the Park, which would have formed a caſcade of 30 feet fall. The whole diſpoſition of this palace was ſuch as made it eſteemed by the beſt judges an excellent model of a royal hunting-ſeat. A great part of the epiſcopal palace was pulled down at this time by Bp Morley, who begun a new one under the direction of Sir Chr. Wren, and it was afterwards finiſhed by Sir Jonathan Trelawney in Queen Anne's time. It is a very handſome palace *à la moderne*.

[*EE*] *Apartments at Hampton Court.*] King William once ſaid, in the preſence of ſeveral perſons of the firſt quality, that theſe two apartments for good proportion, ſtate, and convenience, jointly, were not paralleled by any palace in Europe, and at the ſame time to excuſe his ſurveyor for not raiſing the cloiſters under the apartments higher, which were executed in that manner according to his expreſs orders (21). A proper improvement of building and gardening was propoſed to the Queen, who took pleaſure in examining and ſurveying the drawing, contrivances, and whole progreſs of the works, and gave thereon her own judgment, which was exquiſite. There were few arts or ſciences in which her Majeſty had not only an elegant taſte, but a knowledge much ſuperior to any of her ſex: this is not ſaid as a panegyric, but as a plain and well known truth, which the ſurveyor had frequent experience of, when by that favour and eſteem the queen was graciouſly pleaſed publicly to ſhew him upon a diſcernment and trial of his worth, he had many opportunities of a free converſation with her Majeſty, not only on the ſubject of architecture, but other branches of the mathematics (22).

(21) Certified to the collector by Thomas Earl of Pembroke.

(22) Parentalia, p. 326.

ſioner of the works of that cathedral, and he began to carry on the building of Greenwich Hoſpital [*FF*] the following year, and Chelſea College was alſo completed under his direction, where he likewiſe preſcribed the ſtatutes and whole œconomy of the houſe. In 1700 he was elected a Burgeſs in parliament for Weymouth and Melcomb Regis in Dorſetſhire. In 1708 he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for building the fifty new churches in and about London [*GG*]. In 1710 he finiſhed the cathedral of St Paul's [*HH*]. In 1713, at the requeſt of Dr Atterbury, Dean of Weſtminſter Abbey, he drew up a memorial concerning the repairs of that abbey church [*II*]. In April 1718 his patent

[*FF*] *Greenwich hoſpital.*] The ſurveyor was among the firſt who addreſſed their Majeſties K. William and Queen Mary to convert the ſite and buildings of their royal palace to this moſt charitable uſe. After he was nominated Director and Architect of the undertaking, he chearfully engaged in the work gratis, and contrived the new fabrick conformable to the graceful pavilion which had been erected there by King Charles II. and originally intended for his own palace, contributing his time, labour, and ſkill, and proſecuting the works for ſeveral years with all the expedition that the circumſtances of affairs would allow, without any ſalary, emolument, or reward; preferring in this, as in every other paſſage of his life, the public ſervice to any private advantage of his own by the acqueſt of wealth, of which he had always a great contempt. To Sir Chriſtopher's deſign there was once only this exception: ſome gentlemen thought the baſs wing of offices too mean for the reſt of the building, and deſired a propoſal might be made to alter that to the ſtile and dignity of King Charles's front, which was done, and ſhewn to the perſons then in power, and this occaſioned the doubling the great north pavilion, and making it ſo large as now it is, with the flag tower upon the centre, which completed, ſays Mr Hawkſmoor, the ſtrength and beauty of this royal hoſpital towards the Thames.

[*GG*] *Fifty new churches.*] Preparatory to this ſervice he imparted his thoughts in a letter to a friend, in which are many curious and uſeful remarks with reſpect to the ſite both of the churches, and cœmeteries, as alſo of the materials; and as to the capacity and dimenſions, which he obſerves may be determined by a calculation: 'It is, ſays he, as I take it, 'pretty certain, that the number of inhabitants, for 'whom theſe churches are provided, are five times 'as many as thoſe in the city, who were burnt out, 'and probably more than 400,000 grown perſons 'that ſhould come to church; for whom theſe fifty 'churches to be provided, beſides ſome chapels 'already built, though too ſmall to be made parochial. Now if the churches ſhould hold each 2000 'perſons, it would be very ſhort of the neceſſary 'ſupply. The churches therefore muſt be large. 'But ſtill in our reformed religion it ſhould ſeem 'vain to make a pariſh-church larger, than that all 'who are preſent can both hear and ſee. The Romaniſts indeed may build larger churches; it is 'enough if they hear the murmur of the maſs, and 'ſee the elevation of the hoſt; but ours are to be 'fitted for auditors. I can hardly think it practicable 'to make a ſingle room ſo capacious, with pews and 'galleries, as to hold above 2000 perſons, and all 'to hear the ſervice, and both to hear diſtinctly and 'ſee the preacher. I endeavoured to effect this in 'building the pariſh-church of St James's Weſtminſter, which I preſume is the moſt capacious with 'theſe qualifications that hath been yet built; and 'yet at a ſolemn time, when the church was much 'crowded, I could not diſcern from a gallery that '2000 were preſent. In this church I mention, 'though very broad, and the middle nave arched 'up, yet, as there are no walls of a ſecond order, 'nor lanterns, nor buttreſſes, but the whole roof 'reſts upon the pillars, as do alſo the galleries, I 'think it may be found beautiful and convenient, 'and as ſuch is the cheapeſt of any form I could 'invent (†).'

[*HH*] *He finiſhed St Paul's.*] The foundation of this *baſilicon* was laid in 1675, and the walls of the choir and ſide ailes were finiſhed in 1685, with the circular north and ſouth porticoes, and the great pillars of the dome brought to the ſame height. The higheſt or laſt ſtone at the top of the lantern was laid by Sir Chriſtopher's eldeſt ſon, deputed by his father in the preſence of Mr Strong, his ſon, and other free and accepted maſons, chiefly employed in the execution of the work. We muſt not omit to acquaint the reader, that there is another model in wood, accurately wrought and carved, with all its proper ornaments, conſiſting of one order, the Corinthian only, as St Peter's at Rome. This model was for many years kept in the office of the works of St Paul's, in a ſhed built for that purpoſe; thence, after finiſhing the new fabric, it was depoſited together with the other models, and particularly one for the high altar, to conſiſt of rich marble columns, wreathed in ſome manner like that of St Peter's at Rome, over the morning prayer chapel on the north ſide. The ſurveyor, in private converſation, always ſeemed to ſet a higher value on this deſign, than any he had made before or ſince, as what was laboured with more ſtudy and ſucceſs; and had he not been over-ruled by thoſe whom it was his duty to obey, what he would have put in execution with more chearfulneſs and ſatiſfaction to himſelf than the other (§).

What deſerves particular notice is, that this ample and magnificent cathedral was completed in the ſpace of 35 years, under one architect, and one Biſhop of London, Dr Henry Compton, under the reign of four princes, Charles II. James II. William and Mary, and Queen Anne; whereas that of St Peter's at Rome was 145 years in building, by twelve architects, aſſiſted by the police and intereſt of the Roman ſee, the ready acquiſition of marble, and by the beſt artiſts of the world in ſculpture, ſtatuary, painting, and moſaic work, under the reign of nineteen popes, namely, Julius II. Leo X. Hadrian VI. Clement VII. Paulus III. Julius III. Marcellus II. Paulus IV. Pius V. Gregory XIII. Sixtus V. Urbanus VII. Gregory XIV. Innocent IX. Clement VIII. Paul V. Alexander VII. Urbanus VIII. Innocent X. The twelve architects were, (1.) Brumanter. (2.) Julianus a Sancto Gallo. (3.) Frater Jucundus Veronenſis Dominicanus. (4.) Raphael Urbino. (5.) Balthazarus *Peruſius* (6.) *Michael Angelo Bucharota.* (7.) *Pyrrhus* Lygorius. (8.) Jacobus Baroccius. (9.) Jacobus a Porta. (10.) Dominicus Fontana. (11.) Carolus Modernus. (12.) Eques Berninus.

[*II*] *A memorial for the repairs of Weſtminſter Abbey.*] It begins thus; when I had the honour to attend your Lordſhip, to congratulate your eſpiſcopal dignity, and pay that reſpect which particularly concerned myſelf, employed in the chief direction of the works and repairs of the collegiate church of St Peter in Weſtminſter, you was pleaſed to give me this ſeaſonable admonition, that I ſhould conſider my advanced age; and as I had already made fair ſteps in the reparation of that ancient and ruinous ſtructure, you thought it very requiſite for the public ſervice I ſhould leave a memorial of what I had done, and what my thoughts were for carrying on the works for the future. He then proceeds to give the hiſtory of the building of the Abbey, which he obſerves was 500 years about; and ſhewing the original defects and errors in the firſt deſign and execution, he goes on to relate what he had done to repair theſe. 'In the 'ſtone-work, ſays he, we have cut out all the ragged 'aſhler, and inveſted it with a better ſtone out of 'Oxfordſhire down the river from the quarries about 'Burford. We have amended and ſecured the buttreſſes in the cloyſter garden, as to the greateſt part, 'and we proceed to finiſh that ſide. The chapels 'on the ſouth ſide are done, and moſt of the arch-'buttreſſes all along as we proceeded;' and concludes this article thus: 'Upon the whole matter, I may 'ſay, that of the neceſſary repairs of the outward ſtone-'work, one third part is already completed;' he cloſes the repairs with a wiſh of doing what might be done, to render thoſe parts complete with a proper aſpect, which were left abruptly imperfect by the laſt builders, when the monaſtery was diſſolved by Henry VIII. In this he particularly recommends the finiſhing of the

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(†) Parentalia.

(§) Idem.

patent for the royal works was ſuperſeded in the 86th year of his age, after more than 50 years ſpent in a continued, active, and laborious ſervice to the crown and the public [KK]. Till this time he had reſided in a houſe which is appropriated to the office of Surveyor General in Scotland Yard, adjoining to Whitehall. But after his removal from that employ he dwelt occaſionally in a houſe in St James's Street, Weſtminſter. He had another houſe which belonged to the Surveyor-general to the crown at Hampton Court, the enjoyment of which had been granted to him by Q. Anne, and was held by an exchequer leaſe. In this retirement he paſſed the greateſt part of the laſt five years of his life in contemplation and ſtudies, and principally in the conſolation of the holy ſcriptures, chearful in ſolitude, and as well pleaſed to die in the ſhade as in the light, ſaying only with the ſtoick, *Nunc me jubet fortuna expeditius philoſophari*, " now fortune commands me to philoſophize more " diligently" [LL] Part of his thoughts for diſcovering the longitude at ſea, together

the two towers at the weſt end, and the ſteeple in the center; to which purpoſe he obſerves, that it was plainly the original intention, and leſt it ſhould be doubted whether the four pillars below be able to bear a ſteeple, becauſe they ſeem a litte ſwagged inward, I have conſidered how they may be unqueſtionably ſecured, ſo as to ſupport the greateſt weight that need be laid upon them, and this after a manner that will add to their ſhape and beauty. This is ſuppoſed to be done by reducing the four pillars to a perpendicular, and then ſecured from further dilating, and confirmed by laying ſomething upon them for a weight to ſtrengthen them. The great front, commonly called Solomon's porch, he lived to ſee finiſhed in 1722. The two towers at the weſt end have been ſince finiſhed according to his plan, and the whole church caſed and fully repaired by virtue of an act of parliament. His opinion concerning the ſpire in the centre was, that the tower ſhould be continued to at leaſt as much in height above the roof, as it is in breadth, and then a ſpire added; but this is not yet executed. I ſuppoſe upon a ſurvey it was judged, that the pillars could not be ſecured ſo as ſafely to build it (†).

[KK] *Having ſpent more than fifty years in the ſervice of the crown and the public.*] The following is a catalogue of the churches of the city of London, royal palaces, hoſpitals, and public edifices, built by Sir Chriſtopher from 1668 to 1718, while he was ſurveyor-general of the royal works.

St Paul's Cathedral
Allhallows the Great
Allhallows Bread-ſtreet
Allhallows Lombard-ſtreet
St Alban Wood-ſtreet
St Anne and Agnes
St Andrew Wardrobe
St Andrew Holborn
St Antholin
St Auſtin
St Bennet Gracechurch
St Bennet Paul's-wharf
St Bennet Finck
St Bride
St Bartholomew
Chriſtchurch
St Chriſtopher
St Clement Eaſtcheap
St Clement Danes
St Dionis Backchurch
St Dunſtan in the Eaſt
St Edmond the King
St Foſter's church
St George Botolph-lane
St James Garlick-hill
St James Weſtminſter
St Lawrence Jewry
St Michael Baſſiſhaw
St Michael Royal
St Michael Cornhill
St Michael Queenhithe
St Michael Wood-ſtreet
St Michael Crooked-lane
St Martin Ludgate
St Matthew Friday-ſtreet
St Margaret Lothbury
St Margaret Pattins
St Magnus London-bridge
St Mary Abchurch
St Mary Aldermanbury
St Mary Aldermary
St Mary le Bow
St Mary Magdalen
St Mary Somerſet
St Mary at Hill
St Mildred Bread-ſtreet
St Mildred Poultry
St Nicholas Cole Abbey
St Olave Jewry
St Peter Cornhill
St Swithin Canon-ſtreet
St Stephen Walbroke
St Stephen Coleman-ſtreet
St Sepulchre's
The Monument
The Cuſtom-houſe, London
Chelſea Hoſpital
Greenwich Hoſpital
Greenwich Obſervatory
Emanuel College Chapel, Cambridge
Hampton-court
Theatre at Oxford
Trinity College Library, Cambridge
Winchester Palace or Caſtle
Weſtminſter Abbey repaired
And ſeveral other things (§).

Notwithſtanding his unparalleled merit to this country in theſe buildings, yet ſuch is the never enough to be lamented effects of party malice, that as he had always retained a moſt grateful ſenſe of his royal patron's bounty to him, ſo the revolution produced a revolution in his fortune; of which there is this very remarkable inſtance.

In the parliament, which met in March 1689, he was elected for New Windſor by the inhabitants paying ſcot and lot; but upon a petition it was reſolved by the Houſe of Commons, that the right of election was in the mayor, bailiffs, and a ſelect number of burgeſſes only. In 1690 he was elected and returned for the ſame borough by the mayor, bailiffs, and a ſelect number of inhabitants only. But on report of the merits of this election, the queſtion being put that the houſe do agree with the committee, that the right of election is in the mayor, bailiff, and a ſelect number of burgeſſes only. It paſſed in the negative, yeas 138, noes 144. After this, upon a change in the times in 1700, Sir Chriſtopher was elected for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis in Dorſetſhire, anno duodecimo Gul. III (‡).

[LL] *Now fortune commands me to philoſophize more diligently.*] Apropos to this are theſe lines found in the manuſcripts of Dr Sprat:

Heroic ſouls a nobler luſtre find,
E'vn from thoſe griefs which break a vulgar mind;
That froſt which breaks the brittle common glaſs,
Makes chryſtal into ſtronger brightneſs paſs (§).

(†) Idem.

(§) Ward and Parentalia.

(‡) Parentalia.

(§) Idem.

with a review of ſome former tracts in aſtronomy and mathematicks, had a ſhare in the employment of thoſe hours he could ſpare from meditations and reſearches in holy writ during this retreat. Whereby it appeared, that though time had enfeebled his limbs (which was his chief ailment) yet had it little influence on the vigour of his mind, which continued with a vivacity rarely found at that age, till within a few days of his diſſolution, which was occaſioned after a few days illneſs, by a cold contracted in coming from his houſe at Hampton Court to London on the 25th of February 1723, in the 91ſt year of his age. He died as he had lived, with great calmneſs and ſerenity, and little other ſickneſs. His funeral was attended by many perſons of honour and diſtinction with great ſolemnity from his houſe in Weſtminſter to St Paul's Cathedral, where his corpſe was interred under the ſouth aile of the quire, near the eaſt end, under a flat ſtone on the pavement, which is railed in between two pillars. Upon the ſtone covering the ſingle vault which contains his body there is an inſcription; and another written by his ſon [*MM*] Chriſtopher Wren is placed on the ſide of the weſtern pillar above the former. As to his perſon, he was low of ſtature, and of a thin habit. His conſtitution being rather delicate than ſtrong, eſpecially in his youth, which ſeemed conſumptive, and yet by a judicious regularity and temperance, having too acquired good knowledge in phyſick, he continued healthy with little intermiſſion even to his extreme old age. But moreover, what might not a little contribute to it, it is obſervable, that he was happily endued with ſuch an evenneſs of temper, ſuch a ſteady tranquillity of mind and chriſtian fortitude, that no injurious incidents or inquietudes of human life could ever ruffle or diſcompoſe. He was modeſt, devout, ſtrictly virtuous, and very communicative of what he knew; and beſides his peculiar eminency as an architect, ſo extenſive was his learning and knowledge in all the polite arts, but eſpecially the mathematicks, his invention ſo fertile, and his diſcoveries ſo numerous and uſeful, that he will always be eſteemed a benefactor to mankind, and an ornament to the age in which he lived. Mr Hooke †, who was intimately acquainted with him, and very able to make a juſt eſtimate of his abilities, has compriſed his character in theſe few but comprehenſive words: "I muſt affirm," ſays he, "that "ſince the time of Archimedes there ſcarce has ever met in one man in ſo great a "perfection ſuch a mechanical hand and ſo philoſophical a mind." And a greater than Hooke, the illuſtrious and immortal Newton, whoſe ſignet ſtamps an indelible character, ſpeaks thus of him, with other eminent men: *D. Chriſtophorus Wrennus Eques Auratus, Johannes Walliſius S. T. D. & D. Chriſtianus Augenius, hujus ætatis geometrarum facile principes* (*). Mr Evelyn, in the dedication to him of his *Account of architects and architecture*, tells him, that he "inſcribed his book with his name, partly through an ambition of pub-"lickly declaring the great eſteem," ſays he, "I ever had of your virtues and accom-"pliſhments, not only in the art of building, but through all the learned cycle of the "moſt uſeful knowledge and abſtruſer ſciences, as well as of the moſt polite and ſhin-"ing; all which is ſo juſtly to be allowed you, that you need no panegyrick or other "hiſtory to eternize them, than the greateſt city of the univerſe, which you have rebuilt "and beautified, and are ſtill improving; witneſs the churches, the royal courts, ſtately "halls, magazines, palaces, and other publick ſtructures, beſides that you have built of "great and magnificent in both the univerſities, at Chelſea, and in the country; and "are now advancing in the royal marine hoſpital at Greenwich: all of them ſo many "trophies of your ſkill and induſtry, and conducted with that ſucceſs, that if the whole "art of building were loſt, it might be recovered and found again in St Paul's, the hi-"ſtorical Pillar, and thoſe other monuments of your happy talent and extraordinary "genius [*NN*]."

† Preface to his Micrographia.

* Princ. Math. Nat. Phil. p. 20. edit. 1687.

[*MM*] *An inſcription, and another by his ſon*] The firſt is:

> Here lieth Sir CHRISTOPHER WREN, Knt. the builder of this cathedral church of St Paul, who died in the year of our Lord 1723, and of his age 91.

That by his ſon is in Latin as follows:

> *Subtus conditur hujus eccleſiæ et urbis conditor* CHRISTOPHORUS WREN, *qui vixit annos ultra nonaginta, non ſibi ſed bono publico. Lector, ſi monumentum requiris, circumſpice. Obiit* 25 *Feb. anno* 1723, *ætat.* 91.

[*NN*] *Other monuments of your genius.*] Among the many public buildings erected by him in the city of London, the church of St Stephen in Walbroke, that of St Mary le Bow, the monument, and the cathedral of St Paul, have more eſpecially engaged the attention of foreign connoiſſeurs (23). The church of Walbroke, ſays a certain writer, ſo little known among us, is famous all over Europe, and is juſtly reputed the maſter-piece of the celebrated Sir Chriſtopher Wren. Perhaps Italy itſelf can produce no modern building that can vie with this in taſte or proportion. There is not a beauty, which the plan would admit of, that is not to be found here in its greateſt perfection; and foreigners very juſtly call our judgment in queſtion, for underſtanding its graces no better, and allowing it no higher a degree of fame. The ſteeple of St Mary le Bow, which is particularly grand and beautiful, ſtands upon an old Roman cauſeway, that lies eighteen feet below the level of the preſent ſtreet; and the body of the church on the walls of an old Roman temple. The monument is a pillar of the Doric order; the pedeſtal of which is forty feet high, and twenty one ſquare; the diameter of the column fifteen feet; and the altitude of the whole two hundred and two, which is a fourth part higher than that of the Emperor Trajan at Rome. It was begun in the year 1671, and finiſhed in 1677. The ingenious and learned architect built it hollow, that it might ſerve as a tube to diſcover the parallax of the earth, by the different diſtances of the ſtar in the head of the dragon from the zenith, at different ſeaſons of the year; but finding it was liable to be ſhaken by the motion of coaches and carts almoſt conſtantly paſſing by, he laid aſide that thought. As to St Paul's church, the firſt ſtone was laid on the 21ſt of June 1675, and the body of it finiſhed, and the croſs ſet up, in the year 1711, tho' many other works neceſſary to perfect and adorn the magnificent ſtructure were done afterwards.

(23) A critical review of the public buildings, &c. in and about London and Weſtminſter, p. 12. edit. 1724. 8vo.

Beſides what have been already mentioned in the courſe of this memoir, Sir Chriſtopher wrote ſeveral other things, as follows, namely, *Epiſtolæ miſcellaneæ opticis ſtaticis & mechanicis.* Æt. 17. *Prælectiones Greſhamenſes in aſtronomiam Kepleri*, with one *De corpore Saturni, ejuſque phaſibus, hypotheſis. Prelectiones Aſtronomiæ.* Oxoniæ 1662. *Lecturæ de problematibus ſphæricis. De natura & motibus Cometarum. Of the Comet in the year* 1664. His Hypotheſis and Theory of Comets was communicated to the Royal Society in 1665, and printed by Mr Hooke in his *Cometa* in 1670, p. 40. *Phaſes Saturni accurate delineatæ & illuſtratæ ab anno* 1649 *ad annum* 1656. *A diſcourſe of the appearance of Saturn. Tabulæ epactarum Lunæ Saturninæ conjunctionibus ejus cum infimis inveniendis inſervientes.* Deſcription of an inſtrument for obſerving the diſtances of fixed ſtars, and the planets and appulſe to the moon by the teleſcope joined like a ſector ſo as to give the true angle of their diſtances. A method to make teleſcopes with little trouble and expence, of great length, to be uſed for any altitude. A corollary relating to teleſcopes. Of the longitude: by theſe papers, written at ſundry times, it appears Sir Chriſtopher had his thoughts very early upon that ſubject, and always kept it in his thoughts afterwards. They are diſpoſed in the order of an introduction with a diſcourſe following it. The introduction, which, excepting the laſt paragraph, ſeems to have been written about the year 1660, contains various ways made uſe of by the ancients, and in later times for finding the longitude; ſome parts of the diſcourſe that follow were written in 1712, others ſo late as 1720. And the whole conſiſts of divers methods propoſed by Sir Chriſtopher for that end, with draughts of ſeveral inſtruments proper for the purpoſe, engraven on copper-plates [*OO*]. Theſe papers were alſo in the hands of Will. Jones, Eſq; To obſerve the variations

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[OO] *Papers relating to the longitude at ſea.*] If we conſider the importance of the ſubject, we cannot be ſurprized to find our author employing ſo much as he did of his time and pains upon it. On the contrary, the ſurprize would be greater, if it had eſcaped his notice; but it is no wonder that the very great number of difficulties to be overcome in the attainment of the diſcovery, baffled his moſt diligent and curious reſearches (24).

(24) The many ſucceſsleſs attempts which had been made therein, occaſioned the diſcovery to become a ſubject of ridicule, by coupling it with that abſurd project of a perpetual motion, which indeed implies no leſs than a contradiction.

This noble invention, like ſome others of the moſt uſeful ones to human life, ſeems to be reſerved for the peculiar glory of an ordinary mechanic, who, by indefatigable induſtry, under the guidance of no ordinary ſagacity, hath ſeemingly at laſt ſurmounted all difficulties, and brought it to a moſt unexpected degree of perfection.

In the courſe of theſe memoirs, we have mentioned Mr Harriſon's clock as the moſt promiſing method of obtaining this diſcovery; we ſhall now therefore preſent a view of the ſeveral ſteps that have been introductory to its completion. We ſee Sir Chriſtopher Wren labouring to find out ſome way or other of advancing towards it, ſo late in his life as the year 1720; and it appears that Mr Harriſon's thoughts were turned (though unknown to Sir Chriſtopher) upon the ſubject about the ſame time. But it will be proper to mark what advances had been before made towards it by clock-work.

The celebrated Monſ Huygens, the firſt inventor of pendulum watches, was fully ſatisfied, that if ſuch clocks or watches could be made to keep time exactly on ſhip board, they would be the beſt means for determining the longitude at ſea; he ſpent much time and thought upon the improvement of ſuch watches for that purpoſe, and proceeded ſo far, as to prevent that irregularity in their motion, which the agitation of the ſhip would otherwiſe occaſion. And accordingly, his watches were found very uſeful in quick voyages to correct the ſhip's reckoning; but being ſtill ſubject to ſeveral ſmall irregularities, which in time would amount to a conſiderable error, they could not ſafely be truſted in very long voyages.

The advance ſo far, however, was very conſiderable, eſpecially as it opened a proſpect of hopes that theſe ſmall irregularities might in time poſſibly be remedied; the thing was taken into conſideration in England, and was eſteemed worthy the attention of the legiſlature; and in 1714 a bill was brought into parliament, where Sir Iſaac Newton being called upon to give his opinion, intimated, that the beſt method of attaining the diſcovery was by a clock or watch, if any ſuch could be made, as to keep true time; and though he obſerved that no ſuch clock had then been made, yet he concluded that ſuch a bill, for the encouragement of ingenious perſons, was proper to paſs (25); and thereupon an act paſſed, in the 12th of Queen Anne, fixing a reward of 10,000 l. for the diſcovery of a method that ſhould determine the longitude at ſea to one degree of a great circle, or ſixty geographical miles; as alſo a reward 15,000 l. if it determines the ſame to two-thirds of that diſtance, and 20,000 l. if it determines the ſame to half that diſtance. Commiſſioners were alſo appointed for examining, trying, and judging the propoſals relating to the ſame, who ſhould pay one half of the reward, when the major part of them ſhould agree, that any ſuch method extended to the ſecurity of ſhips within eighty geographical miles of the ſhores, which are places of the greateſt danger; and the other half when a ſhip, by the appointment of the ſaid commiſſioners, ſhall thereby ſail over the ocean from Great Britain to a port in the Weſt-Indies, to be nominated by the commiſſioners for ſuch experiment, without loſing its longitude beyond the limits before-mentioned.

(25) See his article.

In conſequence of this encouragement, and the acknowledged utility of an exact time-piece above all other methods to determine the longitude at ſea, Mr John Harriſon having out of curioſity only, in the year 1720 (26), made a pendulum clock, which kept time ſo exactly on land with the heavens, as not to err above one ſecond in a month for ten years together, did ſome time after conſtruct a machine, to prevent the various irregularities it might be ſubject to on ſhip-board; and upon trial it anſwered his expectation.

(26) This appears by the date on the clock caſe.

In 1735 he received a certificate from the principal members of the Royal Society, and mathematicians, that the principles of this machine for meaſuring time, promiſed a very great and ſufficient degree of exactneſs.

For in May 1736, at the recommendation of Sir Charles Wager, being carried on board a man of war in a voyage to and from Liſbon, it corrected, by its exact meaſure of time, an error of almoſt a degree and a half in the computation of the reckoning of the ſhip by the log.

In the year 1737 the commiſſioners of longitude ordered Mr Harriſon to proceed in his undertaking, and gave him a ſum of money for that purpoſe.

In 1739, by order of the ſaid commiſſioners, he finiſhed a ſecond machine, and various experiments being made upon it, the reſult was, that (as far as could be determined without making a voyage at ſea) the motion of the machine was ſufficiently regular and exact for finding the longitude of a ſhip within the neareſt limits propoſed by parliament, and probably much nearer (27).

(27) This was ſigned by Dr Halley, Dr Smith, Dr Bradley, Mr John Machin, and Mr George Graham.

Upon the ſucceſs of this, Mr Harriſon undertook a ſtill more advantageous machine, which in January 1741 was in ſuch forwardneſs, that he was recommended by twelve of the chief members of the Royal Society to the fore-mentioned commiſſioners, as a perſon highly deſerving ſuch further encouragement and aſſiſtance, as they ſhould think proper and ſufficient to finiſh his *third machine* (28).

(28) Signed by the then preſident Lord Macclesfield, preſent preſident, Dr Smith, Dr Bradley, profeſſor Colſon, Mr G. Graham, Dr Halley, Mr W. Jones, Dr Jurin, Lord Ch. Cavendiſh, Mr De Moivre, and Mr John Hadley.

In 1758 he completed his third time-piece, having then in hand a fourth, ſince improperly called a *watch*; but being fully perſuaded that his third was ſufficiently exact to entitle him to the higheſt reward mentioned in the act of Queen Anne, he applied to the commiſſioners for orders to make a trial variations of the magnetical needle. De re nautica veterum. To find the velocity of a ſhip in ſailing. Of the improvement of gallies. Of an inſtrument perpetually noting the ſoundings in ſhallows. To recover wrecks. A convenient way of uſing artillery on ſhip-board. To build in deep water. To build a mole into the ſea without Puzzolan duſt or ciſterns. Of the improvement of river-navigation by the joining of rivers. *Ratiocinia anni Judaici. De Paſchate. Lecturæ Anglicæ & Latinæ de luce & refractione. Tabulæ refractionis radiorum in medio vitreo, ſuppoſita maxima refractione vitri* 489, *ſecundùm hypotheſin exquiſitiſſimam philoſophi Angli calculata.* Letters of aſtronomy from Sir Paul Neil to Mr Wren in the years 1655, 6, 7, and 9. To make an uncertain reciprocal motion tend to the continual progreſs of an uniform progreſſive motion. A letter to Mr Wren from Mr Hobbes, dated Chatſworth 1659, concerning the propoſitions in the book of Monſ. Dettonville, alias Paſcal, about the cycloid. Of the true ſhape of the ſuperficies of the terreſtrial globe. Of the riſing of the ſap in trees. Deſcription of a hot-houſe to produce the plants of the torrid zone. Of a lamp to continue burning to any length of time. To heat any quantity of water without fire under it, in wood or any ſort of veſſel that may be damaged by fire. Experiments of the nature of ſilk, tena-

trial of that inſtrument to ſome port in the Weſt-Indies, as directed by the ſame ſtatute.

In conſequence of this application, he received their orders, together with directions, and Mr William Harriſon his ſon ſet ſail with the third machine from Portſmouth for Jamaica, in the Deptford man of war, Capt. Digges, the 18th of November 1761, and every particular enjoined being punctually complied with by him, and all the other perſons concerned (29); the time-keeper in its going and return loſt only one minute fifty-four ſeconds and an half, which in the latitude of Portſmouth amounts to about eighteen geographical miles or minutes of a great circle (30); whereas the act only required that it ſhould come within thirty ſuch miles or minutes of a great circle.

On the 20th of March Mr Harriſon arrived at Portſmouth, and as ſoon as the weather permitted, made obſervations of equal altitudes, which were committed to the commiſſioners of longitude with thoſe formerly made, and Governor Lyttleton's certificate.

The 3d of June following, at a board of longitude, theſe obſervations were referred to three gentlemen (ſtrangers to Mr Harriſon) who were deſired to make calculations thereupon; and at the ſame time objections were made to the experiment of equal altitudes made by Mr Harriſon, as not being made in a proper manner, or being inſufficient. To theſe objections Mr Harriſon wrote an anſwer, and repeated experiments of equal altitudes at the royal obſervatory at Greenwich, in the ſame manner in which they had been made at Portſmouth; when it appeared, that in 49 experiments there was not an error of above two ſeconds of time; which it is ſuppoſed ſilenced the objections to the accuracy of the inſtrument, becauſe they were not inſiſted on at the next meeting of the commiſſioners on the 17th of Auguſt, when another board of longitude was held, and the calculations made by the three gentlemen were read. The reſult of which was not thought proper to be communicated to Mr Harriſon (who deſired copies of them) without the leave of the gentlemen who made thoſe calculations.

At this meeting it was objected, that the longitude of Jamaica was not ſufficiently known; and it was alſo objected, that poſſibly the inſtrument did not keep equal time during the whole voyage (31). Moreover, the Preſident and Council of the Royal Society, had before the voyage communicated to the commiſſioners of longitude a plan for an adequate trial of Mr Harriſon's time-keeper, tho' then not imparted, viz. the 25th of June, and 3d of July, 1761, to him: In which, among other things, it was recommended, that the perſons appointed to take the times at Jamaica, or ſome other ſufficient perſon, ſhould remain there to take the eclipſes of Jupiter's Satellites, in order to determine the difference of longitudes; and that another perſon ought to be appointed to make the correſpondent obſervations at Portſmouth upon the ſaid eclipſes; both which obſervations to be ſealed up, and ſent to the Lords of the Admiralty.

Upon theſe conſiderations, the commiſſioners of longitude declared their opinion, that the experiments made of Mr Harriſon's watch had not been ſufficient to determine the longitude at ſea, and therefore came to the following reſolutions:

That Mr Harriſon, or ſome proper perſon in his ſtead, do proceed again to the Weſt-Indies, to make further trial of his ſaid watch, and alſo of his clock, agreeable to the plan already laid down by the Royal Society, and his own propoſal, contained in his memorial of the 3d of October laſt:

That it appears to them that the ſaid watch, tho' not yet found to be of ſuch great uſe for diſcovering the longitude at ſea, as required by the act of the 12th of Queen Anne, is nevertheleſs an invention of conſiderable utility to the public; and therefore (being the majority of the commiſſioners appointed by parliament) they think fit, in purſuance of the power repoſed in them, to beſtow upon the ſaid Mr Harriſon the ſum of 2500l. as a reward for his ſaid invention, to be paid in the following proportions, viz.

Fifteen hundred pounds, part of the ſaid ſum, to be paid unto him immediately, or ſo ſoon as conveniently may be; and the remaining one thouſand pounds, when he, or ſuch perſon as ſhall go in his ſtead, ſhall return from making ſuch further trials in the Weſt-Indies.

But it is underſtood, in caſe Mr Harriſon ſhall hereafter become intitled to either of the rewards granted by act of parliament for diſcovering the longitude, the ſaid ſum of two thouſand five hundred pounds ſhall be eſteemed as part of ſuch reward, and be deducted therefrom accordingly; and that the watch is to become the property of the public.

Mr Harriſon was called in, and acquainted with theſe reſolutions; and being aſked if he was willing that his watch ſhould be ſent to the Royal Obſervatory at Greenwich, in order that ſome obſervations may be made at that place for the trial of it, by Mr Bliſs, previous to its being ſent to the Weſt-Indies, he conſented thereto, ſo ſoon as it ſhould have undergone ſome alterations, which he thought would bring it to greater perfection; the doing of which would probably take up four or five months.

The commiſſioners of longitude alſo recommended his caſe to parliament, who, upon his petition, paſſed an act, *Anno tertio Georg. III.* granting him the further ſum of 5000l. on condition of his diſcovering the ſtructure of his inſtrument to the ſatisfaction of certain perſons appointed therein. It was likewiſe therein further enacted, 'That no perſon or perſons, other than the ſaid John Harriſon, his executors, &c. ſhall have or be intitled to any of the reward granted by the ſaid act of the 12th of Queen Anne, by means or on account of any inſtrument or inſtruments for keeping time, until the merits of the ſaid inſtrument or watch, invented by the ſaid John Harriſon, ſhall be aſcertained; provided that the aſcertainment thereof ſhall be made within four years next after the paſſing of this act.' Accordingly Mr John Mitchell, Woodwardian Profeſſor at Cambridge, went ſome time ago to Barbadoes, in order to ſettle the true longitude of that iſland by the moſt accurate obſervations of Jupiter's Satellites, and other proper methods preparatory to a further trial of Mr Harriſon's clock or watch; to which purpoſe his ſon Mr Thomas Harriſon actually ſet ſail from Portſmouth with the watch, &c. for that iſland in March, this year 1764, and is not yet returned.

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(29) In ſailing to the Madeiras, Mr Harriſon, by the direction of his watch, acquainted Captain Digges with the time when he would ſee Porto Santo, which, had they truſted to the ſhip's reckoning, they could not have ſeen at all, to their great inconvenience for want of beer. This is a common miſtake, ſo that ſeveral merchant ſhips, traders to Jamaica, which were then with the Deptford, had never ſeen the iſland of Porto Santo. Capt. Digges engaged Mr Harriſon on this occaſion to promiſe him the firſt large watch made for ſale.

(30) Minutes of longitude are not ſynonymous to minutes of a great circle; but vary in proportion to the diſtance of the latitude or parallel from the equator: ſo that in the latitude of 60 degrees, they are juſt half as big as at the equator; whereas the minute of a great circle is always the ſame, and was by the legiſlature ſaid to be equal to a geographical mile.

(31) To this objection Mr Harriſon anſwered; that they always found the land according to the prediction of the time-keeper, and that it gave nearly the ſame difference of longitude between Portſmouth and Port-Royal in Jamaica, both by the voyage out, and by the voyage home.

city of oil, the parts of leather, &c. Of many uſeful things in our country, and for the improvement in trade which have been neglected to be brought from foreign parts. *Anatomia anguillæ fluviatilis longæ pluſquam 40 digitos, circuitu circa umbilicum ſex, cum figuris.* Of the inſtruments of proportion. A deſcription and figure of a new level for taking the horizon every way in a circle. R. S. Regiſt. III. p. 84. produced before the Royal Society December 12, and March 7, 1666. This is deſcribed by Mr Hooke in his Obſervations on Hevelius's *Machina Cœleſtis*, p. 65. Uncommon ſhape of hail that fell on the 26th of March 1667, about four o'clock in the afternoon. R. S. Regiſter III. p. 184. communicated Nov. 28, 1667. A letter to Mr Oldenburg about a deſign of building a college for the Royal Society, dated from Oxford, June 7, 1668. A cypher or anagram for concealing ſecret inventions. R. S. Regiſt. iv. p. 49. communicated Feb. 4, 1668. This was tranſmitted to Mr Huygens upon his having ſent one not explained. A deſcription and ſcheme of an inſtrument for drawing up great weights from deep places. Regiſt. IV. p. 99. Read May 5, 1670. Beſides theſe, ſeveral pieces have been ſince publiſhed in *Parentalia* from rough imperfect draughts not yet mentioned; eſpecially four tracts upon architecture. In the ſecond of theſe, ſpeaking of the Corinthian Capital, he takes notice, that it had not been amended in any after-ages till this time, notwithſtanding the French King, Louis XIV. propoſed rewards to ſuch French artiſts as ſhould find out a Gallic order. Of the Temple of Diana at Epheſus. Obſervations on the Temple of Peace, built by Veſpaſian. Obſervations on the Temple of Mars *Ultor*, built by Auguſtus, the ruins of which are ſeen near the Torre di Conti at Rome. Of the ſepulchre of Mauſoleus King of Caria, one of the ſeven wonders of the world. Sir Chriſtopher alſo made ſeveral draughts of other buildings and deſigns, as the orthography of the campanile or bell-tower over the gate in the front and principal acceſs of the great quadrangular court of Chriſt Church College, Oxford, in the Gothic ſtile, which was begun on the old foundation laid by Cardinal Wolſey, in June 1681, and finiſhed in 1682; propoſals for the repairs of the public library and ſchools at Oxford, with the drawings annexed, imparted to Dr Gregory, then Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy, and now in the Bodleian library. A plan, orthography, and ſection of a circular library, with a dome and lantern, and a colonade hexaſtyle in the front of the Ionic order, intended for Trinity College, but not executed: it is a very beautiful and moſt commodious model for a large library §. Plan and ſection of a theatre and commencement houſe, with a library annexed, according to an intention for the Univerſity of Cambridge, about the year 1678, but not executed. Deſigns for the pariſh-church of Warwick after the fire of the town in 1694, not executed. Orthography of the tower of the pariſh-church of St Mary's in Warwick, erected after an unſucceſsful attempt in the execution of a defective prior deſign by other hands. To theſe muſt be added, the theatre-royal of Drury-lane, and the Duke's theatre in Saliſbury Court, Fleet-ſtreet, ſince taken down. All theſe taken together with the cathedral of St Paul's, fifty-one parochial churches, the monument, and other publick edifices in London, the two royal palaces of Hampton-court and Wincheſter, the royal hoſpitals of Chelſea and Greenwich, the north front and other repairs of Weſtminſter, continued from 1698 to our architect's death in 1723, together with the theatre of Oxford already mentioned, form ſuch a body of civil architecture as will appear to have been the production of a whole century, rather than of the life and induſtry of one man, of which it has been obſerved no parallel inſtance can be given †.

A large collection of his draughts and deſigns were purchaſed not long ago by All Souls College, as well in regard to their intrinſick value, as out of reſpect to Sir Chriſtopher. They fill ſeveral large folios, and are repoſited in that college library, which is adorned with a curious buſt of ſo worthy a member [PP] *. To whoſe honour let it be likewiſe remembered, that notwithſtanding the danger attending it, he was remarkably induſtrious in ſaving all the papers that poſſibly could be ſaved from the fire which conſumed the royal palace of Whitehall in January 169$\frac{7}{8}$.

§ This plan has been ſince executed with ſome variations in Dr Radcliffe's Library at Oxford.

† Evelyn's Architecture, in the dedication to our author.

*Communicated by Dr Vanſittart, a Fellow of that college.

[PP] *So worthy and honourable a member.*] It appears, from a letter of Dr Sprat to Mr Wren †, that Horace was his peculiar favourite claſſick, and that he tranſlated the *Epiſtle to Lollius* into Engliſh verſe, in which it ſhould ſeem were theſe four lines:

Fountains and trees our wearied eyes do pleaſe,
Even in the midſt of gilded palaces:
And in our towns that proſpect gives delight,
Which opens round the country to our ſight.

In another letter from the ſame friend, dated in 1663, upon the ſubject of wit, he obſerves, ' that it was a ' ſubject, on which,' ſays he, ' I have heard your- ' ſelf ſpeak many admirable things; and afterwards, ſpeaking of converſible wit, he has theſe words: ' To ' ſpeak truth, the perfection of this glorious faculty, ' without which life is no life, belongs not to the ' men ſo much as to the ſofter ſex. For they have ' uſually their heads leſs diſturbed with buſy thoughts, ' their minds are quicker and readier for new impreſ- ' ſions; they talk more of circumſtantial things; they ' ſit longer together; and, which you uſed to ſay is ' of great concernment in our northern and phlegma- ' tick climate, they keep their feet warmer and drier, ' and go leſs into the moiſt and open air. But that ' women are the beſt ſpeakers, I could give you two ' undeniable inſtances. In your Laura you call her ' who was once my Celia. The one ſpeaks with ' great freedom and ſpirit, and abundance of excellent ' words. The other talks leſs, but with as much ' ſweetneſs and nature. From the one nothing can ' be taken: to the other nothing ought to be added.'

(†) Printed in Parentalia, p. 255, 256.

Sir

Sir Chriſtopher was ſucceeded in his eſtate by his eldeſt ſon and only ſurviving child, Chriſtopher Wren, Eſq; who was born February 16, 1675, and being bred at Eton ſchool was admitted in 1691 of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge. In 1694 he was made Deputy Clerk Engroſſer, and in 1698 he travelled through Holland, France, and Italy. He was twice choſen Member of Parliament for Windſor in the years 1712 and 1714. In May 1706 he married firſt Mary Muſard, Jeweller to Queen Anne, by whom he had iſſue one ſon, Chriſtopher, born January 5, 1711, who was living in 1750. This wife dying in 1712, he entered into a ſecond marriage on the 8th of November 1715, with Dame Conſtance Burgoyne, relict of Sir Roger Burgoyne, Baronet, of Sutton in Bedfordſhire, and daughter of Sir Thomas Middleton, Knt. of Stanſted Mount-Fitchet in Eſſex, by whom he had iſſue one ſon Stephen, born May 14, 1722. He was a learned and pious man, a good antiquary, and beloved by all his acquaintance for his communicative diſpoſition. He died Auguſt 24th, 1747, aged 72 years, and lies interred at his country-ſeat at Wroxhall in Warwickſhire. In 1708 he publiſhed in 4to. a treatiſe intituled, *Numiſmatum antiquorum ſylloge, populis Græcis, Municipiis & Coloniis Romanis caſorum. Ex chimeliarcho editoris* [QQ]. He alſo left behind him a treatiſe in manuſcript with this title: *Parentalia: Memorials of the lives of the right reverend Father in God* Matthew Wren *D. D. Lord Biſhop of Ely,* Chriſtopher Wren, *D. D. Dean of Windſor, and Sir* Chriſtopher Wren, *Knight, Surveyor General of the Royal Buildings. With collections of records and original papers.* This piece with ſome alteration in the title, was publiſhed by his ſon Stephen in 1750 in folio. Our architect, beſides his ſon Chriſtopher, had a daughter Jane, who died in her father's life time unmarried, December 29, 1702. as appears by a monument of white marble erected to her memory [RR] againſt one of the pillars near the ſouth-eaſt end of St Paul's vault, in which ſhe was alſo interred, almoſt oppoſite to her father.

[QQ] *Ex chimeliarcho editoris.*] It is dedicated to the Royal Society, and contains the impreſſions of ſeveral curious Greek medallions, in four tables, engraven on copper-plates, with two other tables of ancient inſcriptions. Theſe are followed by the legends of imperial coins, in the large and middle ſize, from Julius Cæſar to Aurelian, with their interpretations. To which is ſubjoined an appendix of Syrian and Egyptian kings, and city pieces. The whole is a ſpecimen of a large cabinet of Greek and Roman medals, with many other antiquities collected by the editor, and was publiſhed upon a particular occaſion. Mr Wood obſerves, tho' he was well verſed in all parts of polite literature, yet at the time this book was written, his thoughts muſt have been employed upon things of a very different nature.

[RR] *A monument of white marble.*] Upon the upper part is her image playing upon an organ, with a Cupid bringing her ſome books in baſs relief. Underneath is the following inſcription:

M. S.

Deſideratiſſimæ virginis JANÆ WREN, *clariſſimi Domini* CHRISTOPHORI WREN *filiæ unicæ paternæ indolis literis deditæ. Piæ. Benevolæ arte muſica peritiſſimæ.*

Here lies the body of Mrs JANE WREN, only daughter of Sir CHRISTOPHER WREN, Knt. by Dame JANE his wife, daughter of WILLIAM Lord FITZWILLIAM, of Lifford in the kingdom of Ireland. Obiit 29 Dec. ann. 1702, ætat. 26.

Y.

YALDEN [Thomas] an excellent poet, and a polite writer of diſtinguiſhed wit and humour. He was the youngeſt of ſix ſons of Mr John Yalden of Suſſex, but born in the city of Exeter in 1671. He received the firſt part of his education at the grammar-ſchool belonging to Magdalen College in Oxford, whence he was admitted a Commoner of Magdalen Hall [*A*] in 1690, and the next year was choſen Scholar or Demy of Magdalen College. Here he became a fellow-pupil with the celebrated Mr Addiſon and Dr Henry Sacheverel, and early contracted a particular friendſhip with thoſe two gentlemen, having recommended himſelf to their notice by his *Ode on St Cecilia's day* in 1693, ſet to muſick by Dr Purcell, as alſo by his poem *On the conqueſt of Namur: a pindaric ode inſcribed to his moſt ſacred and victorious Majeſty* [King William III.] in 1695, folio. Having taken his degrees in arts (*a*) with ſingular applauſe [*B*], he entered into holy orders, and upon the reſignation of Dr (afterwards Bp) Atterbury in 1698, he ſucceeded him in the lecture of Bridewell Hoſpital. In 1700 he publiſhed, in folio, *The Temple of Fame, a poem ſacred to the memory of the moſt illuſtrious Prince William, Duke of Glouceſter*; and was admitted the ſame year actual and perpetual Fellow of his college, not long after which he received two publick marks of favour from that ſociety: the firſt was a preſentation to a living in Warwickſhire, conſiſtent with his fellowſhip; and the other his being elected moral philoſophy reader, an office for life, endowed with a handſome ſtipend and peculiar privileges. When Q. Anne ſucceeded to the throne, our author exerted his beſt talents in a poem upon the occaſion, and from this time he ſhewed himſelf without reſerve on the ſide of what is called The High-Church. He commenced Bachelor of Divinity April 30th, 1706 (*b*), and that year was received into the particular patronage of the Duke of Beaufort, who took him into his family, and gave him many proofs of his bounty and generoſity. The following year he completed his academical degrees by commencing D. D. July 1ſt, 1707 (*c*). At the ſame time he preſented to his Society their founder's picture at full length, which now hangs up in the public hall, and delivered up to the preſident a voluntary reſignation of his fellowſhip and moral philoſophy lecture. He was afterwards preferred to the rectories of Chalton and Cleanville, two adjoining towns in Hampſhire. Upon the diſcovery of that which goes under the name of Biſhop Atterbury's plot, our author being known to have ſome intimacy with that prelate, he was taken up, his papers ſeized, and himſelf carried before the ſecret committee, where being examined concerning his correſpondence and intimacy with Mr Kelly, the Biſhop's ſecretary, he did not deny his knowledge of and correſpondence with him, but perſiſted in aſſerting, that no meaſures contrary to the conſtitution were ever canvaſſed between them. What moſt of all aggravated the ſuſpicion of him was two remarkable words found under his own hand-writing in his pocket-book [*C*], which however upon the ſtricteſt examination ſerved only to turn the laugh

upon

(*a*) He took that of A. M. May 1, 1694. Catalogue of Oxford degrees.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid.

[*A*] *Admitted of Magdalen Hall.*] Under the care of Mr Jo. Pullen, a great maſter of logick, and no bad tutor, but one of the rough unpoliſhed diamonds of the univerſity, where, among other ſtories, the following one was preſerved in my time: That ſome ladies who came to ſee Oxford being recommended to him, he waited upon them for the purpoſe, and to ſhew his great complaiſance led the chief lady by the hand through the rounds; in which having a motion to make water, he turned his face to a wall and performed the diſcharge, ſtill holding the lady faſt by the hand, to her no ſmall confuſion.

[*B*] *He performed his exerciſe with ſingular applauſe.*] One of theſe exerciſes being to ſpeak a declamation in the public ſchools, Dr Hough happened to be an auditor, and not knowing Mr Yalden's merit was ſurprized at the ingenious performance, but concluded it was not his own. Shortly after finding our ſtudent in the college library againſt the ſtatutes, he ſet him a theſis for a theme by way of puniſhment, and locked the library-door to prevent his having any aſſiſtance. It very luckily happened, that the theſis was upon a ſubject which our ſtudent had be enreading juſt before, which made the taſk eaſy to him, and his theme was ſo much approved by the Preſident, that telling him the reaſon afore-mentioned of putting him to that trial, he expreſſed a pleaſing conviction of his miſtake, and promiſed Mr Yalden to be his friend (1).

[*C*] *Two words in his pocket-book.*] Theſe words were, THOROUGH-PACED DOCTRINE! which ſtanding alone without any comment, were judged by the committee to need none, being of themſelves pregnant of the blackeſt treaſon. The Dr was therefore called upon very ſtrictly to give an account of them, which he was forced to comply with, as he did to this effect: obſerving, that he was aſhamed of it, he told them the words had been ſo long unnoticed in the book as ſince the time of Q. Anne, when taking a trip from the univerſity to London, he had a mind by way of diverſion to hear the famous Daniel Burgeſs in the pulpit, who having harangued upon many pernicious doctrines, proceeded thus in the exhortation: 'But above 'all other pernicious doctrines, take heed and beware, my beloved, of the *thorough paced doctrine*,

'that

(1) Communicated by the author himſelf to a particular acquaintance.

upon the examiners. So that no evidence appearing ſtrong enough to convict him, as ſoon as the heats ſubſided, he was releaſed. This traverſe was of no ill conſequence in regard to the patronage of the Duke of Beaufort, who ſtill continued his favours to him, and his reſidence in that noble family recommended him to the acquaintance of many of the firſt quality and characters in the kingdom, and as he was of a chearful temper, and of a pleaſing and inſtructive converſation, he retained their friendſhip and eſteem till his death, which happened July 16, 1736, in the 66th year of his age(*d*). The Doctor wrote ſeveral other things beſides thoſe already mentioned, the titles of the chief of which may be ſeen below [*D*].

(*d*) Jacob and Cibber's Lives of the Poets, under our author's article.

'that doctrine, I mean, which coming in at one ear 'paces ſtreight through the head, and out at the op'poſite ear.'

[*D*] *The titles may be ſeen below.*] His poetical works are chiefly theſe; *Æſop at Court, or State-Fables*; *An Eſſay on the Character of Sir Willoughby Aſhton, a Poem*, folio, 1704; *On the Mines of Sir Carbery Price, a Poem,* occaſioned by the Mine-adventurer Company; *On the Death of Mr John Partridge, Profeſſor in Leather, and Aſtrologer*; *Advice to a Lover*; *To Mr Watſon on his Ephemeris on the Cæleſtial Motions, preſented to Queen Anne*; *Againſt immoderate Grief*; *The Force of Jealouſy*; *A Hymn to the Morning, in Praiſe of Light.* He alſo tranſlated the ſecond book of *Ovid's Art of Love*; with ſeveral other occaſional poems and tranſlations, publiſhed in the 3d and 4th volumes of Tonſon's Miſcellanies. *The Medicine, a Tale*, in the 2d volume of the Tatlers, and *Mr Partridge's Appeal to the learned world, or a further account of the Manner of his Death,* in proſe(2), were likewiſe written by him.

(2) This is inſerted in Swift's Miſcellanies.

P

YOUNG [PATRICK]

YOUNG [PATRICK] a learned Scotch gentleman, and firſt Librarian of the royal Engliſh library after its complete ſettlement, was deſcended of an ancient genteel family, and born Auguſt 29, 1584, at Seaton in Lothian, then the reſidence of his father Sir Peter Young, Knight [*A*], who ſent him at 15 years of age to the Univerſity of St Andrews, where, having completed his fourth year, he was inveſted in the degree of A. M. in 1603. Shortly after which he followed his father to England, who had attended K. James I. thither on his acceſſion to that crown, and was recommended, by the old gentleman's intereſt with the Biſhop of Sodor and Man, to Dr George Lloyd, lately promoted to the ſee of Cheſter, who in the ſummer of 1604 took him under his roof, and aſſiſted him in the ſtudy of divinity, being deſtined for the church from his earlieſt years. He continued at Cheſter till 1605, and then going to Oxford was incorporated there in the degree of A. M. [*B*] July 9th that year; and having entered into Deacon's orders, was choſen a Chaplain of New College. He held this place three years, applying himſelf with indefatigable induſtry to his ſtudies, which were directed chiefly to eccleſiaſtical hi-

This article is chiefly taken from Vita Patricii Junii, by Dr Tho. Smith. ed. 1707. 4to.

[*A*] *His father.*] This gentleman was born at Tudin in the ſhire of Angus, Auguſt 15, 1544, and after a proper education in grammar was ſent in 1562 to finiſh his ſtudies at Geneva, and from thence to Lauſanne. He returned home in 1569, was by the appointment of the Earl of Murray made Buchanan's Aſſiſtant-tutor to King James VI. then an infant; who, when he was of age to take the adminiſtration of the kingdom, made this tutor one of his council, and employed him afterwards in ſeveral embaſſies; firſt in 1586 to Frederic II. King of Denmark about the buſineſs of the Orcades, with directions at the ſame time to inform himſelf of the beauty and qualities of that King's eldeſt daughter Elizabeth, with which he was ſo well pleaſed, that he ſent Mr Young again to Denmark in 1587 to negotiate a marriage with that Princeſs, but this match miſcarrying, Mr Young attended King James the next year to Denmark, to ſolemnize his marriage with the Princeſs Anne. In 1594 he was ſent to notify the birth of Prince Henry to the King of Denmark, and Sophia the Queen-dowager, as alſo to Ulric Duke of Magdeburgh, and to Henry Julius Duke of Brunſwick and Lunenburgh. In 1596 he was ſent again to Denmark with King James's excuſe for not complying with the requeſt of Chriſtian IV. to grace his coronation. In 1598 he was ſent to Denmark and the German Princes, to render them favourable to his eventual ſucceſſion to the crown of England. In this embaſſy paſſing through Roſtock they found Mr David Chytre, to whom they complained of an account he had lately publiſhed againſt Mary Queen of Scots, and upon that author's promiſe to correct the aſperſions thrown in his piece upon the Queen, Mr Young after his return to Scotland drew up and ſent to him a ſhort narration of that Queen's life and death (1). He afterwards came to England in the train of King James to that crown, who on the 19th of February 1614 knighted him and ſettled upon him an annual penſion of 300l. ſterl. In 1619 his Majeſty preſented him with a copy of his works, publiſhed that year in Latin. In 1620 he retired to his eſtate in Scotlaad, where he continued till his death, which happened January 7, 1628, in the 84th year of his age. He was buried in the church of St Vigentius near Aberbrothock in the ſhire of Angus, where there is a monument with an inſcription (2) erected to his memory by his ſon.

(1) It is inſerted by Dr Smith in his account of our author, p. 19. & ſeq.

(2) Dr Smith has printed a copy of it in Latin, p. 18.

[*B*] *Incorporated A. M. at Oxford.*] The Scotch degrees are not taken of courſe upon a foot of equality at Oxford. This therefore was a particular favour ſhewn to Mr Young's merit, apparently procured by the intereſt of Dr John Williams, Principal of Jeſus College, and Dean of Bangor, Dr Richard Mocket, then Fellow, and afterwards Warden of All Souls, together with Sir Henry Savile, Warden of Merton, who, Dr Smith obſerves (3), took him into their friendſhip and favour. We have the following account of Dr Richard Mocket from Mr Wood, who ſays †, he was born in Dorſetſhire in the dioceſe of Saliſbury, was admitted firſt at Brazen Noſe College, Oxford, where he took the degree of A. B. Feb. 16, 1595, was choſen Fellow of All Souls in 1599, commenced M. A. April 5, 1600, took holy orders, became domeſtick Chaplain to Dr Abbot, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Warden of All Souls, Rector of Monks-Riſborow in Bucks, and of Newington near Dorcheſter in Oxfordſhire, was admitted in June 1609, and was one of the King's Commiſſioners concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs. In 1616 he publiſhed in Latin one volume folio, containing theſe tracts: 1. *The Liturgy of the Church of England.* 2. *Greater and Leſſer Catechiſms.* 3. *The Thirty-nine Articles.* 4. *Book of Ordination of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons.* 5. *Doctrinal points extracted out of the book of Homilies*, to which he added his own book written in Latin entitled *De politia Eccleſiae Anglicanae* *. But in the 20th article concerning the authority of the church, having totally left out the firſt clauſe *Habet Eccleſia ritus & ceremonias ſtatuendi jus, & in controverſiis fidei authoritatem,* his whole book was burnt in 1617, the grief for which, as it is thought, occaſioned his death the 9th of July the following year. He was buried at the upper end of All Souls College Chapel, juſt below the ſteps leading to the *high altar*, ſo called by the antiquary.

(3) In vita Patricii Junii, p. 7.

† Athen. Oxon. vol. 1. col. 434. & Faſti col. 149. 158, & 184.

* This was reprinted at London, 1683, 8vo.

ſtory

ſtory and antiquity, and the cultivation of the Greek language, of which he was particularly fond, and acquired an extraordinary ſkill therein (*a*). In 1608 his father, who was ſtill living, and well acquainted with Iſaac Caſaubon, propoſed, for his ſon's further improvement, to ſend him to that learned divine in France; but this deſign by ſome means or other miſcarried. Patrick however leaving Oxford, went to London in the view of recommending himſelf at court. He had an eaſy acceſs, by his father's means, to all the courtiers, and was taken into the particular patronage of Dr James Montague, then Biſhop of Bath and Wells, by whoſe recommendation the King granted him an annual penſion of 50 *l.* ſterl. Upon ſo diſtinguiſhed a favour from his Majeſty he flattered himſelf with the certain hopes of being honoured with the care of Prince Henry's library *, and carried it ſo far as even to reſent the diſappointment; which however, like a ſtaunch courtier, he did not ſink under, but on the contrary made uſe of it as a proper ſtep for raiſing his views to the ſuperintendency of that newly founded by the King; which at length he carried from a number of competitors, chiefly by the intereſt of his friend and patron Biſhop Montague [*C*]. He had already drawn up a catalogue of the

books

* This library, beſides ſeveral books purchaſed by the Prince, conſiſted of a large number of ancient coins, rings, and ſeals, with the entire Dactyliotheca of Gorlæus, procured with the Prince's own money.

(*a*) He correſponded in that language both with his father and Andrew. Done, Profeſſor of Greek at Cambridge, as alſo with R. Mocket aforementioned, and Edward Sylveſter, the famous Oxford ſchoolmaſter, beſides foreigners of the Greek nation. Smith, p. 8.

[*C*] *He was made King's Librarian.*] We have a ſuccinct hiſtory of both theſe libraries by Dr Birch, who obſerves (4), 'That the death of John Lord Lumley without iſſue gave the King an opportunity of gratifying the Prince's [Henry] love of books, and making a noble addition to the Royal Library (5). That library,' proceeds the Doctor, 'which now contains both MSS. and printed books, owes many valuable ones of the former kind to K. Edward IV. and of the latter to Henry VII (6) and Henry VIII. who had for his librarian the great antiquary John Leland, and received preſents of the works of moſt of the writers of his age. Under the ſhort reign of that well-educated Prince, Edward, an acceſſion was made to his library, more conſiderable than that under the government of the bigotted Queen Mary. Her ſiſter Elizabeth, who was miſtreſs of ſeveral languages, both ancient and modern, greatly augmented her library, of which we have this account from a German traveller, who ſaw it at Whitehall in Auguſt 1598, *that it was well ſtored both with Latin, Italian, and French books, all bound in velvet of different colours, though chiefly red, with claſps of gold and ſilver, and ſome adorned on the covers with pearls and precious ſtones.* King James enriched the Bodleian library at Oxford at the expence of his own, giving a warrant to Sir Thomas Bodley under the privy ſeal for the choice of any books which were in any of his houſes or libraries (7). But his Majeſty very amply ſupplied the place of them by the purchaſe of Lord Lumley's library, which contained not only his own collection, but that of his father-in-law Henry Fitz Alan Earl of Arundel (8), who had lived in the reign of Henry VIII. when upon the diſſolution of the monaſteries he had great opportunities of collecting MSS; many of which, as well as of the printed books in the royal library, have the name of Arundel and Lumley written in them, beſides a few with the name of T. Canterb. written by Cranmer. K. James having purchaſed it at the ſuggeſtion of Mr (afterwards Sir Adam) Newton, to be repoſed, together with that of his predeceſſors, in the palace of St. James, where the Prince reſided, for the uſe of his Highneſs, and Mr Patrick Young, ſon of Sir Peter Young, Knt. his Majeſty's tutor, was appointed keeper of it.'

Sir Adam Newton here mentioned was a countryman of Mr Young's, perfectly ſkilled in the learned and other languages, and particularly diſtinguiſhed by the neatneſs and perſpicuity of his Latin ſtile, ſeen in his tranſlation of King James's diſcourſe againſt Conrade Vorſtius, and that of Father Paul's hiſtory of the council of Trent, the firſt ſix books whereof were done by him. He was appointed in 1599 tutor to Prince Henry, then an infant of ſix years old, by whom he was greatly beloved and reſpected. That moſt amiable youth had obtained a promiſe from his royal father in 1604 to give his tutor the Deanery of Durham when it ſhould become vacant; and upon the death of Dr Toby Matthews, Biſhop of that dioceſe, in 1606, the Prince addreſſed a letter (9) to his Majeſty, reminding him of his promiſe. Accordingly the Biſhoprick being conferred by the King upon Dr Will. James the Dean, his Majeſty gave Mr Newton the Deanery (10), into which he was inſtalled Sept. 27, 1606. and which he held till 1620, when he reſigned it (11), being created a Baronet April 2d that year (12). He was appointed Secretary to Prince Henry when his houſhold was ſettled in 1610, after whoſe death in 1612 he was made Treaſurer to his brother P. Charles. He ſpent the remainder of his days in ſtudy and retirement at Charlton near Greenwich in Kent, the manor of which had been granted to him by K. James, and he had built a fine houſe upon it *. One of the employments of his leiſure hours was his tranſlating, at the King's deſire, *Father Paul's Hiſtory of the Council of Trent* into Latin, the two laſt books being done by Mr Bedell, afterwards Biſhop of Kilmore in Ireland. While he was employed in this work, he received a letter from Archbp Abbot, dated at Lambeth, July 5, 1619, acquainting him that his Majeſty before his departure had given him [the Archbiſhop] to know 'of you,' ſays he, 'how far you have proceeded in the tranſlation of the hiſtory concerning the council of Trent, being deſirous that it ſhould be done with all convenient ſpeed that may be.' What progreſs Sir Adam had made in this work about a year after, appears from a letter of his to his brother Sir Thomas Puckering, dated from Fleet Street, Auguſt 9, 1620, 'there remain' ſays he, 'two books yet to print, the printers having been delayed [viz. by ſome other works mentioned by Sir Adam] by which occaſion, though I notwithſtanding do employ all my time, and muſt attend the printers every day, yet have had the more time of breathing from the workmen ſtill calling for copy. And now I begin to find in the 7th and 8th books, which were done by Mr Bedell, that which I feared much, that the inequality of the ſtile would put me to a great deal of pains in the altering thereof; and when I have done as much as the time will permit, a diligent reader will eaſily obſerve the difference (13).'— This paſſage will ſerve to correct one in Dr Burnet's life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 22; where that writer ſays, 'Sir Adam Newton tranſlated the two firſt books of the hiſtory of the council of Trent, but was not maſter enough of the two languages, that the Archbiſhop of Spalatro ſaid it was not the ſame work, but he highly approved of the two laſt that were tranſlated by Mr Bedell.' To wave any remark, ſays Dr Birch *, upon the cenſure of Sir Adam's part of the tranſlation, it is a little extraordinary, that Dr Burnet ſhould not recollect that the hiſtory conſiſts not of 4 but 8 books.

In the preface Sir Adam takes notice that ſeveral paſſages which had been erroneouſly printed in the edition of the Italian original were in this tranſlation reſtored to their true ſenſe, and that it had been undertaken at the deſire of him who had formerly entruſted the tranſlator with a much more honourable employment. And here, ſays Dr Birch, I cannot omit an unſuſpected teſtimony of the authenticity of the original edition publiſhed at London in 1619, fol. by Antonio de Dominis, Archbp of Spalatro: This teſtimony is from a very valuable work, *Della Letteratura Veneziana*, by *Marco Foſcarini, Cavaliere et Procuratore*, vol. I. Padua 1752, fol. the honourable and learned writer obſerves, l. IV. p. 353, 354. that the original of the *Hiſtory of the council of Trent* is ſtill extant at Venice in the hand writing of Father Marco Franzano, amanuenſis of Father Paul, with the author's corrections between the lines and in the margin, and exactly agreeing with the London edition, except

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(4) In his life of Henry Prince of Wales, p. 161 & ſeq. edit. 1760. 8vo.

(5) See an account of his lordſhip's library in Archbiſhop Williams's article in this vol. p. 4276, remark [E].

(6) That Prince, Lord Bacon tells us, was rather ſtudious than learned, reading moſt books that were of any worth in the French tongue. Bacon's life of Henry VII. p. 244. edit. 1629. fol. and yet he underſtood Latin, as appears from Cardinal Hadrian and others, who could very well have written in French, addreſſing their letters to him in Latin.

(7) Letter of Sir T. Bodley to Dr James in 1606, printed in the Genuine Remains of Sir T. Bodley, p. 205. ed. 1703. 8vo.

(8) Lord Lumley married Jane, the eldeſt of the Earl's two daughters and co-heirs.

(9) It may be ſeen at length in Dr Birch's life of P. Henry, ed. 1760. 8vo.

(10) Sir Adam was never in holy orders, and there are other inſtances in thoſe times of eccleſiaſtical preferments, and particularly deaneries, being held by laymen, witneſs, among others, Sir Tho. Smith in Queen Elizabeth's time, and Tho. Wilſon, one of Mr Newton's predeceſſors in the deanery of Durham. But all ſuch preferments were put a ſtop to by the act of uniformity in 1662.

(11) Mr Camden in his Annals of K. James ſub anno 1620, ſays, he reſigned it for a ſum of money.

(12) Salmon under that year.

* By his laſt will he ordered that pariſh-church to be repaired and beautified; and the truſt was diſcharged ſo well, that it is one of the beſt churches in the county. Harris's hiſtory of Kent, part 2. p. 67. ed. 1719, folio.

(13) The whole was publiſhed at London in 1620. folio.

* In his life of Prince Henry.

books by the King's expreſs command; and after he obtained the place he made it his firſt buſineſs to diſpoſe them into claſſes in a proper order. This done, he was anxious to enrich the collection with new acquiſitions [D]. In that view he firſt projected a journey to Francfort in 1612, and upon the failure of that he turned his eyes in 1616 towards Holland in the ſame view; but this project meeting with no better ſucceſs, he reſolved to go to Paris: for which place he ſet out in 1617, and carrying recommendatory letters from Mr Campden to ſome learned men there, (b) he was by them introduced to ſeveral others, and had free admiſſion into all the libraries, particularly that moſt valuable one of Monſ. De Thou, then lately dead. In the mean time his fondneſs for the Greek language naturally diſpoſed him to ſhew a fondneſs for all the natives of thoſe countries, many of whom by his invitation came to England for their improvement. To the better ſupport of theſe he not only contributed himſelf, but procured contributions from others of greater abilities, and provided paſſports for them on their departure to other countries. In this he was ſo remarkably aſſiduous, that his patron Biſhop Montague uſed to call him *The patriarch of the Greeks* [E]. However, he was not ſo wholly devoted to Greek as to neglect the Latin tongue, in the elegancies of which he was careful to make himſelf a good proficient, and was very helpful to Mr Tho. Rhead in tranſlating K. James's works into that language. The book was publiſhed in 1619 in folio, and our author by his Majeſty's ſpecial command carried a copy of it as a preſent to both the Engliſh Univerſities in 1620. This year he entered into matrimony with an agreeable young gentlewoman (c), and was very happy in the enjoyment of her as long as ſhe lived with him; but after bringing him four children ſhe died in childbed of the laſt in the flower of her youth, at the age of 25 years. In the mean time he was preſented to the rectories of Heighes and Llannine in Denbighſhire (d), and collated alſo to a prebend of St Paul's, London, of which church he was made Treaſurer upon the ceſſion of Dr Lewis Bayley, promoted to the ſee of Bangor in 1621 (e). Though our author had hitherto publiſhed nothing himſelf, yet he had occaſionally communicated ſeveral curious papers to many others of the firſt fame in the learned world (f). Among theſe was Mr Selden, whom he aſſiſted in preparing for the preſs his edition of the *Arundelian Marbles*, which that learned author publiſhed in 1628 in 4to. with a dedication to Mr Young. The ſame year the famous Alexandrian MS. of the Old and New Teſtament being placed in the King's library, our librarian ſpared no pains in an accurate examination of that excellent MS. the various readings of which with other copies printed or MS. he communicated to Archbiſhop Uſher, Grotius, and other learned men at their requeſt. He fully reſolved to print the entire copy in ſquare letters exactly from the original, and employed a great part of his time upon that deſign as long as he continued librarian, but without being able, from unavoidable avocations, to complete it to his wiſh [F]. However, he publiſhed an edition of St Clement Romanus's Epiſtles from the ſame MS. in 1633. Three years afterwards, in 1636, he had the misfortune to find his houſe totally deſtroyed by a fire in his abſence, yet his papers were luckily ſaved from periſhing in the flames, and the next year 1637 he publiſhed with a Latin verſion *Catena Græcorum patrum in Jobum, collectore Niceta Heracleæ Metropolita*, to which he ſubjoined, from the Alexandrian MS. a continual ſeries of the books of ſcripture called *Poëtici*. This was followed by the *Expoſitio in canticum canticorum Gilberti Folioti Epiſcopi Londinenſis* †, *una cum Alcuini in idem canticum compendio*, which came out in 1638, with a dedication to that eminently diſtinguiſhed loyaliſt Dr Juxon, then Biſhop of London and Lord High Treaſurer of England. He made preparations for publiſhing ſeveral other curious MSS. while he continued in the royal library, which he held with great reputation to himſelf and benefit to the publick, till near the death of King Charles I. when the library among the reſt of the royal treaſures was ſeized by the rebels, and the keys falling into the hands of the Lord Grey of Werk were committed by him in Auguſt 1648 to the truſt of the famous, or rather infamous, Hugh

(b) Namely, to Peter Peteau, John Hottoman, and Theodore Gothofred, and by them to Cardinal Perron and Nicolas Coeffeteau, as alſo to Fronto Durk and James Sirmond, Jeſuits, whoſe acquaintance he moſt cultivated, becauſe of the ſimilitude of their ſtudies. His connection with the former continued till the Jeſuits death, whom he continually excited to publiſh editions of the Greek Fathers.

(c) Dr Smith tells us her name was Elizabeth, which appears to be all that he knew of her.

(d) Our author was only in deacon's orders, but that order had then a right to hold parſonages, which however was aboliſhed after the reſtoration of King Charles II.

(e) Upon the promotion of Dr Bayley to a biſhoprick, his place at St Paul's devolved to the King, whoſe letters patents to Mr Young were dated Auguſt 31, 1621, and he was admitted Treaſurer the next day by the Dean and chapter.

(f) Dr Smith has given us a liſt of theſe, among whom it is ſufficient to mention only Grotius and Uſher, beſides Selden.

† Scil. tempore Henrici II.

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in the title, which in the original, as alſo in the Geneva edition, is ſimply *Iſtoria del Concilio Tridentino de Pietro Soave Polono*, which in the Latin London edition in 1620 is *Petri Suavis Poloni Hiſtoriæ Concilii Tridentini libri octo, ex Italicis ſumma fide & accuratione Latini facti* (14).

[D] *He was anxious to enrich it with new acquiſitions.*] In this ſpirit having, not without much difficulty, procured from the heirs of Archbiſhop Bancroft the reſtitution of ſeveral books that had been borrowed by his grace out of the library, he prevailed, upon the deceaſe of Iſaac Caſaubon in 1614, with his Majeſty, through the interceſſion of Biſhop Montague, to purchaſe of his widow his MSS. and printed books (15), with his MS. notes, for the uſe of the library. It muſt not be omitted, that a large addition had been made before to it by the books of one Mr Morris.

[E] *Patriarch of the Greeks.*] Dr Smith has given the names and titles of the moſt remarkable of theſe, and among the reſt having mentioned *Metrophanes Critopulus Berrhoenſis*, he gives this account of him: That after an education under the care of Cyril Lularis, Patriarch of Alexandria, he was ſent by him to travel into England and Germany for his improvement in theological ſtudies; that he arrived at London about 1620, bringing with him recommendatory letters from Cyril to Archbiſhop Abbot (16), who ſent him to Baliol College, Oxford, and maintained him there; that after reſiding 5 years in England, he went to Hamburg, viſited the moſt noted univerſities in Germany, and during his reſidence in one of theſe, he drew up in Greek a confeſſion of faith of the eaſtern church, which was afterwards publiſhed by John Horn in 1661; that in this creed he ſhewed himſelf to be a true diſciple of his patron Cyril, whom he at laſt ſucceeded in the Patriarchate of Alexandria.

[F] *He never completed it.*] About the year 1643 he printed a ſpecimen of his intended edition, containing the firſt chapter of Geneſis, with notes, and left, at his death, ſcholia as far as to the 15th chapter of Numbers, ſo that the publication of this curious MS. entire was reſerved for Dr Grabe (17).

(14) Id. ibid.

(15) Containing all except his *Adverſaria & Collectanea*, which were reſerved for his ſon Meric, who at his death in 1671 left them to the Bodleian library at Oxford.

(16) See Cyril's letter written in Egyptian, 1616, to Abbot, in the collection of letters publiſhed by Colomeſius. Lond. 1687. p. 346. 353.

(17) See his article in the Supplement.

Peters, who preſerved them from the violence and rapine of the ſoldiers for three or four months (*g*), at the end of which he delivered up the keys and cuſtody of them to Major-Gen. Ireton. In the end of July 1649 the care of them, in purſuance of an order from the council of ſtate, was undertaken by Mr Whitelocke (*h*), who at their recommendation appointed Mr John Dury [*G*] in 1649 his Deputy to have the keys, and to go for an inventory of the books and medals [*H*] to Mr Young; who afterwards retired to Bromfield in Eſſex, to the houſe of Mr John Atwood, a civilian, who had married his eldeſt daughter, reſolving, amidſt the confuſion and diſorder of thoſe times, to paſs his days there in peace; which were determined by a violent and painful diſtemper, on the 7th of September, 1652. His corpſe was interred in the chancel of Bromfield church, and over his grave was laid a ſtone of black marble, with the inſcription below [*I*].

Our author, who ſeems to have been born for the promotion and improvement of eccleſiaſtical learning, did not eſcape the cenſure of complying to the Preſbyterian and Independent parties, when in poſſeſſion of the ſupreme power; but though Dr Smith indeed does not abſolutely deny the charge, yet he looks upon it as a groundleſs calumny, raiſed by the malevolence of thoſe parties, and thinks it ſufficiently diſcredited by the general tenor of Mr Young's life, and particularly irreconcilable to that friendſhip which he conſtantly cultivated and preſerved with Uſher, Walton, Thorndyke, Hammond, and Pearſon, all ſtrenuous aſſertors of the hierarchical church government in oppoſition to the preſbyterian parity.

(*g*) After the reſtoration King Charles iſſued a warrant, Sept. 10, 1660, to Sir John Robinſon, lieutenant of the Tower, to permit Tho. Roſſe and Elias Aſhmole to examine in his preſence Hugh Peters, then a priſoner there, concerning the books and medals that had been embezzled. In this examination, taken two days after, Peters declared upon oath, that he took nothing from thence, but left the library inviolate as he found it.— Dr Birch, as before, who gives his authority for this account.

(*h*) See p. 4227. of his article in this vol.

[*G*] *Dury*] Bayle and Moreri (18) have given the following account of this Scottiſh Divine; who made a remarkable figure in his time by running with an enthuſiaſtick zeal into the wild ſcheme for uniting the Lutherans and Calviniſts. He was ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed with the hopes of ſucceeding therein, that he applied to his ſuperiors for a diſpenſation of non-reſidence upon his living, in order to travel through the Chriſtian world to compaſs it, and he not only procured a licence for the purpoſe, but obtained likewiſe the approbation and recommendation of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and was aſſiſted by the Biſhop of Kilmore in Ireland, and Dr Joſeph Hall Biſhop of Exeter in England. He began by publiſhing his plan of an union in 1634; and the ſame year appeared at a famous aſſembly of the Evangeliſts [Lutherans] at Francfort in Germany. The churches alſo of Tranſilvania ſent him their advice and counſel the ſame year, and he afterwards negotiated with the divines of Sweden and Denmark. He turned himſelf every way (19); he conſulted the univerſities, he communicated their anſwers, and was not diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of his pains in 1661, when going for Germany he paſſed through Utrecht, and informing them of the ſtate in which he had left the affair with the King of Great Britain and the Elector of Brandenburg, as alſo of what had paſſed at the court of Heſſe, and the meaſures which were actually taken at Geneva, Heidelberg, and Metz, he obtained a teſtimonial from the Utrecht divines of their good intentions towards his deſign, in order to ſhew it to the Germans: This he publiſhed about 1661. In 1662, getting his white and ſquare beard ſhaved off, he went to Metz to confer with Monſr Ferri (20), his Fellow-labourer in the ſame project. Notwithſtanding theſe boaſted encouragements, his project was in reality much ridiculed; but this only ſerved the more to inflame his zeal. Age and infirmities made running about not ſo agreeable. Therefore laying aſide that method of ſerving the church he had hitherto taken, he had recourſe to another expedient, of uniting not only Lutherans and Calviniſts, but even all Chriſtians; and this was by a new explication of the Apocalypſe. In which view he publiſhed at Francfort in 1674 a ſmall treatiſe in French under this title, *Intelligence de l'Apocalypſe*, &c. or, *Of underſtanding the Apocalypſe by itſelf, as all the Holy Scriptures ought reaſonably to be underſtood.* "This great reconciler," ſays Mr Bayle, "ſounded the trumpet in Zion, for he added to his "book a Latin piece of 4 pages in 4to. with this title, "*Celeuſma ad pios Evangelii Miniſtros*, with this motto, "as a ſignal to the pious miniſters of the goſpel:

"*Vos qui, per vada ſancta navigantes,*
"*Lentos figitis ad mandata remos,*
"*Audite hoc monitum, ut celeuſma miſſum*
"*Nomine Chriſti.*

"You, who navigating over the holy ſea, put a lazy "hand to the oar, when the word of command "is ſpoken, hark to this warning, which is given "you as a ſignal in the name of Chriſt." He enjoyed then a quiet retreat in the country of Heſſe, where Hedwige Sophia, Princeſs of Heſſe, who had the regency of the country, had aſſigned him a very commodious quarter, with a table well furniſhed, and given free poſtage for his letters. However, he did not end his days there. We find him in England, as is obſerved above, in 1649. How long he lived afterwards is not known. He ſeems to have been an honeſt man, but enthuſiaſtical. Bayle well obſerves; 'That let men ſay what they will, his notions will 'ſtill be but idle fancies, ſince it was not leſs difficult 'to touch the conſcience of the ringleaders, than to 'enlighten their underſtandings. His ſcheme was 'equally wild and impracticable. Hiſtory tells us 'of ſome noble Roman, who in paſſing through Greece, 'offered his ſervice to bring about a reconciliation and 'agreement in matters of opinion among the philoſophers of Athens; but that the reſult was nothing 'more than an agreement in laughing at him for his 'pains. It may be fairly queſtioned, whether the 'wiſer and more political religioniſts might not in 'like manner ſecretly laugh at Dury for his projected plan of union, though decency would not ſuffer 'them to treat him with open contempt.' Yet ſtill it muſt be confeſſed, that this fancy, wild as it was, ſpread itſelf among many perſons in thoſe times, which was artfully made uſe of by that crafty politician Cardinal Richlieu, as a handle to bring about, under that cover, a re-union of all Proteſtants to the Church of Rome. In which deſign he employed among others one Dr James Gaffarel (21), an enthuſiaſt of that church, who wrote ſeveral whimſical books, the moſt remarkable of which is his *Curioſitez Inoüez*, tranſlated into Engliſh, and publiſhed in 1650.

[*H*] *To go to Mr Young for the keys, &c.*] From the account taken by Mr Dury, April 27, 1652, it appears there were then in the drawers of the library 12000 coins, of which only 4000 are ſaid to have remained at the reſtoration of K. Charles II. who placed them in his own cabinet. Many of the books and MSS. are likewiſe ſaid to have been then miſſing. After the reſtoration Mr Roſſe, then tutor to the Duke of Monmouth, had the office of Library-keeper conferred upon him, Mr Richard Pearſon, brother of Biſhop Pearſon, being appointed to officiate for him by order of his Majeſty. In June 1665 a warrant was paſſed for Mr Roſſe to hold the place for life, with a ſalary of 200l. a year (22). Mr Roſſe dying in October 27, 1675, a new warrant was paſſed for the place to Frederick and James Thynne, by the former of whom Mr Juſtel was appointed Deputy in 1686, and continued ſo till his death in 1692 (23). The next year Dr Richard Bentley had the place by a like warrant, and reſigning it in favour of his ſon, That gentleman ſold it to Claudius Amyand, Eſq; who enjoyed the ſalary in 1760, the reverſion of which was given with the library to the *Britiſh Muſeum* by K. George II.

[*I*] *The inſcription.*] It runs thus: 'Hereunder lieth the body of PATRICK YOUNG, Eſq; ſon of Sir PETER YOUNG, Knt. who left two daughters and coheirs. Elizabeth married to John Atwood, Eſq; and Sarah married to Sir Samuel Boſe, Knt. He died 7th of September 1652.'

(18) Under the articles of Dury and Ferri.

(19) He wrote a letter, curious enough, to Peter du Moulin, concerning the ſtate of the churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland under Cromwell, which was printed with ſome other pieces in 1658, 12mo. at London, by the care of Lewis du Moulin.

(20) Ferri was ſo eager to ſee him, that he went half-dreſſed to receive him. They held a correſpondence 25 or 26 years.

(21) See an account of him in the Biographical Dictionary.

(22) And afterwards to Mr Pearſon likewiſe for life, but he died Aug. 5th, 1670. before Roſſe. Ward's lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 253.

(23) This gentleman left behind him a catalogue both of the printed books and MSS. which was afterwards found in the library of Bryan Fairfax, Eſq; at his death in 1748.

Z.

ZOUCHE [Richard] deſcended of the ancient and noble family of that name, was born at Anſley in Wiltſhire about the year 1590, and being ſent to Wincheſter ſchool was choſen a ſcholar upon the foundation, whence, at the age of ſeventeen, he was removed to New College in Oxford, of which, after two years probation according to the ſtatutes, he was admitted Fellow in 1609 *(a)*. When entering upon the law-line he took his firſt degree in that faculty, June 30, 1614 *(b)*. Soon after which, being admitted at Doctors Commons, he became an eminent advocate there. He commenced Doctor of Law April 8, 1619, and upon the death of Dr John Budden on the 11th of June the following year, was appointed Regius Profeſſor of Law at Oxford. (c) At the latter end of King James's reign, he was choſen more than once member of parliament for Hythe in Kent by the intereſt of Edward Lord Zouche, Warden of the Cinque Ports, to whom he was nearly related. In 1625 he was appointed Principal of St Alban's Hall, being then Chancellor of the dioceſe of Oxford, and afterwards made Judge of the High Court of Admiralty by K. Charles I. *(d)*. He had a conſiderable ſhare in drawing up the Reaſons of the Univerſity of Oxford againſt *the Solemn League and Covenant, and Negative Oath* in 1647 *(e)*. However he ſubmitted to the parliament-viſitors the following year, by which means he held his Principality and Profeſſorſhip during the uſurpation, and in 1653 was appointed by Cromwell, then Lord Protector, to be one of the delegates in the famous caſe of Don Pantalion Sa, brother to the Portugueſe ambaſſador, who, on the 22d of November that year, had killed an Engliſh gentleman in the New Exchange within the liberties of Weſtminſter [*A*]. Upon this occaſion our author wrote

(a) Ath. Oxon. vol. II. col. 255.

(b) Wood's Faſti Oxon. vol. I. col. 196.

(c) Id. col. 414.

(d) Ath. Oxon. vol. 2. ubi ſupra.

(e) He drew up the law-part. See the article of Bp Sanderſon.

[*A*] *The Portugueze ambaſſador's brother killed a gentleman, &c.*] The following account of this matter (1) was written at that time. This night, Nov. 22, was a great mutiny at the New Exchange in the Strand, ſuch as hath ſcarce ever been the like. The buſineſs, upon the beſt information that I can have from thoſe who were preſent in part of it, and have conferred with others upon the whole, is this. On Monday night, which was the night before, three of the Portugal ambaſſador's family, whereof his brother was one, being at the New Exchange, and talking in French, ſpake of ſuch diſcourſe of tranſactions of ſome Engliſh affairs, which Colonel Gerhard, Sir Gilbert Gerhard's brother, who underſtood the French tongue, hearing, told them very civilly, that they did not repreſent the ſtories they ſpoke of right; whereupon one of the Portugals gave him the lye. Upon that they began to joſtle, and all three fell upon Colonel Gerhard, and throwing him down, got upon him; but tho' he be but a little man, yet he threw him off that was upon him, and ſo was buſtling with him a good while. There were ſome gentlemen there, but not knowing who it was they ſo aſſaulted, never meddled with them; and yet one of the Portugals with his dagger ſtabbed Colonel Gerhard in the ſhoulder, and hurt him ſore. But afterwards Mr Anſrizer ſpoke to the Portugals, that it was not civil nor handſome for ſo many to fall upon one, three to one being very unequal; and endeavoured to pull one of them off, and ſo perſuade them to ceaſe, and thereby he came to ſee who it was they had aſſaulted; and finding it to be Colonel Gerhard, whom he knew well, and ſeeing them ſtill purſue their rage upon him, he drew to relieve him; and after ſome buſtle, the Portugals went away, one of them having received a cut upon his cheek: and that night afterwards near twenty of their attendants came to the Exchange, and would have quarrelled with any body; and ſome cuffing there was by ſome, but not much more that night, for it was late, and they returned home.

On Tueſday night came about fifty of the Portugals again to the New Exchange, of which number were the ambaſſador's brother, and two Knights of Malta, and they were led on by a Portugal in buff, whom they called Captain, one well known to ſome in the Exchange, and they had generally double arms; all or moſt part of them ſwords and piſtols, and coats of mail or armour; ſome one thing, ſome another, to preſerve their bodies from ſwords entering upon them.

They had alſo two or three coaches that brought ammunition, in which were hand-grenadoes and bottles, and ſome little barrels of powder and bullets, and other neceſſaries, if occaſion was. They had alſo ſome boats ready to attend them at the water-ſide, if occaſion was for them alſo.

Thus they came with a reſolution to fall upon every Engliſh gentleman they ſhould find in or about the Exchange; and entering in with this equipage, the people were exceedingly frightened. For firſt came in the Captain in buff, who led them, and after him the Portugal ambaſſador's brother, and the Knights of Malta; and ſo the reſt, all with drawn ſwords, and in ſo furious a poſture, as if they intended to kill every man they met with that ſtood before them.

Hereupon the people fled into the ſhops in the Exchange to ſhelter themſelves, and all that did not ſo, they fell upon, tho' no man gave them the leaſt affront, yet they piſtolled, and cut and wounded many.

Mr Greneway (2), a gentleman of Gray's Inn, ſon to the Lord Greneway, was there with his ſiſter, and a gentlewoman whom he was to have married, who deſired them two to ſtand up in a ſhop, where he ſaw them ſafe, and they would have had him to have ſtaid with them; and he ſaid he would only go ſee what was the matter. But he was no ſooner parted from them, but immediately the word being given by the Portugal Captain in buff, which was *Saſa*, the word when they were to fall on; without any

(1) Extracted from a relation of it in the 10th vol. of Lord Somers's tracts, p. 65. & ſeq.

(2) The Portugal miſtook him for Mr Gerhard, who was condemned for high treaſon, in conſpiring the death of the Lord Protector, and was beheaded on Tower-hill the ſame day with the Portugal ambaſſador's brother. Salmon's chronol. hiſtorian. ad an. 1654.

wrote his celebrated piece, intituled, *Solutio quæſtionis de legati delinquentis judice competente* [*B*], which was printed in 1657, 8vo. Upon the death of Dr Gerard Langbaine the

any affront offered towards them, one of them piſtolled him, and ſhot him in the head, and he is dead of his wounds; and many others they have dangerouſly wounded. Colonel Mayo had twelve upon him at once, yet drew his ſword, and fought with them as long as he was able to hold his ſword in his hand, which being cut, he was forced to let his ſword fall; and then they cut and wounded him in many places. Mr Thomas Howard, Mr Carter, and divers others, were wounded paſſing.

The Horſe at the Meuſe had taken the alarm before they retired, and returning home paſſing by the Meuſe, ſome of the horſe moving towards them, ſome of them diſcharged piſtols towards the horſe, and the reſt ran home to the ambaſſador's houſe; but the horſe-guards took ſome of them, and carried them into the Meuſe, and ſent word thereof to the Lord General, and a party of horſe purſued them, and beſet the ambaſſador's houſe; and Commiſſary General Whalley ſent into the ambaſſador, acquainted him with this horrible attempt and bloody murder committed by his followers, and ſhewed ſome they had taken priſoners, and required the chief of the reſt of them to be delivered into the hands of juſtice, which the ambaſſador was loth to do; but ſeeing he could not baffle them to ſtop the courſe of juſtice, in ſo horrible a bloody buſineſs as that had been, he delivered up his brother, and one of the Knights of Malta, and ſome others, ſuch as they had information were chief, and promiſed to ſecure the reſt to be forthcoming, any of them, when they ſhould be demanded. After which the ambaſſador made his addreſs to the Lord General, and chiefly for his brother; but his Excellency told him it did concern the public, and therefore his addreſs muſt be to the parliament and council of ſtate. It is ſuch a horrible buſineſs, that his Excellency would not meddle with him in it. The Portugals that are in cuſtody, are priſoners at St James's, and the buſineſs is under examination before the council.

Accordingly the following order was made by them. The council of ſtate taking notice of the tumultuous and barbarous actings at the New Exchange in the Strand, in the county of Middleſex, upon the 21ſt and 22d of November laſt paſt, the ſame being accompanied with the drawing of ſwords, diſcharging of piſtols, and ſuch other high miſdemeanors, as are ſcarce to be paralleled by the actings of any perſons living under the protection of a civil government, and which in the effects thereof produced not only a very great and notorious violation of the public peace, but alſo the murdering of one, and aſſaulting, wounding, and affrightning of many others of the people of this nation, purſuing their ordinary callings and occaſions; and foraſmuch as the ſaid Exchange is a place of public reſort and trade, the council have therefore thought it neceſſary hereby to declare their reſentment of thoſe proceedings, and their juſt diſpleaſure againſt the ſame; and as they intend vigorouſly to proſecute the offenders, ſo to the intent the like evils may be the better prevented in time to come, they do hereby ſtrictly require and charge, that no perſon or perſons, of what quality ſoever, do preſume at the ſaid Exchange, or any other the like public place, to occaſion, encourage, or abet any tumultuous meetings, or hazard a breach of the civil peace, or drawing there, or in any other ſuch place, any ſword, or other weapon, diſcharging, preſenting, or bearing any gun or piſtol, or firing of powder in grenadoes, or any otherwiſe whatſoever. Of which command it will be expected, that all perſons whatſoever take notice, and demean themſelves accordingly, upon peril of being reputed and dealt withal as diſturbers of the public peace; whereof a very ſtrict account ſhall be taken: and all juſtices of the peace, and other public miniſters, are required carefully to perform their duties in this behalf, as alſo to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to prevent and reſtrain all immodeſt and unhandſome demeanors of ſuch as ſhall reſort to the ſaid Exchange, that ſo no juſt cauſe of offence may be given to ſober minds, nor any thing there acted diſhonourable to religion, or the nation.

[*B*] *Solutio quæſtionis, &c.*] In the preface having given a ſhort account of the fact, which he calls a baſe murder, he proceeds thus: The moſt eminent Lord Protector, teſtifying a juſt concern both for the blood of an Engliſh ſubject, and the pretended privilege of an ambaſſador, conſulted the moſt eminent profeſſors, both of the Roman and civil law, how ſuch a barbarous murder might be puniſhed; but theſe diſagreeing among themſelves, his Highneſs thought fit to leave the deciſion of this affair to a court of delegates, conſiſting of the chief juſtice, and two other judges, the ſame number of gentlemen (3), and three doctors of the civil law. When the ambaſſador's brother, and the other offenders were brought before this court, he, who was ſuppoſed by ſome to be a colleague in the embaſſy, vaunted there, that he was the King's ambaſſador, and ſubject to the juriſdiction of no one elſe; but producing the King of Portugal's letters, all that appeared from them was, that the King intended in a little time to recall his brother, and to give him a commiſſion to manage his affairs in England. This being judged inſufficient to prove him an ambaſſador, he was, without any further regard to the privilege of that character, ordered, as well as the reſt, to plead to the indictment; and accordingly pleaded not guilty. But witneſſes appearing, and relating the whole matter of fact upon oath, they were all convicted, and condemned to die. The ambaſſador's brother having been diſcovered in an attempt to make his eſcape, was afterwards executed, together with an Engliſh ſervant of his. The author of a book, intituled, *De jure et judicio inter gentes* (4), being one of the civilians preſent at this trial, and who, in the caſe of puniſhing an ambaſſador, ſeems to agree with Hugo Grotius, as he does in many other caſes, has thought it worth his while, in an affair of ſuch importance, to examine further what is more agreeable to the *law of nations*. To this purpoſe, he carefully read over all the authors he could meet with on this ſubject, diligently obſerving what they had borrowed from others; and having faithfully collected, digeſted, and conſidered the arguments for and againſt the immunity of an ambaſſador, obſerving that thoſe againſt the opinion of Grotius were weaker than thoſe which were for it, he made no ſcruple of ſubmitting his own thoughts and obſervations to the examination of the public, being fully ſatisfied, that the immunity of an ambaſſador, as determined by Grotius, has the greateſt tendency to preſerve peace and commerce between princes and ſtates; and that if it be received under thoſe limitations which he has ſettled, it can never deceive or injure the ſafety and government of the prince. Dr John Owen, who as has been ſeen was made Dean of Chriſtchurch by Cromwell, being in conſequence thereof Vice-chancellor of the univerſity, when this book was written; our author ſubmitted it to him for his approbation and licence to print it at the univerſity preſs; in anſwer to which that learned gentleman, deſervedly the boaſt of the ſect of Independents, returned the following elegant letter in Latin, the language of Dr Zouche's book.

'Diſſertationem tuam V. C. de legati delinquentis judice competente magna cum voluptate, neque utilitate minore perlectam non ſine maximis quas agere poſſum gratiis, quod me eam legendi beneficiis afficere volueris, tibi remitto. Cum enim ob nullam aliam rationem, me aliquid in jure gentium intelligere putem, quam quod opera tua quæ eruditis omnibus ubique probantur, mihi mirifice placeant; quo poſſim arctiori vinculo probari? Etenim natura ſumus ad φιλαυτίαν proni, lubentiſſime faveri ſuſtinemus. Cum vero quanti ſit in arduis iſtiuſmodi negotiis, quibus rerum humanarum momenta penſitantur, veritatis luce perfundi; iniquus forſan non ſum æſtimator, inde vero quali me ornaſti beneficiis conjicere poſſis. Grotium ſane tuum ego virum ſummum, atque extra omnem ingenii aleam poſitum, ſemper judicavi. Quamvis enim in nonnullis religionis capitibus, iiſque graviſſimis, ab eo diverſiſſime ſentio, in omni tamen literatura, præſertim juris omnis naturalis, gentium, et civilis Romanorum cognitione, eum ultra humanitatem pœne ſapuiſſe nemo libentius concedet. Hiſce rebus quicquam ei ſimile eſſe vix credo. Quin

(3) Or rather, noblemen. In the original the words are, *totidem de gente nobilium.*

(4) This piece of our author's was publiſhed in 1650. See the complete liſt of his works in Rem. [*D*].

the ſame year, being perſuaded to offer himſelf a candidate againſt Dr Wallis for the place of Cuſtos Archivorum to the Univerſity, he was obliged by the iniquity of the times to yield to the ſuperior intereſt of his competitor [*C*]. Upon the reſtoration of K. Charles II.

‘ vero ejus ſententia de legati delinquentis judice competente mihi antea nota, et probata, cum tu eam acumine, judicio, eruditione hyperaſpiſte Grotiano dignis, ornate et dilucide expoſueris, multiſque inſuper novis argumentis munitam, objectionibus liberatam, variis exemplis ornatam dederis; uti in iſtis pleno ſapis pectore, cordatis omnibus tandem omni ex parte ſit ſatisfacturum nullus dubito. Inter eos, ideo qui authores tibi ſunt librum hunc ſuper ea re exaratum, in lucem proferendi, ita ut ad doctorum manus perveniat, nomen meum lubens profiteor, atque pro ratione officii quod hic loci incumbit, eum typis mandari permitto.

‘ Tuus JOH. OWEN.

10 Martii,
1656.

‘ Vice Can. OXON.’

In Engliſh thus:

‘ Sir,

‘ I have read your diſſertation concerning the proper judge of an ambaſſador, that tranſgreſſes the laws of the country where he reſides, with great ſatisfaction and benefit; and I give you my heartieſt thanks, that you did me the favour of an opportunity to peruſe it: and I ſhould have had no other reaſon to imagine, that I have any knowledge in the law of nations, than that all your works, which have the approbation of the learned every where. wonderfully pleaſe me; could a greater obligation be laid upon me? For all mankind are ſubject to ſelf-love, and we are very ready to nouriſh any good opinion we have conceived of ourſelves. Seeing therefore I am not an utter ſtranger, of what moment it is in arduous affairs of this kind, to penetrate into their true ſtate, and ſet them in due light, you may from thence eaſily gueſs, what a favour you have done me. I have always indeed looked upon your author Grotius to be a very great man, and almoſt incomparable; and tho' in ſome very weighty points of religion, his ſentiments and mine are vaſtly different, yet nobody is readier to allow him, in a manner, to have excelled all mankind in all ſorts of literature, and eſpecially in his profound knowledge of the laws of nature and nations, and of the Roman civil law; I can ſcarce think that ever any body came up to him in that reſpect. But foraſmuch as I was not before unacquainted with and approved of his judgment concerning the competent judge of a foreign miniſter, who tranſgreſſes the law of the country where he reſides; and ſeeing you have explained it with that perſpicuity, judgment, and learning, as would have become Grotius himſelf; and over and above that, have ſtrengthened it with many new arguments, cleared many objections that might be raiſed againſt it, and illuſtrated the whole with various examples, as all theſe ſhew your ability on the ſubject, I make no manner of doubt, but all impartial men of all ſides will be ſatisfied with it; and therefore I am very ready and deſirous this work ſhould be made public for the benefit of the learned; and I do hereby, by virtue of my office, licence the printing of it.

‘ Who am,

‘ Yours, JOHN OWEN.

March 10,
1656.

‘ Vice-Chan.’

It appears from this treatiſe, that if the Portugal ambaſſador's brother could have produced any ſufficient proof of his being appointed by that King a colleague in the embaſſy, the plea which he made of his privilege on that account would have been admitted as valid by our author, who wrote this piece expreſly in defence of the opinion of Grotius concerning an ambaſſador's immunity in all criminal caſes whatſoever. The Doctor likewiſe in this piece aſſerts the opinion he had before given upon that much controverted point, the juſtice of Queen Elizabeth's act in the death of Mary Queen of Scots in conſequence of a civil proceſs, which he determined to be unjuſt and contrary to the privilege of a ſovereign Prince. See his words. ‘ If a Prince maintains his royal dignity in the dominions of another, for him to be ſubject to the juriſdiction of that country is by no means agreeable to the old maxim, that one equal has no command over another. What men thought of the death of Mary Queen of Scots may be ſeen in Camden, and which of thoſe is his opinion I have ſhewn in another treatiſe. As to the aſſertion,’ proceeds he, ‘ that ſovereigns would be in a bad condition if other Princes were allowed to plot their deſtruction in their own dominions, 'tis anſwered, that ſuch a liberty is by no means allowed; but they may be proſecuted in an open war, agreeably to the law of nations: And if it appears better to inflict immediate puniſhment upon a King that is taken in a foreign country plotting againſt the ſtate, it ſuits better with the law of nations to proclaim war againſt them, and declare them open enemies; and then one may ſafely kill them without waiting for any judicial proceſs (5).’ Here we ſee that our learned civilian only diſapproves the act of Queen Elizabeth in putting her ſiſter Queen to death, as being done in purſuance of a judicial proceſs, at the ſame time expreſly approving the fact of her death conſidered abſolutely, by chalking out another manner of compaſſing it, according to which Mary might have been killed ſafely by the law of nations without waiting for any judicial proceſs. In the ſame opinion he likewiſe approves of the Biſhop of Roſs's anſwer to Burleigh, concerning the immunity of ambaſſadors (6); and obſerves, that though Burleigh told him, that neither the privileges of ambaſſage, nor the teſtimonials of the public faith could protect ſuch ambaſſadors as were traitors to the publick, but they were ſubject in criminal caſes [penalibus actionibus teneri] yet nothing more was done to the Biſhop, than that being ſent to the Tower, he was confined there cloſe priſoner for two years, and then ordered to leave the kingdom. Beſides, continues he, the Queen's counſel ſeems to have laid but little ſtreſs upon the opinions of thoſe lawyers, ſince afterwards in a caſe of the like nature they conſulted Hottoman in France, and Alberic Gentilis, an Italian then in England, about Mendoza the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who both agreed, that an ambaſſador, tho' a conſpirator, muſt not be put to death, but his principal was to be conſulted according to the former, and himſelf be ſent away according to the latter. He afterwards proceeds to conſider among others the opinion of Conrad Brun, the author of the *Queſtio vetus & nova*, That the right which ambaſſadors have of not being violated is to be ſecured only to thoſe who behave themſelves honourably in their ambaſſy, which, ſays he, depends upon the words of Theodatus to Juſtinian's ambaſſadors, the weight whereof he examined, and the authority of the civil law in this point (7); and in proceeding obſerves, that when the *Engliſh* civilians gave their anſwer about the *Biſhop of* Roſs, this Brun was the only author that had writ upon the ſubject, with whom they ſeem to agree in that they think an ambaſſador, who raiſes rebellion againſt the Prince he is ſent to, forfeits his privileges by the Roman civil law. The reſt of their anſwer, continues he, that ſuch an ambaſſador is likewiſe obnoxious to puniſhment, is impertinent to the queſtion, whether he may be puniſhed as an enemy, but may be underſtood of puniſhing him by driving him out of the kingdom. In concluſion he maintains with Grotius, that ambaſſadors are abſolutely free from civil laws and ſtatutes; and that although by the law of nature an ambaſſador deſerves to be puniſhed, yet the law of nations muſt determine where and by whom he is to be puniſhed; ſince *juſtice muſt be done in a juſt manner* (8).

[*C*] *Yield to his competitor.*] It ſeems the conteſt was warm among the friends of the competitors on each ſide. For this we need look no further than to a piece publiſhed in 1658 by the well known Henry Stubbe, entituled, *The Savilian Profeſſor's caſe ſtated, together with the ſeveral reaſons urged againſt his capacity of ſtanding for the publick office of Antiquary in the*

(5) Cap. iv.

(6) Cap. vii.

(7) Viz. l. 12. c. De Dignitatibus. l. 17. § in Criminalibus, c. eod. tit.

(8) Ch. xii. & xiii.

II. he was reinſtated in his poſt of Judge of the Admiralty, and was alſo made one of the Commiſſioners for regulating the Univerſity, but did not ſurvive that year, expiring at his lodgings in Doctors Commons March 1, 1660. His corpſe was interred in the church of Fulham in Middleſex, near the grave of his eldeſt daughter, ſometime the wife of Will. Powell, alias Hinſon, Eſq; Mr Wood obſerves (*f*), ‘ that he was an exact artiſt, a ſubtle logician, expert hiſtorian, and for the knowledge in and practiee of the civil law the chief perſon of his time, as his works [*D*] much eſteemed beyond the ſeas (where ſeveral of them are reprinted) partly teſtify. He was ſo well verſed alſo in the ſtatutes of the Univerſity, and controverſies between the members thereof and the city, that none after Twine's death (*g*) went beyond him. As his birth was noble, ſo was his behaviour and diſcourſe; and as he was perſonable and handſome, ſo he was naturally ſweet, pleaſing, and affable. The truth is, there was nothing wanting but a forward ſpirit for his advancement, but the interruption of the times which ſilenced his profeſſion, would have given a ſtep to his riſe, had he been of another diſpoſition.’ After his death Dr Timothy Baldwin, Fellow of All Souls College, publiſhed a poſthumous piece of his, intituled, *Juriſdiction of the Admiralty aſſerted againſt Sir Edward Coke's Articuli Admiralitatis, in the 22d chapter of his Juriſdiction of Courts.* Lond. 1663. 8vo. which went through ſeveral editions.

(*f*) Ath. Oxon. vol. II. col. 255.

(*g*) Bryan Twine, author of the Antiquitatis Academiæ Oxonienſis Apologia. Oxon. 1608. againſt Dr Caius.

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univerſity of Oxford, which are enlarged and vindicated againſt the exceptions of Dr John Wallis: wherein the writer obſerves, that the famous Dr Richard Zouche, who had been an aſſeſſor in the Chancellor's court for near thirty years or more, and was verſed in the ſtatutes, liberties, and privileges of the Univerſity, did upon great intreaties ſtand for the ſaid place of Antiquary or *Cuſtos Archivorum*; but he being eſteemed a royaliſt, Dr J. W. was put up and ſtood againſt him, though altogether uncapable of that place, becauſe he was one of the Savilian profeſſors, a Cambridge man, and a ſtranger to the uſages of the Univerſity. At length, by ſome corruption, or at leaſt connivance of the Vice-chancellor, and perjury of the ſenior proctor Byfield, Wallis was pronounced elected; wherefore Stubbe, who was an eye and ear-witneſs of all that had paſſed, wrote the ſaid book.

[*D*] *His works.*] Though ſome of theſe have been already mentioned in the courſe of this memoir, it will not be amiſs to lay before the reader a view of them all together in the following complete liſt of them. I. A poem compoſed in his youth, intitled, *The Dove, or certain paſſages of Coſmography*. Lond. 1613. 8vo. II. *Elementa Juriſprudentiæ, definitionibus, regulis, & ſententiis ſelectioribus Juris Civilis illuſtrata*. Oxon. 1629. 8vo. 1636. 4to. Lugd. Batav. 1652. 16°. Amſtel. 1681. 12mo. III. *Deſcriptio Juris & Judicii Feudalis, ſecundum conſuetudines Mediolanæ & Normanniæ, pro introductione ad Juriſprudentiam Anglicanam*. Oxon. 1634. 1636. 8vo. IV. *Deſcriptio Juris & Judicii Temporalis, ſecundum conſuetudines feudales & Normanicos*. Oxon. 1636. 4to. V. *Deſcriptio Juris & Judicii Eccleſiaſtici, ſecundum Canones & Conſuetudines Anglicanas*. Oxon. 1636. 4to. Theſe two laſt were reprinted with Dr Mocket's tract *De Politia Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ*. Lond. 1683. 8vo. VI. *Deſcriptio Juris & Judicii Sacri, ad quam leges, quæ ad religionem & piam cauſam reſpiciunt, referuntur*. VII. *Deſcriptio Juris & Judicii Militaris, ad quem leges, quæ rem militarem & ordinem perſonam reſpiciunt, referuntur*. VIII. *Deſcriptio Juris & Judicii Maritimi, ad quem leges, qui navigationem & negotiationem maritimam reſpiciunt, referuntur*. Theſe three laſt were printed in one volume. Oxon. 1640. 4to. & Lug. Batav. & Amſtelodam 1652. in 16°. IX. *Juris & Judicii Fecialis, ſive juris inter gentes & quæſtionem de eodem explicatio*. Oxon. 1650. 4to. X. *Caſes and Queſtions reſolved in the civil law*, Oxon. 1652. 8vo. XI. *Solutio Quæſtionis de Legati delinquentis Judice competente*. Oxon. 1657. & Lond. 1717. 8vo. XII. *Eruditionis ingenuæ ſpecimina, ſcilicet Artium, Logicæ Dialecticæ, & Rhetoricæ, nec non Moralis Philoſophiæ, M. T. Ciceronis definitionibus, præceptis & ſententiis, illuſtrata*. Oxon. 1657. XIII. *Quæſtionum Juris Civilis Centuria, in decem claſſes diſtributa*. Oxon. 1660. 8vo. Lond. 1682. 12mo. the 3d edit. XV. *The Juriſdiction of the Admiralty of England aſſerted, againſt Sir* Edw. Coke's *Articuli Admiralitatis, in the 22d chapter of his Juriſdiction of Courts*. Lond. 1663. in a large 8vo. publiſhed by Dr Timothy Baldwin, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. There is alſo aſcribed to Dr Zouche, An anonymous piece, intituled, *Specimen Quæſtionum Juris Civilis, cum deſignatione authorum*. Oxon. 1653. 4to.

P

FINIS.

THE SUPPLEMENT TO BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA.

A.

This memoir is taken from the account of his life prefixed to the third volume of his Sermons.

ABERNETHY [JOHN], an Iriſh Preſbyterian divine, who made a diſtinguiſhed figure there in the preſent century, was the ſon of Mr Abernethy, a diſſenting miniſter in Coleraine, by his wife the daughter of ——— Walkinſhaw, of Walkinſhaw in Renfrewſhire in Scotland. He was born at Coleraine, October 9, 1680, and after continuing under the direction of his parents nine years, was ſeparated from them in 1689. His father being ſent by the clergy of his ſect to ſollicit ſome public affairs for them at London, his mother, in the tumults occaſioned by the inſurrection of the Iriſh (*a*), withdrew from her houſe to Derry, and left this ſon with a Relation at Ballymenagh [*A*], who, in the general confuſion, determined to remove to Scotland, and having no opportunity of conveying the child to his mother, carried him thither [*B*]. He was put to a grammar-ſchool in that kingdom, where he continued three years: after which he returned to his father's family, then fixed in Coleraine; and being put to ſchool there, made ſo quick a proficiency, that he was thought fit for the univerſity at the age of thirteen, and accordingly was ſent to Glaſgow college in Scotland. Here having taken the degree of maſter of arts, he inclined to the ſtudy of phyſic; but, by the advice of his friends, applied himſelf to divinity; in purſuance of which, he went to Edinburgh, and was ſome time under the care of the celebrated Profeſſor Campbell. Upon his return home, he proſecuted his ſtudies with extraordinary diligence and ſuch ſucceſs, that he was ſoon taken notice of by the preſbytery of Route, of which his father was a member, and under their direction went through the uſual trials as a candidate for the miniſtry, and was licenſed to preach before the age of twenty-one. In June 1701, he had an invitation to preach in the diſſenting congregation at Antrim, which was then vacant, and the people, on hearing him, expreſſed an inclination to call him to the paſtoral charge; but he deſigned, before he ſettled any-where, to ſpend ſome time in Dublin. He preached in ſeveral congregations in that city, particularly in that of Wood-ſtreet, from which he received an invitation to ſtay ſome time with them, in the deſign of chuſing him into the paſtoral office, in conjunction with the famous Mr Boyſe (*b*);

(*a*) This inſurrection was made by the partizans of King James II. General Hiſt. of England.

(*b*) See more of this gentleman below, in the article of Mr Samuel Boyce the Poet.

[*A*] *His mother left him with a relation at Ballymenagh.*] By this means he eſcaped the fatal calamities of the ſiege of Derry (1), in which Mrs Abernethy loſt all her other children.

(1) See ſome account of this ſiege in Admiral Leake's article, p. 294. Rem. [F] Vol. V.

[*B*] *He was carried into Scotland.*] On his way thither, diverting himſelf at Belfaſt with a ſervant who attended him on the bridge that joins that town to the county of Down, they had continued a conſiderable time upon the bridge, when young Abernethy caſting his eyes upon ſomething which catched his fancy at a diſtance, ſuddenly ran to it, and the moment he removed, the arch on which they were ſtanding fell down. This otherwiſe trifling circumſtance is inſerted, becauſe mentioned by the writer of his life as a particular act of Providence exerted in his favour; a remark which ſurely had been better unnoticed, or at moſt advanced problematically. To deny the exerciſe of a particular providence in the Deity's government of the world is certainly impious, yet nothing ſerves the cauſe of the ſcorner more than an incautious forward zeal in determining the particular inſtances of it.

but his father's advice (not diſagreeable to his own inclination) determined him to return to the north, where he received an unanimous call from the congregation at Antrim; and he was about to be ordained there, when his father died [*C*], by whoſe deceaſe Coleraine becoming vacant, preſented a call thither to the ſon; whereupon a conteſt ariſing between that and Antrim, the matter was referred to the general ſynod, who gave their deciſion in favour of Antrim, where Mr Abernethy was ordained Auguſt 8, 1703. Soon after this, he entered into matrimony with Miſtreſs Suſan Jordan, whoſe father was dead, and her mother married again to Dominic Heyland, of Caſtleroe, Eſq; Our paſtor was very happy in this marriage. At the ſame time, he was highly pleaſed with his ſituation at Antrim; his congregation was his delight, and he applied himſelf to the paſtoral care with great diligence; he became admired for his public performances; his heart was much ſet upon the acquiſition of knowledge, for which purpoſe, he was very induſtrious in reading, and was the principal life of a ſociety of miniſters and candidates in thoſe parts, who met occaſionally to ſpend a day in uſeful converſation, and to communicate their ſtudies; an excellent deſign, and which was carried on for ſeveral years, not without conſiderable ſucceſs. In the mean time, our paſtor grew into great eſteem with gentlemen of the firſt rank in the neighbourhood; the vivacity of his ſpirit and true wit, corrected ſo as to be perfectly conſiſtent with the gravity of his character, an exact probity of manners and good-breeding, recommended him to the beſt company, and his abilities ſoon became the ſubject of general obſervation among his brethren of the miniſtry; by his wiſdom and diſcretion, his candor and modeſty, he ſoon became one of thoſe whom the ſynod moſt depended on in the management of their public affairs, and had a very large ſhare in it. As a preacher, he was conſidered as their greateſt ornament. When he had been nine years at Antrim, he had a call, in 1710, to Derry; but the general ſynod determined his continuance at Antrim. In 1712, he loſt his wife, by whom he had one ſon and three daughters: her death made a deep impreſſion upon his mind, he loved her with the greateſt tenderneſs, and lamented the loſs in a retirement from the world, as much as his buſineſs would permit. In this retirement he began to write a diary of his life [*D*]. In 1716, in purſuance of a project which had been long in his thoughts, he applied himſelf to labour in the inſtruction and converſion of the native Iriſh in the neighbourhood of Antrim, who were almoſt univerſally of the Popiſh perſuaſion. In this deſign he went frequently to an adjacent place called Loughſide, inhabited by the greateſt numbers of them, inviting them to public lectures, appointed in the moſt convenient places, for their attendance. And the large ſhare he had in the management of the public affairs relating to his ſect calling him frequently abroad, his brethren of the miniſtry in the neighbourhood gave their aſſiſtance in this attempt upon the native Iriſh; which, however, proved of little avail. In 1717, he was invited to Uſher's Quay in Dublin, and was appointed to go thither by the general ſynod, in 1718; but he now diſputed their power, and after ſpending three months at Dublin, by way of trial or probation, he returned to Antrim, with a fixed reſolution to continue there. Here commenced the principal æra of his life. Some time before the attempt to remove him to Dublin againſt his inclination, Dr Hoadly, then Biſhop of Bangor, publiſhed his famous ſermon upon the nature of Chriſt's kingdom (c), which no ſooner came to the hands of Mr Abernethy, than he peruſed it with extraordinary delight; the principles advanced in it were entirely agreeable to his own ſentiments; he had long eſpouſed the cauſe of what he called *Chriſtian liberty*, againſt the powers claimed and exerciſed in his church by the conſtitution of it, and was looked upon as the head of the party which eſpouſed the cauſe of that liberty. However, in the debates which the ſynod now fell into upon that point, he maintained the character of wiſdom and candor with thoſe who were his fierceſt antagoniſts. Yet the diſputes increaſed, till the fire kindled into a flame, which broke out at length into ſuch a diviſion as bordered upon a ſchiſm, of which our divine was the chief promoter. In this ſpirit he even proceeded to ſet up a ſociety of miniſters at Belfaſt, who refuſing to ſubſcribe their aſſent to ſome articles of the general ſynod, were called *Nonſubſcribers* [*E*]. Upon this account he was left by great num-

(c) See that prelate's article in this Supplement.

[*C*] *His father died.*] He had a very high eſteem of the old gentleman, and not undeſervedly, according to the character given of him; that he was an eminent Chriſtian, a learned divine, a laborious paſtor, a man of deep penetration and ſolidity of judgment, of ſtrength of memory almoſt unparalleled, an extenſive public ſpirit, a delicate taſte for correct ſpeaking and writing, and a man of a polite behaviour and addreſs.

[*D*] *He began to write a diary of his life.*] He ſet about it in February 1712-13. It begun with a review of his paſt life, even from his cradle, and contained ſix large volumes in 4to, in a very ſmall hand, and very cloſe written. Such diaries muſt needs be of excellent ſervice to the writers in many reſpects. But I know not whether the practice has fallen into neglect, among the Engliſh clergy eſpecially, perhaps from the malicious uſe made by Mr Prynne of Archbiſhop Laud's diary, in the proſecution of that prelate.

[*E*] *They were called Nonſubſcribers.*] The principles of theſe Nonſubſcribers were, (1.) That Chriſt has determined and fixed the terms of communion in the church, ſo that all Chriſtians who comply with theſe have a right to communion; and that no men or ſet of men have power to add any other terms than thoſe ſettled in the Goſpel. (2.) It is not neceſſary as an evidence of being in the faith, that the candidates for the miniſtry ſhould ſubſcribe the *Weſtminſter Confeſſion*; and that no uninſpired form of articles ſhould be put among the terms upon which they ſhall be admitted, and that no church has a right to impoſe ſuch ſubſcription. (3.) To call upon men to make declarations concerning their faith, upon the penalty of cutting them off from communion, if they ſhould refuſe it, and this merely upon ſuſpicion and jealouſy, while the perſons required to purge themſelves by ſuch declarations cannot be fairly convicted upon evidence, of error, or hereſy, is to exerciſe an exorbitant and arbitrary power, and a real Inquiſition.

bers of his congregation at Antrim, who differed from him in theſe principles, yet he never did or ſaid any thing which ſpoke reſentment againſt them. When things grew near to an open rupture, he wrote a paper intituled *Seaſonable Advice to the contending Parties in the North* [*F*], which was publiſhed with a preface by Weld, Boyſe, and Chappin, miniſters at Dublin: where there happening about this time to be a vacancy in the congregation of Woodſtreet, he was invited thither, and accepted the call. Some time after his ſettling at Dublin, he entered into a ſecond marriage with Miſs Boyd, daughter of John Boyd, Eſq; of Rathmore near Antrim, a gentlewoman of character and fortune, and he lived with her in all the tenderneſs of conjugal affection till his death. In 1733, the Iriſh Preſbyterians, upon the encouragement given them by ſome perſons of diſtinction in England, with an aſſurance that a conſiderable number of members of parliament would appear on their ſide, purpoſed to move the houſe of commons for a bill to repeal the ſacramental teſt act. When this project was firſt formed, Mr Abernethy wrote a paper to promote it [*G*], but the deſign miſcarried. He had for ſome years been attacked at times with the gout, which at laſt ſeizing his head, diſmiſſed him from all his labours in this world, in December 1740. He died as he had lived, with great firmneſs and tranquillity of mind, in the 60th year of his age. The writer of his life hath ſummed up his character as follows. He was remarkable for a ſprightly wit, the moſt diſtant poſſible from levity. He had naturally a negligent air, and the appearance of inattention in company; but ſtrangers were often ſurprized to hear him reaſon juſtly, and ſpeak with exactneſs, when he had appeared to them very little to mind what was ſaid. He had an extraordinary talent for reproof, his manner being animated with the greateſt tenderneſs of ſpirit for the reproved perſon, and with the warmeſt zeal for God. His mind was formed for friendſhip, he entered into the true ſpirit of it, had a great reliſh for thoſe ſtrict intimacies, in which only the true joys of it can be taſted, and he was impenetrable in keeping the ſecrets of his friends. He took much pleaſure in directing and aſſiſting young candidates in their ſtudies, inclining them to think for themſelves, and to take them off all undue regard to authority. His whole conduct was guided with the greateſt prudence. He was exactly temperate, rather indeed to a fault abſtemious, and ſometimes he took pleaſure in the greateſt ſeverities of virtue. His paſſions were naturally ſtrong, but under correction; there is no part of his character more to be admired than this. In prayer he had a fluency of thought and expreſſion, which ſeemed inexhauſtible: it appears from his diary that he took much pains to perfect himſelf in this gift. Beſides the pamphlets mentioned, we have four volumes in 8vo. of his Sermons in print [*H*], and he left ſeveral others in MS.

[*F*] *He wrote ſeaſonable advice*, &c.] The deſign of this piece is to prove, that there ought to be no breach of communion among Proteſtant Diſſenters in the North, on account of the late different ſentiments and practices relating to the ſubſcription of the *Weſtminſter Confeſſion*. This paper was anonymous; but being anſwered by one Maſterton, our author replied in a book to which he prefixed his name, acknowledging himſelf to be the author of *The Seaſonable Advice*. To this reply there was a Preface by the ſame miniſters before-mentioned at Dublin, and with this the controverſy between him and Maſterton ended.

[*G*] *He wrote a paper to promote it.*] In this paper our divine undertook to ſhew the unreaſonableneſs and injuſtice of all ſuch laws, as upon account of mere difference in religious opinions and uſages, ſhould incapacitate ſubjects, in other reſpects perfectly qualified for it, to ſerve their country in places of power and truſt, and abridge them of thoſe privileges and advantages to which, as free-born ſubjects, they have a natural and juſt title; and particularly that in the preſent ſtate of Ireland, the continuing to reſtrain Proteſtants by ſuch legal incapacities, is a great error in politics, and cannot but weaken the Proteſtant intereſt, and, in conſequence of that, be of real diſſervice to the government. This paper was written with much ſpirit and ſtrength of argument, ſays the writer of his life, but the deſign miſcarried (2).

[*H*] *Four volumes of his ſermons in print.*] After he came to Dublin, he preached a ſet of ſermons on the Divine attributes, one volume of which, upon the exiſtence and natural perfections of the Deity, was publiſhed by himſelf, and another upon the moral attributes was publiſhed after his death by his friends. In handling this ſubject, he avoided all metaphyſical niceties, and choſe the method of proving God's exiſtence and attributes from his works; upon which account, the late Archbiſhop of Canterbury Dr Thomas Herring was much pleaſed with the ſermons, and recommended them to the careful peruſal of young clergymen, eſpecially ſince the attacks upon the moral attributes had been then lately made by an aſſuming writer (3) [Lord Bolingbroke]. Theſe ſermons were printed at Dublin, and reprinted at London. The other two volumes upon practical ſubjects came out in 1748, printed at London, all in 8vo.

(2) See the General Hiſtory of England.

(3) See that Archbiſhop's article in this Supplement.

ARBUTHNOT [John], an eminent phyſician, a diſtinguiſhed wit, and a polite writer, was deſcended from the noble family of his name in Scotland (*a*), and the ſon of a clergyman of the Epiſcopal church there. He was born at Arbuthnot in Kincairdinſhire, near Montroſs, not long after the reſtoration of King Charles II. and being ſent at a proper age to the Univerſity of Aberdeen, applied himſelf diligently to all the academical ſtudies, particularly to that of phyſic, in which he took his Doctor's degree. But his father not complying with the Revolution, forfeited his church preferment, and retiring for a ſupport to a ſmall eſtate of his own (*b*); the ſons embracing the ſame political principles, found themſelves under a neceſſity of ſeeking their fortune abroad. The Doctor, however, travelled no further than to London, where, it is ſaid, he was entertained in the houſe of Mr William Pate, a woollen-draper, and preſently took up the buſineſs of teaching the mathematics (*c*), for which he was very well qualified. He was probably thus employed, when Dr Woodward's *Eſſay towards a natural hiſtory of the earth* came out, in 1695, which containing ſuch an account of the univerſal deluge, as was obſerved by our mathematical maſter to be irreconcileable to juſt philoſophical reaſonings upon the principles of that ſcience, he drew up *An Examination of Dr Woodward's account of the Deluge*, &c. *with a compariſon between Steno's*

(*a*) See an account of this family in the Britiſh compendium.

(*b*) Communicated by Mr George Ouchterlone, a Scotch merchant in London.

(*c*) From the information of Dr N. Munckley, C. M. L. S.

Steno's philoſophy and the Doctor's, in the caſe of marine bodies dug up out of the earth, by J. A. M. D. *with a letter to the Author, concerning* An Abſtract of Agoſtino Scylla's book *on the ſame ſubject, printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, by W. W. F. R. S.* [*A*]. This learned piece, which came out 1697, 8vo. laid the firſt ſtone of our author's literary fame, and it received no inconſiderable increaſe not long after by his *Eſſay on the uſefulneſs of the Mathematics to young ſtudents in the univerſities*, publiſhed in 1700, 8vo. In the mean time, as phyſic was his profeſſion, ſo the practice of it was principally in view; and though he met with no great encouragement at firſt, yet after a while his buſineſs increaſed to a competency, and his ſkill therein, added to a good-natured wit and extenſive learning, introduced him by degrees into good eſteem and favour with the learned and polite part of the world, inſomuch that he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society [*B*] on St. Andrew's day 1704 (*d*), and on the 30th of October the following year he was ſworn phyſician extraordinary to Queen Anne, by her Majeſty's ſpecial command, in conſideration of his good and ſucceſsful ſervices performed as phyſician to his Royal Highneſs (*e*) [Prince George of Denmark] [*C*], in conſequence whereof, upon the indiſpoſition of Dr Hannes, he was appointed fourth phyſician in ordinary to the Queen in November 1709 (*f*), and was admitted a Fellow of the College of Phyſicians April 27, 1710 (*g*). He was choſen ſecond cenſor September 30, 1723, and was made an elect October 5, 1727, on the 18th of which month he pronounced the Harveian oration †. He had now been ſome time intimately connected with the celebrated triumvirate Swift, Pope, and Gay, and it was not long before he added a new luſtre to that conſtellation of wits by the brightneſs of his own. Early in the year 1714, he engaged with Pope and Swift in a deſign to write a ſatire on the abuſe of human learning in every branch, which was to have been executed in the humorous manner of Cervantes (*h*), and a conſiderable progreſs was made therein before the Queen's demiſe; but that fatal incident put a ſtop to all further proſecution of this noble project, at leaſt in a regular way. The diſaſter ſunk deeply upon our author's ſpirits, and, to divert his melancholy, he made a trip to Paris (*i*). His ſtay there was, however, very

[*A*] *W. W. R. S. S.*] Theſe initial letters denote William Wotton: an extraordinary genius, who was born at Wrentham in Suffolk, Auguſt 13, 1666, and having received the firſt part of his education from his father (1), was admitted of Catharine hall, Cambridge, in April 1676, before he was ten years old (2), commenced A. B. in 1679, and the winter following was introduced by Dr Burnet, then preacher at the Rolls, to moſt of the learned men in London, and aſſiſted Dr William Lloyd Biſhop of St Aſaph in making a catalogue of his books. Upon his return to Cambridge, he was made a fellow of St John's college (3), and in 1691 commenced B. D. which year Biſhop Lloyd gave him the ſinecure of Llandrillo in Denbighſhire (4). He was afterwards made chaplain to the Earl of Nottingham then ſecretary of ſtate, who preſented him to the rectory of Middleton Keynes in Buckinghamſhire in 1693, and to whom he dedicated his *Reflections upon antient and modern learning*, publiſhed at London in 1694, 8vo. the next year he ſubjoined his abſtract of Scylla's book abovementioned, being then parſon of Aldbury, near Guildford, in Surry *. In 1701 came out his *Hiſtory of Rome*, intended for the uſe of the Duke of Glouceſter (5), pupil to Biſhop Burnet, who gave him a prebend of Saliſbury in 1705. The ſame year he publiſhed at London, in 8vo. *A Defence of the Reflections upon antient and modern learning, in anſwer to the objections of Sir* William Temple *and others, with Obſervations upon* The Tale of a Tub; and the next year he publiſhed a ſermon, under the title of *The rights of the clergy in the Chriſtian church aſſerted* (6). In 1707, Archbiſhop Teniſon conferred upon him the degree of D. D. and in 1708 he drew up a ſhort view of Dr Hickes's *Theſaurus*. In the mean time, being a careleſs oeconomiſt, he was obliged for debt, in 1714, to retire into South Wales, where he drew up Memoirs of the cathedral churches of St David's and Llandaf (7). Here alſo he wrote his *Miſcellaneous diſcourſes relating to the traditions and uſages of the Scribes and Phariſees*, which were printed in 1718, in five volumes 8vo. The next year he publiſhed a diſcourſe on the omniſcience of the Son of God, as an undoubted argument of his Divinity (8). After his return from Wales, he preached in Welſh, in 1722, before the Britiſh ſociety, and was perhaps the only Engliſhman that ever attempted to preach in that language. The ſame year came out at Eyſenach his *Account of the life and writings of Mr Thomas Stanley*, author of the lives of the antient philoſophers, intituled, *Elogium Stanleii, auctore Gulielmo Wottono, Th. D.* (9). In 1723, he printed in *Bibliothæca Literaria* an account of the Carnarvon record, containing an account of ſeveral antient Welſh tenures; this record had ſome relation to the Welſh laws, which he was then tranſlating, but was not publiſhed till 1730, four years after his death, which happened February 13, 1726. He was interred at Buxtead in Eſſex, where there is a ſhort inſcription put over his grave, written in Latin by himſelf. His *Diſcourſe concerning the confuſion of languages at Babel* came out in 1730, 8vo. as did alſo the ſame year his *Advice to a young Student, with a method of ſtudy for the four firſt years*. He was the author alſo of the following anonymous pamphlets: (1.) *A letter to Euſebia*, in 1707. (2.) *The caſe of the preſent convocation conſidered*, in 1711. (3.) *Reflections on the preſent poſture of affairs*, in 1712. (4.) *Obſervations on the ſtate of the nation*, in 1713. (5.) *A vindication of the Earl of Nottingham*, in 1714. He had a prodigious memory, had all his learning in ready caſh, and he knew moſt of the languages from eaſt to weſt.

[*B*] *Choſen Fellow of the Royal Society.*] He communicated a paper to that ſociety, which is printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, N° 328. intituled, *Of the regularity of the births of both ſexes.* Among the innumerable footſteps, ſays he, of Divine Providence to be found in the works of nature, there is a very remarkable one to be obſerved in the exact ballance that is maintained between the numbers of men and women; for, by this means, it is provided that the ſpecies may never fall away or periſh, ſince every male may have its female, and of a proportionable age. This equality of males and females is not the blind effect of chance, but Divine Providence works it for a good end; which he proceeds to demonſtrate upon the principles of the doctrine of chances, from tables of births from 1629 to 1710; and having thence ſhewn that Providence brings forth more males than females, and that almoſt in a conſtant proportion, he obſerves it to be neceſſary, from the greater deſtruction of males from wars, &c. He is of opinion that this equality in the births has no other probability from phyſics, than that in our firſt parents ſeed there were at firſt formed an equal number of both ſexes. He draws this ſcholium from the whole, that it follows from hence that polygamy is contrary to the law of nature and to the propagation of the human race.

[*C*] *Phyſician to his Royal Highneſs.*] We have received the following account ‡ of this particular encomium given him by her Majeſty; viz. that the Prince being taken ſuddenly ill at Epſom, was recommended to the Doctor, who happened to be upon the ſpot, and his Highneſs recovering by his aſſiſtance, employed him always after as his phyſician.

ſhort,

(*d*) Communicated by Dr Birch, from the regiſter of that ſociety.

(*e*) Boyer's life of Queen Anne, p. 203.

(*f*) Id. p. 403.

(*g*) Dr Munckley, from that college regiſter.

† Ab eodem.

(*h*) See Pope's article, under remark [*W*].

(*i*) Probably in hopes of finding ſome conſolation in the company of his brother, then a banker at Paris.

(1) Viz. Henry Wotton, B. D. Rector of Wrentham, well ſkilled in the oriental languages.

(2) See the college regiſter.

(3) From that college regiſter.

(4) He repeated exactly one of this Biſhop's ſermons to his Lordſhip's great ſurprize.

* From an original letter of his in Muſ. Thorſb. dated thence, Nov. 18, 1696. In the ſame collection is alſo a letter, dated April 7, 1697, to Mr Evelyn, for ſome communications about Mr Boyle, whoſe life Mr Wotton then intended to write.

(5) The Duke died before it was finiſhed.

(6) This was the firſt anſwer to Dr Tindal's memorable performance.

(7) At the requeſt of Browne Willis Eſq; See his article.

(8) It was on Mark xiii. and 32. but his interpretation of that text is cenſured by Dr Waterland, in his Moyle's lectures, p. 272. as an *hard ſuppoſition.*

(9) It was publiſhed by Mr Herman, at the end of *Scevola Sammarthanus's Elogia Gallorum.*

‡ From Mr Ouchterlone's family.

ſhort, he returned to London in the beginning of September [*D*], and having loſt his former reſidence at St James's, he took a houſe in Dover-ſtreet (*k*); and we find him the next year jointly with Pope aſſiſting Gay in the comedy of *Three Hours after Marriage* [*E*], which was brought upon the ſtage in 1716 (*l*). In the beginning of the ſeaſon at Bath in 1722, he went thither apparently for his health, being accompanied by one of his brothers of a very ſingular character, who was lately come to England [*F*]. In 1727, he publiſhed *Tables of antient coins, weights, and meaſures*, in 4to [*G*]. He continued to practiſe his faculty with good reputation, not without diverting his leiſure hours in writing papers of wit and humour, among which his *Epitaph* upon the infamous Colonel Chartres [*H*] ſhines *velut inter ignes Luna minores*; this came out in 1731. And the next year the Doctor contributed his mite towards detecting and puniſhing the ſcandalous frauds and abuſes that had been carried on under the ſpecious name of the CHARITABLE CORPORATION [*I*]. The ſame

(*k*) See his letter to Pope dated September 7, in Pope's Letters, N° LXXXV. 4to edition.

(*l*) See Gay's article, in remark [*I*].

[*D*] *He returned in the beginning of September.*] His view in this excurſion will perhaps be gueſſed at from a paſſage in Pope's letter, welcoming him home, dated September 7th, which that friend begins thus: I am glad your travels delighted you, improve you I am ſure they could not. You are not ſuch a youth as that you can run about with a King of ſixteen, and, which makes him ſtill more a child, a King of Frenchmen.

[*E*] *The Three hours after marriage.*] To what has been already ſaid in Mr Gay's article, of the ill ſucceſs of this play, which was damned the firſt night of acting (10), we ſhall add that in the prologue to the Sultaneſs, ſpoken by Mr Wilks, was this fling at it:

Such were the wags who boldly did adventure
To club a farce by tripartite indenture;
But let them ſhare their dividend of praiſe,
And wear their own fool's-cap inſtead of bayes.

Arbuthnot revenged this jeſt by an ironical ridicule of it, in his pamphlet, intituled, *Gulliver decyphered*, &c. Our author, no doubt, had this miſadventure upon his mind, when he wrote the ironical pamphlets upon Dr Woodward, here after-mentioned (11).

[*F*] *His brother, of a ſingular character.*] In a letter, dated September 1, 1722, to Mr Digby, then at Bath, Mr Pope ſpeaks thus of him: 'Dr Arbuthnot is going to Bath, and will ſtay there a fortnight or more, perhaps you would be comforted to have a ſight of him, whether you need him or not. I think him as good a doctor as any man for one that is ill, and a better doctor for one that is well. He would do admirably for Mrs Mary Digby: ſhe needed only to follow his hints to be in eternal buſineſs and amuſement of mind, and as active as ſhe could deſire. But, indeed, I fear ſhe would out-walk him, for (as Dean Swift obſerved to me the very firſt time I ſaw the Doctor) *He is a man that can do every thing but walk* (12). His brother, who is lately come into England, goes alſo to the Bath, and is a more extraordinary man than he, worth your going thither on purpoſe to know him. The ſpirit of philanthropy, ſo long dead to our world, is revived in him: he is a philoſopher all of fire; ſo warmly, nay ſo wildly in the right, that he forces all others about him to be ſo, too, and draws them into his vortex. He is a ſtar, that looks as if it were all fire, but is all benignity, all gentle and beneficial influence. If there be other men in the world that would ſerve a friend, yet he is the only one, I believe, that could make an enemy ſerve a friend.'

[*G*] *His tables of coins,* &c.] In ſo arduous an undertaking, our author may be eaſily pardoned if ſome errors have eſcaped his diligence. Several of theſe were obſerved and corrected by Dr Benjamin Langwith, in a piece publiſhed in 1747, 4to. which was ſubjoined to a ſubſequent edition of the Tables in 1754; and in the hiſtory of the works of the learned, is a remark of a conſiderable error, which is ſaid to have miſled Mr Spelman, in reducing the Greek to the Engliſh meaſures. However, the pleaſantneſs of his wit ſhews itſelf even in this mathematical piece: for inſtance, he obſerves that the polite Auguſtus Cæſar, the Emperor of the world, had neither any glaſs in his windows, nor yet ſo much as a ſhirt to his back *; thoſe uſes of glaſs and linen were, it ſeems, unknown in his time.

[*H*] *His epitaph upon Colonel Chartres*] It runs thus:

Here continueth to rot
The body of Francis Chartres,
Who, with an indefatigable conſtancy
And inimitable uniformity of life,
Perſiſted,
In ſpite of age and infirmities,
In the practice of every human vice,
Excepting prodigality and hypocriſy:
His inſatiable avarice exempting him from the firſt,
His matchleſs impudence from the ſecond.
Nor was he more ſingular in the undeviating pravity
Of his manners, than ſucceſsful
In accumulating wealth:
For, without trade or profeſſion,
Without truſt of public money,
And without bribe-worthy ſervice,
He acquired, or more properly created
A miniſterial eſtate.

He was the only perſon of his time
Who could cheat without the maſk of honeſty,
Retain his primæval meanneſs when poſſeſſed of
Ten thouſand a year (13):
And having daily deſerved the gibbet for what he did,
Was at laſt condemned to it for what he could not do.

Oh indignant reader!
Think not his life uſeleſs to mankind,
Providence connived at his execrable deſigns,
To give to after-ages a conſpicuous
Proof and example
Of how ſmall eſtimation is exorbitant wealth
In the ſight of God, by his beſtowing it on
The moſt unworthy of all mortals (14).

This Francis Chartres was infamous for all manner of vices (15). When he was an enſign in the army, he was drummed out of the regiment for a cheat. He was next baniſhed Bruſſels, and drummed out of Ghent, on the ſame account. After a hundred tricks at the gaming-tables, he took to lending money at an exorbitant intereſt, and on great penalties, accumulating premium, intereſt, and capital, and ſeizing to a minute when the payments became due. In a word, by a conſtant attention to the vices, wants, and follies of mankind, he acquired an immenſe fortune. His houſe was a perpetual bawdy-houſe. He was twice condemned for rapes, and pardoned, but the laſt time not without impriſonment in Newgate, and large confiſcations. He died in Scotland in 1731, aged ſixty-two. The populace at his funeral raiſed a great riot, almoſt tore the body out of the coffin, and threw dead dogs, &c. into the grave along with it.

[*I*] *The Charitable Corporation.*] Mr Arbuthnot, a banker at Paris, and a Nonjuror, ſent a letter to his brother the Doctor in London, and another to Sir Robert Sutton, conveying a letter from John Angelo Belloni, banker at Rome, to the committee of parliament, then ſitting upon this affair. Arbuthnot's letter was neither ſigned with his name, nor written with his own hand; and is as follows:

'Dear Brother,

'The incloſed packet, I believe, will ſurprize you. I had the orders to get Thompſon † arreſted tranſmitted to me by you from Sir Robert Sutton, and can't

(10) Under the article of Gay.

(11) See remark [*O*].

(12) The Doctor was tall and very corpulent at this time, and by conſtitution aſthmatical.

* The Tables, &c. p. 153. In this laſt remark he follows Mr Perrault.

(13) He was worth about 7000 l. a year in land, and 100,000 l. in money.

(14) Pope's Works, by Warburton, Vol. III. p. 219.

(15) As his character was ſingular in every other reſpect, ſo was it in this, that he was a coward who had his fighting days, would ſuffer himſelf to be banged and baſketted for refuſing a challenge one day, and the next day accept another, and kill his man.

† Thompſon was the warehouſe-keeper to the Corporation, and had embezz'ed the pledges in his cuſtody for the uſe and ſervice of the Pretender, who, however, is ſaid to have rejected the unhallowed offering with diſdain. London Mag. for 1732.

ſame year he publiſhed his excellent eſſay concerning *The nature of Aliments* [*K*], *the choice of them*, &c. which was followed next year by *The effects of air on human bodies.* He was apparently led to the ſubjects of theſe treatiſes by the conſiderations of his own caſe an aſthma, which gradually increaſing with his years, became ſhortly after deſperate and incurable. Under this affliction he retired, in 1734, to Hampſtead, in the view of finding ſome ſmall relief; whence, in anſwer to a kind inquiry of Mr Pope, he gave that friend a particular account of his diſtemper and hopeleſs condition [*L*], which carried him off February 27, 1734-5 (*m*), at his houſe in Cork-ſtreet, Burlington-gardens. He was in all reſpects a moſt amiable perſon, and well deſerving of that juſt character which is drawn of him by the elegant pen of Lord Orrery, who, in his life of Swift (*n*), having given an account of the Dean, concludes his letter thus: "I ſhould have been much pleaſed in finding ſome of Dr Arbuthnot's in this collection." Although he was juſtly celebrated for wit and learning, there was an excellence in his character more amiable than all his other qualifications, I mean the goodneſs of his heart. He has ſhewed himſelf equal to any of his cotemporaries in humour and vivacity, and he was ſuperior to moſt men in acts of humanity and benevolence: his very ſarcaſms are the ſatirical ſtrokes of good-nature; they are like ſlaps on the face given in jeſt, the effects of which may raiſe a bluſh, but no blackneſs will appear after the blows: he laughs as jovially as an attendant upon Bacchus, but continues as ſober and conſiderate as a diſciple of Socrates. He is ſeldom ſerious, except in attacks upon vice, and then his ſpirit riſes with a manly ſtrength and noble indignation. His epitaph upon Chartres, allowing one ſmall alteration (*o*), is a complete and maſterly compoſition in its kind. No man exceeded him in the moral duties of life, a merit ſtill more to his honour, as the united powers of wit and genius are ſeldom ſubmiſſive enough to confine themſelves within the limitations of morality. In his letter to Pope, written as it were upon his deathbed, he diſcovers ſuch a noble fortitude of mind at the approach of his diſſolution, as could be inſpired only by a clear conſcience, and the calm retroſpect of an uninterrupted ſeries of virtue. The Dean laments the loſs of him with a tender ſincerity: The death of Mr Gay and Dr Arbuthnot, ſays he to Mr Pope, goes near my heart; their living would have been a great comfort to me, although I was never to have ſeen them; like a ſum of money in the bank, from which I ſhould receive the leaſt annual intereſt, as I do from you, and have done from Lord Bolingbroke (*p*). The Doctor was a married man, and had children, particularly two ſons Charles and George; the former of whom was educated at Chriſtchurch college in Oxford [*M*], and entered into the church; and George is ſtill living, and is firſt ſecondary in the remembrance-office under Lord Maſham, a place of very conſiderable profit, and is poſſeſſed of an ample fortune beſides, which he enjoys with a fair reputation. The Doctor ſhared the like fortune with his friends Pope and Swift, in having ſeveral brats illegitimately fathered upon him, among which the famous romance of *Robinſon Cruſoe* is

(*m*) Hiſtorical Regiſter.

(*n*) Letter XX.

(*o*) Putting the the word *permitted* inſtead of *connived at*.

(*p*) Swift's Works, Vol. I. Letter LXX.

'can't ſend the execution of them a better way, than to addreſs them to Sir Robert Sutton again. Suppoſe Mr Belloni's letter to the committee will be delivered in time, or if the committee is diſſolved, you ſee the ſaid letter is addreſſed to him. I hope this favour will be of uſe to the ſufferers, and ſo to the nation; my intention at leaſt is, that it ſhould be ſo. I go in two days to Bourbon, but my ſon will convey my letters to me till I come back, which will be in about a month or five weeks. My Lord Waldgrave is at Compeigne, ſo I could not communicate this to his Lordſhip without loſing a poſt. I came from Rouen here yeſternight, and the poſt goes early away this morning. I can only add by love and ſervice to the family, and that I am, with great affection,

'Dear Brother,

'Yours (16).'

(16) From a news-paper called The Briton, No 131. for June 1, 1732.

[*K*] *A treatiſe of the nature of Aliments*, &c.] This performance is of greater extent and latitude than what the title promiſes: for though the Doctor has thought fit to call it only particular rules of diet, yet whoever reads it will find, that in many, if not in moſt diſeaſes, beſides the cauſes and diagnoſtics, he has often given us the method of cure by medicine as well as diet.

[*L*] *He gave a particular account of his caſe.*] This excellent letter is in theſe terms:

'I little doubt of your kind concern for me, nor of that of my Lord Bathurſt. I have nothing to repay my friends with at preſent but prayers and good wiſhes. I have the ſatisfaction to find that I am as officiouſly ſerved by my friends as he that has thouſands to leave in legacies, beſides the aſſurance of their ſincerity. God Almighty has made my bodily diſeaſe as eaſy as a thing of that nature can be. I have found relief ſometimes from the air of this place; my nights are bad, but many poor creatures are worſe. As for you, my good friend, I think, ſince our firſt acquaintance, there has not been any of thoſe little ſuſpicions or jealouſies which often affect the ſincereſt friendſhip, I am ſure not on my ſide. I muſt be ſo ſincere as to own, that though I could not help valuing you for thoſe talents which the world praiſes, yet they were not the foundation of my friendſhip. They were quite of another ſort, nor will I at preſent offend you by enumerating them. And I make it my laſt requeſt, that you will continue that noble diſdain and abhorrence of vice, which you ſeem naturally endued with, but ſtill with regard to your own ſafety, and ſtudy more to reform than chaſtiſe, though the one can't be effected without the other.

'Lord Bathurſt I have always honoured for every good quality that a perſon of his rank ought to have. Pray give my reſpects and kindeſt wiſhes to the family. My veniſon ſtomach is gone, but I have thoſe about me and often with me, who will be very glad of his preſent. If it is left at my houſe, it will be tranſmitted ſafe to me.

'A recovery in my caſe, and at my age, is impoſſible; the kindeſt wiſhes of my friends is an *Euthanaſia*. Living or dying I ſhall be

'Yours.'

[*M*] *Charles was bred at Chriſtchurch.*] He was a ſtudent there, but before he took the degree of A. M. which was June 26, 1731, he had the misfortune of being engaged in a duel with one Mr Ferrabee of the ſame college, who he was jealous of in ſome love affair: but as Ferrabee was the aggreſſor, and Arbuthnot lay ſometime in a languiſhing condition, from the wound he received, before he recovered it was with difficulty he could get into orders, or obtain his degree (17). Mr Charles Arbuthnot wrote a copy of verſes, addreſſed to the King, which are prefixed to the

(17) Communicated by Joſeph Smith Eſq; LL. D. of Oxford.

is worth mentioning [*N*]. In 1751, came out, in two volumes 8vo. *The miſcellaneous works of the late Dr Arbuthnot*; to which is prefixed the following advertiſement: The contents [*O*] of theſe volumes, and what is inſerted in Swift's miſcellanies, comprehend all the pieces of wit and humour of this admirable author. Theſe miſcellanies, which according to the title page were printed at Glaſgow in Scotland, contain ſome tracts aſcribed to our author, without any good foundation.

the firſt edition of his father's *Tables of coins, weights, &c.* *

[*N*] *Robinſon Cruſoe*] This romance was written in ſo natural a manner, and with ſo many incidents, that it was judged for ſome time to be a true ſtory. It was the delectable offspring of the teeming brain of Daniel de Foe, a writer famous in his generation for politics and poetry, eſpecially the former. He was bred an hoſier, which calling he ſoon quitted, as greatly beneath him, and became one of the moſt enterprizing authors that any age has produced. In this employ he took the party againſt the miniſtry, and ſpawned a numberleſs iſſue of pamphlets, moſt of which are now obſolete and forgotten, as well as their particular ſubjects. At length, like ſome others of the like ſtamp, he wrote himſelf into the pillory (18), which he mounted unabaſhed and undiſmayed, and in a ſpirit of defiance even wrote a piece, which he called *A hymn to the pillory.* He died at his houſe at Iſlington in 1731, having always enjoyed ſuch a competency as ſeldom failed of ſetting him from the uſual neceſſities of mercenary ſcriblers. The work by which he is moſt diſtinguiſhed as a poet, is his *True-born Engliſhman*, a ſatire occaſioned by a poem intituled, *Foreigners*, written by John Tutchin eſq. It had a prodigious run, beſides paſſing through nine editions upon his own inſpection, it was twelve times pirated. Tutchin engaged in the cauſe of Monmouth againſt James II. and for a political piece wrote in that cauſe was ſentenced to be whipped through ſeveral towns in the weſt of England, and ſo ſeverely, that he petitioned the King to be hanged (19). They are both immortalized in the Dunciad by Mr Pope, in this diſtich:

Earleſs on high ſtood unabaſh'd De Foe,
And Tutchin flagrant from the ſcourge below.

[*O*] *The contents.*] Theſe are, (1.) An eſſay on the uſefulneſs of mathematical learning, &c. (2.) An account of Mr John Ginglicut's treatiſe concerning the altercation or ſcolding of the antients. (3.) A learned diſſertation on dumpling, its dignity, antiquity, and excellence; with a word upon pudding: and many other uſeful diſcoveries of great benefit to the public. (4.) Gulliver decyphered (20): or, Remarks on a late book, intituled, Travels into ſeveral remote nations of the world, by Captain Gulliver; vindicating the reverend Dean, on whom it is maliciouſly fathered; with ſome probable conjectures concerning the real author. (5.) Critical remarks on Captain Gulliver's travels, by Dr Bentley. Publiſhed from the author's original manuſcripts. (6.) An account of the ſtate of learning in the empire of Lilliput, together with the hiſtory and character of Bullam the Emperor. Both copies faithfully tranſlated out of Capt. L. Gulliver's general deſcription of Lilliput, mentioned in ſixty nine of the firſt pages of his travels. (7.) The State Quacks; or, The political brothers: being a deſcription of the ſtrange occurrences of the preſent times. (8.) An account of the ſickneſs and death of Dr Woodward; alſo upon what appeared at the opening of his body: in a letter to a friend in the country. By Dr *Technicum*. (9.) The life and adventures of *Don Bilioſo de l'Eſtomac*, tranſlated from the original Spaniſh into French, and done from the French into Engliſh. With a letter to the college of phyſicians, anno 1719. (10.) The moſt wonderful wonder that ever appeared to the wonder of the Britiſh nation. Being an account of the travels of *Mynheer Veteranus* through the woods of Germany; and an account of his taking a moſt monſtrous ſhe bear and her foſter-ſon (21). To which is added, Viri humani, ſalſi, et faceti Gulielmi Sutherlandi multarum artium et ſcientiarum doctoris doctiſſimi diploma. Written by the copper farthing Dean. (11.) The manifeſto of Lord Peter. (12.) The devil to pay at St James's: or, A full and true account of a moſt horrid and bloody battle between M-d-m Fauſtina and M-d-m Cuzzoni; alſo of a hot ſkirmiſh betwixt Signor Boſchi and Signor Palmerino. Moreover, how Seneſino has taken ſnuff, and is going to leave the Opera, and ſing pſalms at Henley's Oratory. Alſo about the flying man, and how the Doctor of St Martin's has very unkindly taken down the ſcaffold, and diſappointed a world of good company. As alſo how a certain great lady is gone mad for love of William Gibſon the Quaker. And how the *wild boy* is come to life again, and has got a dairy-maid with child. Alſo about the great mourning, and the faſhions, and the alterations, and what not. With other material occurrences too many to inſert. (13.) An epitaph on a greyhound. (14.) Notes and memorandums of the ſix days preceding the death of a right reverend ———, containing many remarkable paſſages; with an inſcription deſigned for his monument, written in 1715. The contents of Vol. II. are, (1.) The maſquerade, a poem, inſcribed to C—t H-D-G-R. (2.) Harmony in an uproar: a letter to F—er—k H—d—l eſq; m——r of the O——a h—— in the Hay-market, from Hurlothrumbo Johnſon eſq; (22) compoſer extraordinary to all the theatres in G——t B—T—N, excepting that of the Hay-market, in which the rights and merits of both O——s are properly conſidered. Written in 1733. (3.) The hiſtory of John Bull, part III. containing many other curious particulars, and a faithful narrative of the moſt intereſting and important tranſactions of the worſhipful and antient family of the Bulls from Auguſt 1, 1714, to June 11, 1727. (4.) A ſupplement to Dean Swift's miſcellanies, by the author, containing, 1. A letter to the ſtudents of both univerſities, relating to the new diſcoveries in religion and the ſciences, and the principal inventors of them. 2. An eſſay upon an apothecary. 3. An account of a ſurprizing apparition October 20, 1722. (5.) A letter to the reverend Mr Dean Swift, occaſioned by a treatiſe ſaid to be written by him, intituled, A dedication to a great man concerning dedications, diſcovering, among other wonderful ſecrets, what will be the preſent poſture of affairs a thouſand years hence. By a ſparkiſh pamphleteer of Button's coffee-houſe. (6.) The congreſs of bees: or, A political remark on the bees ſwarmed at St James's. With a prognoſtication on that club from the Smyrna coffee houſe. Wherein are contained, 1. A ſurprizing ſtory of a ſwarm of bees, taken from a manuſcript in Greſham college, and ſuppoſed to be wrote by Sir John Mandeville. 2. A particular deſcription of hornets and waſps. Tranſlated from the works of that famous Roman ſatiriſt Petronius Arbiter. Together with ſeveral remarkable and intereſting actions. (7.) Kiſs my a—ſe is no treaſon: or, An hiſtorical and critical diſſertation upon the art of ſelling bargains. (8.) A ſermon preached to the people at the market-croſs of Edinburgh, on the ſubject of the *Union*, in 1706, while the act for uniting the two kingdoms was debating before the parliament there. With a preface by the editor, ſetting forth the advantages which have in fact accrued to the kingdom of Scotland by its union with England. (9.) An examination of Dr Woodward's account of the deluge, &c. All theſe tracts, except the firſt and laſt, as the reader will perceive, are ſo many ſpecimens (if genuine) of our author's wit in the ironical way; in alluſion to which, we find, in an account ſaid to be written by Dean Swift of his own death, theſe lines:

Arbuthnot's no more my friend,
Who dares to irony pretend,
Which I was born to introduce,
Refin'd it firſt, and ſhew'd its uſe.

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* The verſes are wrote with a good ſpirit of poetry, and were plainly inſerted as a teſtimony of the ſon's loyalty, for they have little or no particular relation to the ſubject of the father's work.

(18) The piece was intituled *The ſhorteſt way with the Diſſenters*, and levelled particularly againſt the church.

(19) Jacob's lives of the Poets.

(20) This piece ſets out with an ironical ridicule of the ſarcaſm upon our author, Pope, and Gay, in the prologue to the Sultaneſs, before-mentioned.

(21) This alludes to the wild boy named Peter, brought from Hanover by King George I. and put under the care of Dr Arbuthnot, with a ſalary of 400 l. per annum.

(22) See Byrom's article.

B.

BATES [William], an eminent Nonconformiſt divine, was born in November 1625, and after a ſuitable ſchool education, was ſent to Cambridge, admitted of Emanuel college, and from thence removed to King's, in 1644. He commenced A. B. in 1647, and applying himſelf to the ſtudy of divinity, he became a diſtinguiſhed preacher among the Preſbyterians: during the uſurpation, he was appointed vicar of St Dunſtan's in the Weſt, London (a), and joined with ſeveral other divines of the ſame ſect in preaching a morning exerciſe at Cripplegate church (b). Soon after the reſtoration, he was appointed chaplain to King Charles II. who gave him a mandate to the univerſity for the degree of D. D. to which he was admitted November 9, 1660. He was alſo offered the deanry of Coventry and Litchfield, and, it is ſaid, might have been afterwards raiſed to any biſhopric in the kingdom, if he would have conformed to the eſtabliſhed church, which he conſtantly refuſed, and upon that account was ejected from his vicarage of St Dunſtan's by the act of uniformity in 1662 (c); having been one of the commiſſioners at the conference in the Savoy in 1660, for reviewing the public liturgy, and aſſiſted in drawing up the exceptions againſt the Common Prayer. He had been likewiſe choſen on the part of the Preſbyterian miniſters, together with Dr Jacomb and Mr Baxter, to manage the diſpute againſt Dr Pearſon, Dr Gunning, Dr Sparrow, afterwards reſpectively Biſhops of Cheſter, Ely, and Norwich (d). He continued to exerciſe his function among the Preſbyterians; and in 1665, when what is called the *five mile act* was paſſed, he was one of thoſe miniſters who, not brooking the preſſure of that act, ſtudied how to take the oath enjoined by it [*A*] lawfully. Upon this occaſion, Dr Bates conſulted the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal Bridgman, who promiſed to be preſent at the next ſeſſions, and to declare from the bench, that by the words *endeavour to change the government in church*, was meant only *unlawful endeavour*. This explanation ſatisfied our Divine, who thereupon, with ſeveral others, took the oath. On the occaſion he wrote a letter to Mr Baxter; but that gentleman tells us, that all the arguments contained therein ſeemed to him not ſufficient to enervate the objections againſt taking the oath (e). Dr Bates bore an excellent character, and, beſides the Lord Keeper Bridgman, was honoured with the friendſhip of the Lord Chancellor Finch, the Earl of Nottingham, and Archbiſhop Tillotſon, who much eſteemed his learning and temper (f). In 1681, the Doctor publiſhed *Vitæ ſelectorum aliquot virorum, qui doctrina dignitate aut pietate inclaruerunt* [*B*], in 4to. dedicated to the famous though unfortunate Lord William Ruſſel, whoſe patriotiſm he therein greatly extols. In the latter part of his life he reſided at Hackney, near London, and died July 19, 1699, in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age. His funeral ſermon was preached by the celebrated Nonconformiſt Mr Howe (g). After his death came out, in one volume, his *Works, conſiſting of ſermons and diſcourſes on the moſt important ſubjects*.

(a) Calamy's account of miniſters ejected, &c. Vol. I. p. 73.

(b) The firſt printed ſermon of Dr Tillotſon was preached for him at this exerciſe, in September 1661. Tillotſon's life, by Birch, p. 19. 2d edit.

(c) Calamy, in his abridgment of Baxter, p. 516.

(d) Reliq. Baxterian. &c. lib. i. p. 12. 229. & 337.

(e) Ibid. part iii. p. 2. & ſeq.

(f) Ibid. p. 94. and Tillotſon's life, ubi ſupra, and his funeral ſermon by Mr Howe.

(g) Printed at London, 1699.

[*A*] *The oath was to this purpoſe.*] 'That it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatſoever, to take arms againſt the King; and that they abhorred the traiterous poſition of taking arms by his authority againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him, in purſuance of ſuch commiſſion; and that they would not at any time endeavour any alteration in the government of church or ſtate.' Thoſe, who refuſed this oath, were to be reſtrained from coming (except upon the high road) within five miles of any city or borough which ſent Burgeſſes to parliament; whence it came to be called the five mile act.

[*B*] *It is a collection of lives.*] Theſe lives were written by different perſons. The lives are divided into three claſſes; the firſt containing the lives of Princes, and men of ſuperior rank; in the ſecond claſs are included men of eminence in the church; and in the third thoſe diſtinguiſhed by their learning. So it is ſaid in the Acta Eruditorum for January 1683, p. 12. but no ſuch order of diviſion appears in the book itſelf, which now lies before me.

BATHURST [Ralph], a diſtinguiſhed wit, and a celebrated Latin Poet, was deſcended of an antient family (a), and was born at Howthorpe, a ſmall hamlet belonging to the pariſh of Theddingworth in Northamptonſhire, near Market-Harborough in Leiceſterſhire, anno 1620 (b). He received the firſt part of his education at the free-ſchool in Coventry (c), where his father ſeems to have reſided in the latter part of his life [*A*]. Here our

(a) Thoreſby's Leod. Ducat. p. 14 & 607.

(b) Regiſt. Trin. coll. Oxon.

(c) Three of his ſchool proved perſons of note. Holyoake, author of a learned dictionary; Dr Hen. Clark, preſident of Magdal. coll. and fellow of the college of phyſicians; and Dr Alleſtree, canon of Chriſtch. and provoſt of Eaton college. E cod. A. Wood MSS. in Muſ. Aſhmol. Dict. qu. ſub tit. *School notes.*

[*A*] *His father ſettled at Coventry*, &c.] His mother was Elizabeth Villiers, daughter and coheir of Edward Villiers, Eſq; of the ſame place. They had iſſue thirteen ſons (1), and four daughters. Six of the ſons loſt their lives in the ſervice of King Charles I. during the grand rebellion; the reſt, beſides one who died young, were Ralph (of whom we now treat) Villiers, Edward, Moſes, Henry, and Benjamin, father of

(1) Collins mentions only twelve, leaving out Edward, who ſurvived the rebellion. Life of Dr Bathurſt, p. 30.

our author made ſo quick a progreſs in the claſſics, that at the age of fourteen he was ſent to Oxford, and entered October 10, 1634, in Glouceſter hall, now Worceſter college (d), but was removed thence in a few days to Trinity college in the ſame univerſity (e), and probably placed under the immediate tuition of his grandfather Dr Kettel, then preſident [B], in whoſe lodging he reſided, and at whoſe table he had his diet, for two years. In this ſituation, his merit concurring, he was elected ſcholar of the houſe, June 5, 1637 (f), and having taken the degree of A. B. January 27th following (g), he was appointed fellow, June 4, 1640 (h). He commenced A. M. April 17, 1641 (i), and on March 2, 1644, conformable to the ſtatutes of his college, he was ordained prieſt (k) by Robert Skinner Biſhop of Oxford [C], and read ſome theological lectures in the college hall in 1649. Theſe, which he called *Diatribæ theologicæ, philoſophicæ, & philologicæ*, are ſaid to diſcover a ſpirit of theological reſearches, and an extenſive knowledge of the writings of the moſt learned divines (l); and he likewiſe kept his exerciſe for the degree of B. D. but did not take it. The confuſion of the times promiſing little ſupport or encouragement to the miniſterial function, he reſolved to follow the example of his friend Dr Willis (m), changed his propoſed plan, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of phyſic, and entering upon that line agreeably to the ſtatutes of the univerſity, he performed his exerciſe, and proceeded to accumulate the degrees in that faculty [D], June 21, 1654 (n). Before this time he had ſufficiently recommended himſelf as a perſon of competent ſkill in his new profeſſion (o); and he had not been long engaged in it, when he was employed in the ſervice of the ſtate, in the quality of phyſician to the ſick and wounded of the navy, which office he executed with equal diligence and dexterity, to the full ſatisfaction both of the ſea-commanders, and the commiſſioners of the admiralty. We find him ſoon after ſettled at Oxford, and practiſing phyſic in concert with his friend the famous Dr Willis [E], with

(d) Regiſt. Mat. Univ. Oxon. He was entered *Plebeii filius.*

(e) Ibid. in the note.

(f) Regiſt. Coll. Trin.

(g) Idem.

(h) Idem.

(i) Regiſt. Univ. Oxon.

(k) His deacon's orders don't appear.

(l) Warton's life of Dr Bathurſt, p. 34.

(m) See his article in this work.

(n) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 106.

(o) In the firſt lecture for his degrees, *De Reſpiratione*, he brings an example from this department. See Warton in Bathurſt's literary remains, p. 152.

of the preſent Lord Bathurſt, who was grandſon and heir of Edward Villiers, Eſq; and died ſeiſed of the manor of Howthorpe, &c. 26 June, 5 Hen. VIII. and was fifth ſon of Sir John Villiers, of Brookeſby, Knt. grandfather of Sir George Villiers, father of George Duke of Buckingham. George Bathurſt, who was the youngeſt ſon of Lancelot of Franks in Kent, had with his wife the manor of Howthorpe, where he ſettled (2). He died 1656, aged ſeventy-ſeven. He was buried with his wife in the church of Howthorpe, where there is a monument erected to their memory.

(2) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 289. edit. 2d, 1741.

[B] *Dr Kettel the Preſident.*] This gentleman had formerly married our author's grandmother Villiers, relict of Edward Villiers; and his father George Bathurſt had been educated in the ſame college, where he married in 1610 Elizabeth Villiers above-mentioned, then living with her mother and younger ſiſter in the Preſident's lodgings. George, at the time of his marriage, was worth 300l. a year, and all his children were very ingenious and proſperous in the world, and moſt of them handſome (3). Two of Ralph's brothers likewiſe, at the time of his admiſſion there, were members of that foundation. One was George, elected ſcholar June 6, 1626, fellow of the houſe June 8, 1634, an elegant ſcholar, and author of an oration ſpoken at the burial of George Allen, fellow of Trinity college, the famous mathematician and antiquary. He was created B. D. July 7, 1640, and died 1644, of a wound in his thigh, received in defending the garriſon of Faringdon in Berks againſt the rebels. The other was Edward, a ſcholar of the ſame houſe, his father's ſecond ſon. He died Nov. 1668, ætat. 54. being then Rector of Cheping Warden in Northamptonſhire, where there is a monument to his memory by his ſiſter and heir Judith, and a Latin inſcription, probably written by his brother Ralph. He was a perſon of ſingular learning and probity (4). He was nominated with Seth Ward as a candidate for the preſidentſhip in 1659 (5), and conſigned by his will, dated 1667, certain lands in Northamptonſhire to his college for charitable uſes, after the death of his ſiſter Judith. He likewiſe erected, at his own expence, the ſtatue of the founder of the ſaid college over the entrance into the hall in 1665. It appears that our author Ralph reſided in the lodgings, and took his diet at the table of Dr Kettel for about two years before his election into the foundation (6).

(3) Aubrey, MSS. lives in Muſ. Aſhmol. part i. N° 10. fol. p. 36. Cod. Aſhmol.

(4) He aſſiſted Wood in his account of Arthur Wilſon, who had been a fellow collegian with him about 1631. See Wood's article.

(5) Warton, p. 33. note (‡), from the college regiſter.

(6) Idem, p. 34. from papers communicated by the reverend Mr Pryce prebend of Wells.

[C] *Ordained prieſt by Biſhop Skinner.*] Divinity was the profeſſion to which he originally dedicated his life. Accordingly he performed the exerciſe for the degree of B. D. but did not take it, when Dr Duppa obſerves (7) that degree was not only diſuſed by moſt men, but generally abuſed; and the wearers of that holy badge contemned by the bad men in thoſe worſt of times, and rather kicked back, than ſet forward to any preferments.

(7) Duppa's letter to the college, dated May 2, 1661. See Coll. regiſter.

[D] *He accumulated his degrees in phyſic.*] However, while engaged in this profeſſion, he did not entirely diſclaim his clerical character. When Dr Skinner Biſhop of Oxford was deprived during the uſurpation, the parliament allowed him the revenues of his rectory of Launton near Burceſter in Oxfordſhire for the ſupport of himſelf and his family. Being releaſed upon bail from the Tower of London, to which he had been committed, as one of the twelve proteſting Biſhops, he retired to his living, and when occaſion offered, privately ordained ſuch ſtudents of Oxford as deſired epiſcopal ordination. On this buſineſs, in which it was dangerous to be concerned, Bathurſt frequently and readily aſſiſted his friend the Biſhop. He was now in prieſt's orders, and whenever any candidate ſolicited to be ordained, he privately applied to Bathurſt, who examined him, and appointed a day for meeting him at the Biſhop's houſe; at which time, under pretence of viſiting patients, he attended the ſolemnity at Launton, in which he officiated as Archdeacon. This ſervice he executed with the utmoſt fidelity and punctuality till the reſtoration (8); the ceremony was ſometimes performed in the chapel of Trinity college (9). Skinner, who had been tutor to Chillingworth at Trinity college, was ſuppoſed to be the only Biſhop who conferred holy orders during the ſuppreſſion of the church and hierarchy; and of whom it is likewiſe recorded, that immediately after the reſtoration, he ordained one hundred and three perſons at once in Weſtminſter Abbey (10).

(8) Warton, p. 36, 37.

(9) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. edit. 2. col. 906.

(10) Idem, col. 1158.

[E] *He joined Dr Willis.*] The friendſhip and eſteem with which Bathurſt regarded Willis, appears by the two mandates of *imprimatur*, which, when Vice-chancellor, he prefixed to the two parts of Willis's *Pharmaceutice Rationalis*; nor was Willis wanting in public teſtimonies of reciprocal regard to Bathurſt, to whom his diſſertation *De urinis* is addreſſed, as being the reſult of ſeveral converſations with him on that ſubject, undertaken by his advice, and publiſhed at his requeſt (11). Willis's anatomy of the brain was alſo ſubmitted to his inſpection and judgment. That elegance and purity, ſo celebrated in Willis's Latin diction, was greatly owing to the friendly aſſiſtance of Dr Bathurſt, in whoſe hand-writing there have been ſeen frequent corrections, and even large interlineations in the manuſcript copies of Willis's works, particularly of the *Pharmaceutice Rationalis*. While he continued a regular practitioner in phyſic, moſt of his motions ſeem to have been regulated, and his deſigns directed by Dr Willis. It appears that Bathurſt had been ſollicited by Aubrey to attend him on his travels, which, however agreeable or advantageous, was declined by Bathurſt, who alledged, that he could not leave his friend Willis, with whom he was ſo cloſely connected, and who was not likely to engage in the party (12). About 1651, we find him concerned with Dr Willis, Petty, and others, in the recovery of Anne Green, who has been already mentioned

(11) Preface to that diſſertation, p. 332. Lond. 1677, 12mo. and the laſt paragraph of the diſſertation itſelf.

(12) Warton, p. 41. from a collection of original letters, MSS. Muſ. Aſhmol. N° 15. fol. in Aſhmole's ſtudy, Vol. I.

with whom he regularly attended Abingdon market every Monday (*p*). To the ſtudy and practice he joined every branch of philoſophical knowledge; he attended the lectures of Peter Sthael the Chymiſt and Roſicrucian [*F*], who had been invited to Oxford by Mr R. Boyle, and was afterwards Operator to the Royal Society about 1662 (*q*). About the ſame time he had alſo a ſhare in forming the rudiments of that Society (*r*); and when it was eſtabliſhed, he was elected Fellow, and admitted Auguſt 19, 1663 [*G*]. While this Society was at Greſham college in London, a branch of it was continued at Oxford, and the original Society books of this Oxford department are ſtill preſerved there in the Aſhmolean Muſæum (*s*), where their aſſemblies were held. Their latter Oxford meetings were ſubject to regulations made among themſelves; according to which Dr Bathurſt was elected Preſident April 19, 1688, having been before nominated one of the members for drawing up articles February 1683-4 [*H*]. Hitherto we have viewed our author in the light of a phyſician and philoſopher; but in the mean time he ſeems to have been chiefly diſtinguiſhed as a claſſical ſcholar. At the univerſity acts in the collections of Oxford verſes, and on every public occaſion, when the ingenious were invited to a rival diſplay of their abilities, he appears to have been the moſt principal and popular performer. Upon the publication of Hobbes's treatiſe of *Human Nature*, &c. 1650, Bathurſt prefixed a recommendatory copy of Latin Iambics, written with ſo much ſtrength of thought, and elegance of expreſſion, that they moſt deſervedly and univerſally eſtabliſhed his character as a maſter of Latin poetry (*t*); and what was better, recommended him to the notice of the Duke of Devonſhire, the eldeſt ſon of Hobbes's patron (*u*), by whoſe intereſt he afterwards obtained the deanery of Wells. He had thought fit, by a temporary compliance, to retain his fellowſhip at Oxford, under the conditions of the parliamentary viſitation in 1648 (*v*). This ſtep was manifeſtly prompted by prudential motives: and upon the like principles, after the death of Oliver, whoſe power died with him, our Doctor procured a majority of the fellows of his college, in 1659, to elect Dr Seth Ward preſident [*I*], who was abſolutely diſqualified for it by the college-ſtatutes (*w*). After the reſtoration, it became prudent to re-aſſume the character of a clergyman, and return to his theological ſtudies. But his long and total attachments to philoſophical purſuits, ſeems to have entirely alienated his mind from divinity, at leaſt to have extinguiſhed all hope and ambition of ſucceeding in a ſtudy, which he had ſo long neglected; however, he entirely relinquiſhed his profeſſion of phyſic, and was made King's chaplain in 1663 (*x*). He was choſen preſident of his college September 10, 1664, and the ſame year he was married December 31, to Mary the widow of Dr John Palmer, warden of All Souls college, a woman of admirable accompliſhments (*y*). June 28, 1670, he was inſtalled Dean of Wells, procured, as before-mentioned, by the intereſt of the Duke of Devonſhire. In April 1691, he was nominated by King William and Queen Mary, through the intereſt of Lord Somers, to the biſhopric of Briſtol, with licence to keep his deanery and headſhip in commendam [*K*]. But he declined the acceptance of that valuable offer (*z*), from a perſuaſion that ſuch a preferment might too much detach him from his college, and conſequently prevent or interrupt the completion of thoſe improvements in its buildings, which he had already begun. An account of them is inſerted below [*L*].

Had

(*p*) Warton, p. 39.

(*q*) Wood's diary, by Hearne, p. 559.

(*r*) See Dr Wallis's article.

(*s*) Muſ. Aſhmol. MSS. 600 V. p. 23, 24.

(*t*) They are in his literary remains, publiſhed by Warton, p. 255, 256.

(*u*) William Cavendiſh, the firſt Duke of Devonſhire, the eldeſt ſon of Hobbes's patron William Cavendiſh, third Earl of Devonſhire.

(*v*) Several others, not out of diſloyalty, did the ſame thing. See Howel's and Langbain's articles.

(*w*) This was the more extraordinary, as our Doctor's own brother Edward was nominated a candidate together with Ward. See remark [*B*], and Athen. Oxon. Vol.II. col.827.

(*x*) He ſeems to have owed this to Seth Ward, by whoſe advice he reſumed his clerical profeſſion. Letter of his to Ward. Warton, p. 54, & ſeq.

(*y*) By this marriage he became poſſeſſed of an eſtate at Bampton Oxon. Id. part from the Doctor's will.

(*z*) Wood, ubi ſupra, ſays, he declined the biſhopric that he might be a benefactor to the college, and his church of Wells, to which laſt he gave 100l. in his life-time, and 100l. more by his will. Warton, p. 197.

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mentioned (13), and he prefixed a copy of verſes to the pamphlet, called *News from the Dead*; but that piece is attributed to our author by Denham through miſtake. It was written by one Richard Watkins, a ſtudent of Chriſtchurch, afterwards vicar of Ambroſden near Oxford, &c. (14).

[*F*] *He attended the lectures of Peter Sthael.*] Mr Wood's remark upon Locke's behaviour at theſe lectures has been already mentioned in that antiquary's article *. Nor was it diſconſonant to that philoſopher's manner on ſuch occaſions, who, though remarkably cautious and reſerved upon the ſubject of ſtate affairs, yet, in reſpect of arts and ſciences he was as remarkably inquiſitive, and ſufficiently converſible and communicative (15).

[*G*] *Elected a member of the Royal Society.*] His name does not appear in the catalogue of propoſed members made Nov. 28, 1660, but Feb. 6, 1660 (16). The members were directed to enquire whether Dr Bathurſt, with many others, deſired to be of the ſociety (17). This was before the royal charter was granted, July 15, 1662. He was appointed, March 30, 1664, one of the committee for improving and conſidering all mechanical inventions; and again, on the ſame day, for collecting all the phænomena of nature hitherto obſerved (18). Nov. 16, 1674, he communicated a relation of an extraordinary bleeding of a little child (19), and his name occurs in the letter book of the ſociety concerning an extraordinary caſe of fits, Oct. 11, 1685 (20).

[*H*] *He was nominated a member for drawing articles for the Oxford department.*] This ſeparate committee held at Oxford has not, I believe, been diſtinctly or circumſtantially mentioned in accounts of the Royal Society (21), of which it was an appendage. Dr Bathurſt's engagements at Oxford about this time prevented his attendance on the grand meetings at Greſham college, for the ſupport and advancement of which, however, he generouſly contributed ſeveral ſums of money at different times, and 10l. at his death (22).

[*I*] *He procured the election of Seth Ward*, &c.] When Ward's predeceſſor W. Hawes was elected in 1658, the Biſhop of Wincheſter's power being abrogated, it was thought expedient to order his election by a mandate from the protector. But Seth Ward, as appears by the college regiſter, was elected by Dr Bathurſt and his friends, in open contempt and defiance of the uſurping powers (23).

[*K*] *Nominated to the ſee of Briſtol in April* 1691.] This date is adopted from Wood, ubi ſupra, but it ſhould not be ſo early; for that ſee became vacant by Ironſide's tranſlation to Hereford, which was on the death of Croft, May 18, 1691 (24).

[*L*] *His improvements in the college buildings.*] The next year after his promotion to the preſidentſhip, viz. anno 1665, he undertook the foundation of the north ſide of the new quadrangle in the fellows garden, laying the firſt ſtone himſelf. The building was begun at the expence of the college (25), but carried on by contributions collected by him from various benefactors; the firſt of which was Archbiſhop Sheldon, formerly a member of the college (26). The architect was Sir Chriſtopher Wren, and the edifice was finiſhed about 1668. The weſt ſide of the ſame court, undertaken and conducted in the ſame manner, was completed in 1682. The building near the eaſt end of the chapel being intended as an enlargement of the preſident's lodgings, was raiſed entirely at Dr Bathurſt's own expence, viz. 430l. in 1687. The lodgings themſelves he had before conſiderably re-

paired

(13) In Sir W. Petty's article, remark [*D*], Vol. V. p. 3344.

(14) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 59.

* In remark [*F*].

(15) See his article in remark [*CC*], and that of Dr Pococke in remark [*QQ*].

(16) Birch's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, Vol. I. p. 4.

(17) Ibid. p. 15.

(18) Ibid. p. 406, 407.

(19) Phil. Tranſ. N° 109. p. 193.

(20) Id. Vol. IV. p. 424.

(21) See Birch, ubi ſupra, Vol II. p. 180.

(22) See the articles of his will, by Warton, p. 195.

(23) Warton, p. 53.

(24) Godwin de præſulib. p. 497. edit. by Richardſon, who ſays, p. 567. the biſhopric was offered him by King James II.

(25) Wood's Engliſh MS. Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Univerſity of Oxf. in Trin. college.

(26) Regiſter of Trinity college. See alſo his article.

Had Dr Bathurſt exerted his activity and intereſt alone for the ſervice of his ſociety, he might have fairly claimed the title of an ample benefactor; but his private liberality concurred with thoſe public applications he made for completing his deſign; he expended near 3000 l. of his own money thereupon; to which we muſt add, beſides gratuities hereafter mentioned, that he purchaſed for the uſe of the fellows, the perpetual advowſon of the rectory of Addington upon Otmere near Oxford, with the ſum of 400 l. A. D. 1700. Nor was he leſs ſerviceable to its advantage and honour in other reſpects; his diſcipline and his example, his vigilance as a governor, and his eminence as a ſcholar, actually contributed to raiſe its reputation to an extraordinary height, and filled it with ſtudents of the firſt rank and family. He is ſaid to have conſtantly frequented early prayers in the chapel, then at five in the morning, till his eighty-ſecond year. He punctually attended the public exerciſes of the college, inſpected the private ſtudies, relieved the wants, and rewarded the merit of his ſcholars. In the mean time he was a man of the world, and his lodgings were perpetually crowded with viſitants of the firſt diſtinction. October 3, 1673, he was appointed vice-chancellor of the univerſity, and continued for the two following years, the Duke of Ormond being chancellor (*aa*). During the execution of this office, he reformed many pernicious abuſes, introduced ſeveral neceſſary regulations, defended the privileges of the univerſity with becoming ſpirit, and to the care of the magiſtrate added the generoſity of a benefactor. He eſtabliſhed the preſent practice of obliging the bachelors of arts to ſtipulate for their determination; he endeavoured, at the command of the King, to introduce a more graceful and oratorial manner of delivering the public ſermons at St Mary's (*bb*) [*M*]; he procured an addition of 20 l. per annum to the places of each of the inferior beadles; he reſtored the practice of the vice-chancellor's court, and added ſeveral other improvements in the academical oeconomy. As Dr Bathurſt was intimately acquainted with the moſt eminent literary characters of his age, ſo few remarkable productions in literature were undertaken or publiſhed without his encouragement and advice [*N*]. Beſides theſe mentioned below, Dr Sprat was one of his chief admirers. Dr South, Dr Buſby, Dr Alleſtree, Creech the tranſlator, Sir George Ent, a celebrated phyſician, and defender of the Harveyan ſyſtem, with others, were of his common acquaintance. Such were his friends; in the mean time he had his enemies, who have hinted that he was unſettled in his religious principles. This inſinuation moſt probably aroſe from his Iambics prefixed to Hobbes's book, which are a mere ſport of genius, written without the leaſt connection with Hobbes [*O*], and contain no defence or

(*aa*) Wood's Faſti for thoſe years.

(*bb*) See his programma, in his literary remains at the end of his life, by Warton, p. 107. & ſeq.

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paired and adorned, at the expence of 150 l. (27). The chapel, with its tower, &c. was begun, himſelf laying the firſt ſtone, July 9, 1691. He had before, in 1682, given 200 l. with a view to this noble deſign. The ſhell was completed at his own expence, to the amount of near 2000 l. (28). The furniture and decorations of the inſide were defrayed from large collections, which he had ſollicited with his uſual addreſs and activity from many perſons of the firſt rank, Lord Shaftſbury, Craven, and Somers; the Biſhops of Cheſter, Wincheſter, &c. The architect was probably his friend Dean Aldrich (29). But the original plan received ſome improvements from Sir Chriſtopher Wren. It was finiſhed in three years, and conſecrated by Biſhop Fell, April 12, 1694 (30). Mr Warton had been informed that this chapel was profeſſedly built in imitation of the Duke of Devonſhire's at Chatſworth.

In theſe improvements of the buildings of a particular college, it is obſervable that Dr Bathurſt became by example a general benefactor, being the firſt who introduced the juſt and genuine proportions of Græcian architecture *into the univerſity*, which have ever ſince been ſo ſucceſsfully followed. The venerable beauties of Gothic magnificence prevailed, till his new court at Trinity college appeared; particularly the ſplendid decorations and exquiſite finiſhings of modern art were abſolutely unknown in Oxford, till the firſt effort of theſe elegancies was exhibited in the chapel of his college, in a ſtile of which other ſpecimens are not now uncommon. It was reſerved for the taſte, the genius, and the ſpirit of Dr Bathurſt to work the reformation; and in this reſpect he reminds us of a King of Athens, mentioned, I think, by Plutarch, who firſt placed the ſtatues of the graces in an ancient temple of Minerva (31).

[*M*] *St. Mary's church.*] To this church, which ſtill retained many marks of preſbyterian barbariſm, he freely gave the ſum of 300 l. towards paving the choir, which was reduced to a heap of rubbiſh, with marble, and for erecting the organ, with its gallery, the ſeats and pews in the body of the church, together with the galleries on the weſt (32). He likewiſe aſſerted the right of the univerſity to one copy of every book from the company of Stationers at London (33); in which he was aſſiſted by Dr Wallis, the Cuſtos Archivorum. He alſo aſſerted the privilege of the univerſity in regard to granting wine licences (34).

[*N*] *Books undertaken or publiſhed by his encouragement.*] Beſides ſome inſtances of this already mentioned, Wood acquaints us, that Dr Bathurſt procured him an admiſſion into the tower of the ſchools, to the end he might advance his eſurient genius in antiquities (35). He wrote a letter to Dr Langbain, to encourage the publication of Dugdale's *Monaſticon* (36). He promoted the deſign (though without ſucceſs) of publiſhing Aubrey's *Monumenta Britannica* (37). He was a ſingular patron and promoter of Dr Plot's *Natural Hiſtory of Oxfordſhire and Staffordſhire* (38). He was inſtrumental in advancing Dr Derham to the notice of Seth Ward, &c. (39), and in reclaiming S. Parker from the ridiculous ſeverities of puritaniſm (40).

[*O*] *He had no connection with Hobbes.*] The verſes before-mentioned upon Mr. Hobbes's *Human Nature*, were written, ſays Mr Wood, in Athen. vol. II. p. 20. at the deſire of one Bowman, a ſtationer of Oxon, *as I have heard the Doctor ſay*, that muſt be underſtood to be not acquainted perſonally. I have, ſays Mr Warton, before me, a letter of Bathurſt to Hobbes, dated May 27, 1651, by which it appears that Hobbes ſent him two copies of his *Leviathan*, in acknowledgment for the Iambics. Among other things, he tells Hobbes—I hope your learned book of optics, and that other *De corpore*, if it be yet finiſhed, may no longer lie concealed, eſpecially ſince now the beſt wits, as well here as in other countries, are ſo greedy to liſten after works of that nature, and to vindicate themſelves from the chimerical doctrines of the ſchools; under which (to the bane of true knowledge) they have for theſe many hundred years ſo miſerably laboured. And thus much I am the rather bold to ſuggeſt to you, becauſe, if by your other works already publiſhed, you have gained ſo high an eſteem, how much more ſhall thoſe be received with honour, in whoſe argument no man's Diana will be brought into queſtion (41)? In behalf of Dr Bathurſt it is obſerved, that the orthodox clergy of thoſe times judged more favourably of this and the preceding works of Hobbes, than we do at preſent. At the publication of this piece, they perceived the aim of Hobbes's philoſophy as perfectly as they ever could, yet

(27) Regiſter of the college.

(28) Warton, from Mr Payne of Wells.

(29) The building is intirely in the ſtyle of the pariſh church of All-ſaints in Oxford, deſigned by Dr Aldrich, and eſteemed a finiſhed ſpecimen of his knowledge and ſkill in architecture.

(30) Warton, p. 72.

(31) Id. p. 87, 88.

(32) See a poem on this ſubject, intituled, Templum Academicum inſtauratum. Muſ. Angl. Vol. III. Oxon. 1717. p. 159. & ibid. p. 161.

(33) See his ſpeeches at his entrance upon his diſcharge from the vice-chancellorſhip, in his Literary remains, ubi ſupra.

(34) Ibid.

(35) Wood's diar. ut ſupra, ſub anno 1660, p. 532.

(36) Preface to Tanner's Notitia monaſtica, 1ſt edit.

(37) Gibſon's edition of Camden's Britannia.

(38) Oxfordſhire, p. 131. edit. 1755. Staffordſhire, p. 380.

(39) Biog. Brit. Vol. III. art. Derham.

(40) Ib. Vol. V. art. Parker.

(41) Warton, p. 49 in a note.

or illuſtration of his pernicious doctrine. Several paſſages of his life, mentioned in the courſe of this memoir, ſhew this charge to be a groundleſs calumny ; and in the preamble to his will, he formally declares himſelf a true and dutiful ſon of the Church of England, and deſires to live and die in an obedience to that religion; which is ſo happily by law eſtabliſhed ; and the ſincere and laſting intimacies he maintained with Skinner, Fell, South, Alleſtree, Aldrich, and ſeveral others, are alone an obvious and unanſwerable refutation of this unfavourable imputation. At length our author, having conſtantly enjoyed a perfect ſtate of health, and unviſited at the laſt with the ſevere diſeaſes of old age, died in his eighty-fourth year, June 14, 1704. He had been blind for ſome time, and his death was occaſioned by the accident of breaking his thigh, while he was walking in the garden, which, on the failure of his eyes, became his favourite and only amuſement. Under this malady he languiſhed for ſeveral days in acute agonies. It is ſaid that at firſt, and for ſome time, he refuſed to ſubmit to the operations of the ſurgeon, declaring in his tortures, that there was no marrow in the bones of an old man. He had loſt his memory a year or two before his death. He was interred on the ſouth ſide of the anti-chapel of Trinity college chapel, without the leaſt appearance of pomp and extravagance, according to his own appointment. He left legacies in his will to his friends, ſervants, and the college, to the amount of near 1000 l. [*Q*]. As to his character, it is obſerved that his temperance in eating and drinking, particularly the latter, was ſingular and exemplary. Amidſt his love of the polite arts, he had a ſtrong averſion to muſic, and diſcountenanced and deſpiſed the ſtudy of all external accompliſhments, as incompatible with the academical character. His behaviour in general was inoffenſive and obliging. The caſt of his converſation was rather ſatirical, but mixed with mirth and pleaſantry. He was remarkably fond of young company, and indefatigable in his encouragement of a riſing genius [*P*]. John Philips was one of his chief favourites, whoſe *Splendid Shilling* was a piece of ſolemn ridicule, perfectly ſuited to his taſte, and which gave him infinite pleaſure. Old men are apt to fall into peculiar capricious humours [*R*] ; he delighted to ſurprize the ſcholars, when walking in the grove at unſeaſonable hours ; on which occaſions he frequently carried a whip in his hand, an inſtrument of academical correction, then not entirely laid aſide. But this he practiſed, on account of the pleaſure he took in giving ſo odd an alarm, rather than from any principle of approving, or intention of applying an illiberal puniſhment (*cc*). His writings, under the title of literary remains, &c. are annexed to the account of his life, by Mr Warton, who has given a characteriſtic account of them, well worth the peruſal of all who have any curioſity in ſuch matters, but too long for our deſign ; we ſhall only take notice, that he chiefly excelled in Latin poetry ; Ovid was the principal pattern, and his favourite claſſic. One of his pupils having aſked him what book above all others he choſe to recommend ? he anſwered, *Ovid's Metamorphoſes*. The pupil, in conſequence of this advice, having carefully peruſed the Metamorphoſes, deſired to be informed what other proper book it would be moſt neceſſary for him to read after Ovid ; upon which Dr Bathurſt adviſed him to read Ovid's Metamorphoſes a ſecond time. He had ſo mean an opinion of his performances in divinity, that in his will he enjoins his executors, in a more particular manner, entirely to ſuppreſs all his papers relating to that ſubject, nor even permit them ſo much as to be peruſed by any, or by very few ſuch friends as were likely to read them with candor (*dd*). We are told, however, that on Sunday, March 20, 1680, he preached before the Houſe of Commons at St Mary's, the univerſity church, and gave great content (*ee*.)

(*cc*) Warton, p. 202.

(*dd*) Mr Warton, p. 220. & ſeq. has given ſome ſpecimens which ſhew them to be much in the manner of Dr South, but with more elegance of alluſion and quickneſs of imagination.

(*ee*) Of the King's coming to Oxford. MSS. Wood's diary, qu. in Muſ. Aſhmol.

yet they did not apprehend that its principles tended to impiety, which Hobbes always profeſſedly diſavowed. His books, they conceived, inculcated the doctrine of ſubjecting the eccleſiaſtical to the civil power, in point of order and diſcipline ; that religion ſhould diſpoſe men to mutual love, and not be proſtituted to the purpoſes of ſedition, as it had been for many years paſt. This doctrine, while the ſectaries continued triumphant, and could alone be affected by it, was thought innocent enough, and its author a very wiſe man (42).

(42) Id. p. 51, 52. Alſo Hobbes's article in this work, Vol. IV. remark [*E*].

[*P*] *His legacies*, &c. *amount to* 2000*l*.] It is not known what was the Doctor's eſtate, beſides his preferments. The following extract from Mr Thoreſby's *Ducat. Leod.* may throw ſome light in this particular. After a pedigree of the Bathurſt's family, I ſhall here, ſays that author, add a note I find at the end of the manuſcript (43), whence I extracted this pedigree ; that John the Alderman, Sir Edward the Baronet, Sir Edward the Knight, Moſes, Benjamin, *Dean* RALPH, Theodore and Charles, had an eſtate of 9000l. per annum, and each their coaches at the ſame time (44).

(43) A parchment penes Ch. Bathurſt Eſq;

(44) Thoreſby, p. 14.

[*Q*] *He was fond of young company.*] The preſent Lord Bathurſt, who was entered in Trinity college at fifteen, when his uncle the Doctor was upwards of eighty, remembers to have been often charmed with his converſation ; that no man ever poſſeſſed a greater ſhare of chearful engaging unaffected wit ; that although he maintained the moſt exact diſcipline in his college, his method of correction chiefly conſiſted in turning the faults of the delinquent ſcholars into ridicule, in which expedient he always effectually ſucceeded ; and that all the young ſtudents admired and loved him (45).

(45) Id. from the information of Lord Bathurſt, p. 199, 200.

[*R*] *Old men are apt to fall into capricious humours*, &c.] The inſtance given above of this caprice had its uſe. But there is another inſtance aſcribed to the zeal for his college, and imputed to the dotage of old age, as the beſt apologies for the caprice. Baliol college had ſuffered ſo much in the outrages of the grand rebellion, that it remained at moſt in a ſtate of deſolation for ſome years after King Charles's return. Dr Bathurſt was perhaps ſecretly pleaſed to ſee a neighbouring and once a rival ſociety reduced to this condition, while his own flouriſhed beyond all others. One afternoon he was found in his garden, which then ran almoſt contiguous to the eaſt ſide of Baliol college, throwing ſtones at the windows with much ſatisfaction, as if happy to contribute his ſhare in completing the appearance of its ruin (46).

(46) Warton, p. 203.

BERKELEY [George], the learned and ingenious Biſhop of Cloyne in Ireland, was a native of that kingdom, and the ſon of William Berkeley, of Thomaſtown in the county of Kilkenny (*a*). He was born in 1679, in Queen's county, but had the firſt part of his education at the free-ſchool of Kilkenny (*b*), where he made ſo quick a progreſs in grammar learning, that he became fit for the univerſity, and was admitted a penſioner of Trinity college Dublin [*A*] at the age of fifteen. He took his degrees in arts at the ſtatutable periods, and in the interim was elected a fellow of his college before the completion of his twenty-firſt year. Continuing to apply himſelf with diſtinguiſhed ardour to the academical ſtudies, he became early a complete maſter of logic, metaphyſics, and mathematics [*B*]: at the ſame time having made a ſufficient progreſs in divinity, he entered into holy orders. Thus accompliſhed, he croſſed the water to England in 1713, and, upon the recommendation of Dean Swift (*c*), was appointed chaplain to the Earl of Peterborough, on his embaſſy to Sicily and the Italian ſtates [*C*], and the appointment proved

very

[*A*] *Admitted of Trinity college Dublin.*] The idle ſtory which has crept into the Annual Regiſter for the year 1763, from a Grubſtreet pamphlet publiſhed a few years ago, of our young ſtudent's ordering himſelf to be hanged by his chamber-fellow, is a pure catchpenny phantom, without the leaſt foundation. It is even known by an old acquaintance of his now living, that he had no chum at the college.

[*B*] *Maſter of logic, metaphyſics,* &c.] He publiſhed an extraordinary proof of this in *A treatiſe concerning the principles of human knowledge, wherein the chief cauſes of error and difficulty in the ſciences, with the grounds of ſcepticiſm, atheiſm, and irreligion, are inquired into,* Dublin 1710, 8vo. It is a kind of logic, in the manner of Mr Locke's *Eſſay on human underſtanding*, ſome poſitions of which, however, he controverts. Words, ſays Mr Locke, become general, by being made the ſigns of general ideas. Whereas our author maintains, that words become general by being made the ſigns not of one abſtract general idea, but of ſeveral particular ideas, any one of which they indifferently ſuggeſt to the mind. For example, when it is ſaid that the changes of motion are proportional to the impreſſed force, or that whatever has extenſion is diviſible, the propoſitions are to be underſtood of motion or extenſion in general; and nevertheleſs it will not follow that they ſuggeſt to my thoughts an idea of motion without the body moved, or that I muſt conceive an abſtract general idea of extenſion, which is neither line, ſurface, nor ſolid, nor great nor ſmall, black, white, or red, &c. it is only implied, that whatever motion I conſider, whether it be ſwift or ſlow, perpendicular, horizontal, or oblique, holds equally true; as does the other of every particular extenſion, it matters not whether line, ſurface, or ſolid, whether of this or that magnitude or figure. He does not, however, abſolutely deny that there are general ideas, but only that there are any abſtract general ideas. Upon the whole it is obſervable that he plainly fights with his own ſhadow, Mr Locke, with other logical and metaphyſical writers, not imputing any ſuch ſeparate exiſtence to abſtract ideas, as he imagines but only a diſtinct conception, excluſive of the ſubſtance from which they are conſidered. However, he was ſo intirely poſſeſſed with theſe metaphyſical refinements, as to be afterwards tranſported beyond the bounds of common ſenſe, too glaringly ſtriking in his *Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous*, publiſhed in 1713, where he actually maintains, that the external exiſtence of matter or body cannot be ſufficiently proved by any or all our ſenſes united. At the ſame time ſo much muſt be ſaid in his favour, that he never ſuffered himſelf to be tranſported out of his religion; ſo far from it, that we ſee both theſe pieces, as alſo his *Theory of viſion, or viſual language*, &c. forged upon the ſame anvil, expreſly declared to be written in vindication of the preſence and providence of a Deity, againſt atheiſts and ſceptics.

[*C*] *He went to Italy as chaplain to the Earl of Peterborough.*] While he was in England Dean Swift introduced him into the acquaintance of Pope, and he had not been long in Italy when he addreſſed that poet, in a letter from Leghorn, May 1, 1714, wherein, after a polite compliment on the *Rape of the Lock*, which he had accidentally met with, he concludes thus:

> 'I am here by the favour of my good friend the
> 'Dean of St Patrick's, in quality of chaplain to the
> 'Earl of Peterborough, who about three months ſince
> 'left the greateſt part of his family in this town.
> 'God knows how long we ſhall ſtay here (1).'

We find our chaplain, in the concluſion of this letter, giving an intimation to his friend Pope of his Lordſhip's activity in the buſineſs of his embaſſy, an excellent quality for which he was remarkably diſtinguiſhed, and which is no leſs remarkably complimented by Dean Swift, who, in his humorous way, addreſſing a letter for his Lordſhip, ſays, 'He is ſo continually ſhifting and running about, there was no knowing where to find him, and therefore *he did not write to him, but at him.* In Mr Pope's collection there are many of his Lordſhip's letters, which are ſo many conſpicuous ſpecimens of his wit and humour, and are none of the leaſt brilliant part of that collection. As a miniſter, he performed many eminent ſervices to his country, an account of which may be ſeen in the pieces cited in the margin (2). We ſhall only record here what ought never to be forgotten, that whilſt Britain feels the bleſſings of the Revolution, it feels the bleſſed effects of his Lordſhip's conduct. On the acceſſion of King James II. he was one of the few in the Houſe of Peers againſt repealing the Teſt Act, and diſliking the proceedings of the Court, he got leave from the King to go to Holland, to accept the command of a Dutch ſquadron in the Weſt Indies. On his arrival there, he was the firſt of the Engliſh nobility that perſuaded the Prince of Orange to undertake the expedition into England, to free the nation from Popery and ſlavery; and, as Biſhop Burnet relates (3), was among thoſe whom the Prince chiefly truſted, and that he governed all his motions on his Lordſhip's advice, who was in that fleet which landed his Highneſs in the weſt of England. Being therefore ſo inſtrumental in the Revolution, he was, on the acceſſion of King William and Queen Mary, ſworn one of the Privy-council, and made a Lord of the bedchamber to his Majeſty; and, in order to attend the coronation as an Earl, he was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Monmouth, April 9, 1689, having the day before been conſtituted firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury. Alſo, in an addreſs of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London to his Majeſty, he was commiſſioned to command the royal regiment of horſe, which the city had raiſed for the public ſervice, of which his Majeſty was pleaſed to be Colonel. Being ſent to Spain in 1705 to put King Charles III. in poſſeſſion of that crown, he gave ſuch proof of his valour, vigour, and conduct, and performed ſuch actions, as amazed the world. In 1710 and 1711 he was employed in an embaſſy to the court of Turin, and other Italian courts; and on his return to England, was made Colonel of the royal regiment of horſe-guards; and being General of the marines, and Lord Lieutenant of the county of Northampton, was inſtalled at Windſor Auguſt 4, 1713, Knight of the Garter. Soon after which, he was ſent Ambaſſador extraordinary, as above-mentioned, to the King of Sicily, and to adjuſt affairs with other Italian Princes. In the two ſucceeding reigns, through the intereſt of his rival the Duke of Marlborough, he was in ſome diſgrace (4). How he reſented that traverſe of fortune, appears in ſome letters publiſhed by Mr Pope; in one of which, reſolving to attend the Houſe of Peers on a particular occaſion, he expreſſes himſelf thus:

> 'The Devil will drive me thither, and I will call
> 'upon you to be ſprinkled with holy water, before I

(*a*) This, as well as a great part of the preſent article, was communicated by a particular friend of the Biſhop.

(*b*) Sir James Ware's Hiſt. of Ireland reviſed and corrected, in 3 vols folio, Vol. I. p. 82. edit. 1739.

(*c*) The Dean alſo introduced him to Lord Berkeley as his relation, with this humorous ſpeech, 'That he was good for ſomething.' *Obſervations on Lord Orrery's life of Doan Swift*, p. 122. ed. 1754. 8vo.

(1) Pope's letters, in his works.

(2) Collins's Peerage, under his article. See alſo Dr Friend's Conduct of the Earl of Peterborough in Spain, and the article of Sir John Leake, in this work, Vol. V. p. 2909, remark [*Q*].

(3) In the Hiſt. of his own times.

(4) He was continued, however, in the nominal poſt of General of the marines.

very agreeable on both ſides. Having paſſed four years in this ſtation abroad [*D*], he returned with his Lordſhip, and retired to his college, where he was now a ſenior fellow, and had been created during his abſence D. D. by diploma, in 1717. He reſumed his ſtudies with his uſual eagerneſs, and he publiſhed a curious tract *De motu* in 1721 (*d*); but the ſame year was drawn away from ſuch ſubjects for a while, by the humanity of his temper, and concern for the public welfare. It is well known what miſeries the nation was plunged into by the fatal South-ſea ſcheme in 1720; Dr Berkeley felt for his country and Britiſh neighbours groaning under theſe calamitous diſtreſſes, and in that ſpirit employed his talents in writing *An eſſay towards preventing the ruin of Great Britain*,

(*d*) In this tract he ſeems to eſpouſe the doctrine of occaſional cauſes, intimating, that the motion which flows from the ſtroke of one body upon another is produced by the immediate act of the Deity.

‘ enter the place of corruption.’—In proceeding, he ſays, ‘ I muſt give you ſome good news with relation to myſelf, becauſe I know you wiſh me well. I am cured of ſome diſeaſes in my old age, which tormented me very much in my youth. I was poſſeſſed with violent and uneaſy paſſions, ſuch as a peeviſh concern for truth, and a ſaucy love for my country. When a Chriſtian prieſt preached againſt the ſpirit of the Goſpel, when an Engliſh judge determined againſt *Magna Charta*, when a miniſter acted againſt common ſenſe, I uſed to fret. Now, Sir, let what will happen, I keep myſelf in temper; as I have no flattering hopes, ſo I baniſh all uſeleſs fears.’

His Lordſhip married Carey, daughter of Sir Alexander Frazier, of an antient family in Scotland, who died May 17, 1709, having brought him two ſons, John and Henry, and a daughter Henrietta, married to Alexander Gordon Duke of Gordon, in the ſame kingdom. In 1735 he married to his ſecond wife Mrs Anaſtaſia Robinſon, a famous ſinger at the play-houſe, and going ſoon after to Liſbon for the recovery of his health, he died there on the 25th of October following, aged ſeventy ſeven.

[*D*] *Having paſſed four years abroad.*] He continued his correſpondence with Mr Pope, as appears by an another letter to that friend, dated July 7, 1715, in which he writes thus:

‘ Some days ago three or four gentlemen and myſelf, exerting that right which all readers pretend to over authors, ſat in judgment upon the two new tranſlations of the firſt Iliad; without partiality to my countrymen, I aſſure you they all gave the preference where it is due, and are unanimouſly of opinion, that yours was equally juſt to the ſenſe with Mr ———'s, and without compariſon more eaſy, more poetical, and more ſublime. But I will ſay no more on ſo thread-bare a ſubject as your late performance is at this time.’

Pope's rival here ſignified is Mr Addiſon, who fathered the above-mentioned rival tranſlation, though Mr Tickell was afterwards diſcovered to be the real author, of whom we have the following account (5): He was the ſon of a clergyman, who had a conſiderable preferment in the north of England; that he was bred at Queen's college Oxford, of which he became a fellow; that while there he addreſſed a complimentary copy of verſes to Mr Addiſon, on his opera of Roſamond, which ſo effectually made that gentleman his friend, that, upon his being made ſecretary of ſtate, he appointed Mr Tickell his under-ſecretary; and when he was obliged to reſign that poſt for want of health, he recommended him to Mr Craggs, who continued him under-ſecretary till he died. In June 1724 Mr Tickell was appointed ſecretary to the Lords Juſtices in Ireland, which he held till his death, in 1740. He was one of the firſt of the ſecond rate poets. His *Proſpect of peace*, in 1713, went through ſix editions; and his *Epiſtle from a lady in England to a gentleman at Avignon*, through five. He had the care of the edition of Mr Addiſon's works in four volumes quarto, to which he prefixed an account of the author's life, and a poem on his death, addreſſed to his ſon-in-law the Earl of Warwick. Mr Tickell's works are publiſhed in the ſecond volume of The minor poets, and he is by far the moſt conſiderable writer among them.

(5) In Cibber's Lives of the Poets.

Mr Berkely's laſt letter to Pope from Italy, is as follows:

‘ Naples, October 22, 1717.

‘ I have long had it in my thoughts to trouble you with a letter, but was diſcouraged for want of ſomething that I could think worth ſending fifteen hundred miles. Italy is ſo much an exhauſted ſubject, that you will eaſily forgive my ſaying nothing of it; and the imagination of a poet is a thing ſo nice and delicate, that it is no eaſy matter to find out images capable of giving pleaſure to one of the few, who in any age have come up to that character. I am, nevertheleſs, lately returned from an iſland, where I paſſed three or four months, which, were it ſet out in its true colours, might, methinks, amuſe you for a moment or two. The iſland Inarime is an epitome of the whole earth, containing, within the compaſs of eighteen miles, a wonderful variety of hills, vales, ragged rocks, fruitful plains, and barren mountains, all thrown together in a moſt romantic confuſion. The air is in the hotteſt ſeaſon conſtantly refreſhed by cool breezes from the ſea, the vallies produce excellent wheat and Indian corn, but are moſtly covered with vineyards, intermixed with fruit-trees; beſides the common kinds, as cherries, apricots, plumbs, &c. they produce oranges, limes, almonds, pomegranates, figs, with melons and many other fruits unknown to our climates, which lie every-where open to the paſſenger. The hills are the greateſt part covered at the top with vines, ſome with cheſnut groves, and others with myrtle and lentiſcus. The fields on the northern ſide are divided by hedges of myrtle. Several fountains and rivulets add to the beauty of this landſcape, which is likewiſe ſet off by the variety of ſome barren ſpots and naked rocks. But that which crowns the ſcene, is a large mountain riſing out of the middle of the iſland, once a terrible volcano, by the antients called *Mons Epomeus*: its lower parts are adorned with vines and other fruits, the middle affords paſture for flocks of ſheep and goats, and the top is a round pointed rock, from which you have the fineſt proſpect in the world, ſetting in view, beſides ſeveral pleaſant lands lying at your feet, a tract of Italy about three hundred miles in length, from the promontory of Antium to the cape of Palinurus, the greater part of which has been ſung by Homer and Virgil, as making a a conſiderable part of the travels and adventures of their two heroes. The iſlands Caprea, Prochyta, and Parthenope, together with Cajeta, Cumæ, Monte Miſeno, the habitation of Circe, the Syrens, and the Leſtrigones, the bay of Naples, the promontory of Minerva, and the whole *Campagnia felice*, make but a part of this noble landſcape, which would demand an imagination as warm, and numbers as flowing as your own to deſcribe it. The inhabitants of this delicious iſle, as they are without riches and honours, ſo are they without the vices and follies that attend them; and were they but as much ſtrangers to revenge, as they are to avarice and ambition, they might in fact anſwer the poetical notion of the golden age; but they have got, as an allay to their happineſs, an ill habit of murdering one another, on ſlight offences; we had one inſtance of this the ſecond night after our arrival, a youth of eighteen being ſhot dead by the door: and yet, by the ſole ſecret of minding our own buſineſs, we found a means of living ſecurely among thoſe dangerous people.

‘ Would you know how we paſs the time at Naples, our chief paſtime is the devotion of our neighbours. Beſides the gaity of their churches, where folks go to ſee what they call *una bella devotione*, i. e. a ſort of religious opera, they make fire-works almoſt every week out of devotion; the ſtreets are often hung with arras out of devotion; and what is ſtill more ſtrange, the ladies invite gentlemen to their houſes, and treat them with muſic and ſweetmeats out of devotion. In a word,

were

Britain, which he publiſhed in 1721. This product ſprung intirely from the benevolence of his nature, which was ſo well known and univerſally acknowledged, that Mrs Eſther Vanhomrigh, a gentlewoman whoſe name is no ſtranger to theſe memoirs (*e*), was induced thereby, a little before her death, to appoint him joint executor and reſiduary legatee of her laſt will in 1723 [*E*], by which he obtained not leſs than the ſum of 4000 l. So unexpected an increaſe of fortune, the pure effect of an uncommon generoſity, apparently prompted him to teſtify his gratitude by an inſtance at leaſt equally uncommon, and receiving an additional increaſe of fortune in the deanry of Londonderry, conferred upon him in May 1724, he was no ſooner ſettled therein, than he formed a plan for promoting the propagation of religion and learning in America; for which purpoſe, he publiſhed, in 1725, *A propoſal for the better ſupplying of churches in our foreign plantations, and for converting the ſavage Americans to Chriſtianity, by a college to be erected in the Summer Iſlands, otherwiſe called the Iſles of Bermuda* [*F*]. The ſcheme met with ſuch good encouragement as might be expected from the benevolence of it, ſo that he made a copy of verſes upon the proſpect of its ſucceſs [*G*]. In the mean time the Dean entered into a marriage Aug. 1, 1728, with Anne the eldeſt daughter of the Rt Hon. John Forſter Eſq; Speaker of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons. This engagement, however, was ſo far from being any obſtruction to his grand undertaking, that he actually ſet ſail in the execution of it for Rhode Iſland about the middle of September following [*H*]. But after he had ſpent two years in America, without being able, on account of

ſome

‘ were it not for this devotion of its inhabitants, Naples would have little beſides the air and ſituation to recommend it.

‘ A friend of mine told me not long ſince, that, being to viſit Salvini at Florence, he found him reading your Homer: he liked the notes extremely well, and could find no other fault with the verſion, but that he thought it approached too near a paraphraſe; which ſhews him not to be ſufficiently acquainted with our language. I wiſh you health to go on with that noble work, and when you have that, I need not wiſh you ſucceſs. You will do me the juſtice to believe, that whatever relates to your welfare is ſincerely wiſhed by,

‘ Yours, &c.’

[*E*] *Executor to the will of Mrs Eſther Vanhomrigh.*] This appointment was no ſmall matter of ſurprize to him, having in his life never ſeen her but once, and that about eight years before her death, when he was deſired by Dean Swift to accompany him in a viſit to an agreeable family of his acquaintance, conſiſting of Mrs Vanhomrigh and her two daughters. Her other executor Mr Marſhal, a lawyer of good reputation, having got poſſeſſion of her papers in Dr Berkeley's abſence from Ireland, reſolved to publiſh Swift's poem *Cadenus and Vaneſſa*, upon the intimacy which had ſubſiſted between them, nor could Dr Berkeley's earneſt intreaties prevail with him to alter his deſign (6).

[*F*] *A propoſal*, &c.] This piece is cloſed with a poſtſcript, as follows:

‘ Since the foregoing propoſal was firſt made public, his Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to grant a charter for erecting a college, by the name of St Paul's college in Bermuda, for the uſes abovementioned: which college is to contain a preſident and nine fellows; the firſt preſident by charter is *George Berkeley* D. D. and Dean of Derry, with an income of 100 l. per annum; the three fellows nominated in the charter are *William Thompſon*, *Jonathan Rogers*, and *James King*, maſters of arts, and fellows of Trinity college in Dublin. The nomination of a preſident is reſerved to the crown; the election of fellows is veſted in the preſident and the majority of the fellows, as is likewiſe the government of the ſociety. The Biſhop of London for the time being is appointed viſitor; and ſuch of his Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate for the time being, as has America in his province, is appointed chancellor of the ſaid college. The preſident and fellows have the power of making ſtatutes, to be approved by the viſitor; they have alſo a power of conferring degrees in all faculties. They are obliged to maintain and educate Indian ſcholars at the rate of 10 l. per annum, for which they are obliged to tranſmit annual accounts of the ſtate of the college, number of ſtudents, their progreſs, &c. to the chancellor and viſitor. The firſt preſident and fellows are licenſed to hold their preferments in theſe kingdoms, till one year and a half be expired after their arrival in Bermuda. The ſociety is incorporated with the uſual clauſes; hath power to receive benefactions, purchaſe lands, keep a common ſeal, &c. Laſtly, all in office under his Majeſty are deſired to be aiding and aſſiſting to the protection and preſervation thereof.’

[G] *A copy of verſes on the proſpect of its ſucceſs.*] They run thus:

The muſe, diſguſted at an age and clime
Barren of every glorious theme,
In diſtant lands now waits a better time,
Producing ſubjects worthy fame.

In happy climes where from the genial ſun
And virgin earth ſuch ſciences enſue,
The force of art by nature ſeems outdone,
And fancied beauties by the true.

In happy climes the ſeats of innocence,
Where nature guides and virtue rules,
Where men will not impoſe for truth and ſenſe
The pedantry of courts and ſchools,

There will be ſeen another golden age,
The riſe of empire and of arts,
The good and great inſpiring epic rage,
The wiſeſt heads and nobleſt hearts.

Not ſuch as Europe bred in her decay,
Such as ſhe bred when freſh and young,
When heavenly flame did animate her clay,
By future poets will be ſung.

Weſtward the courſe of empire takes its way,
The four firſt acts already paſt,
A fifth ſhall cloſe the drama with the day;
Time's nobleſt offſpring is the laſt.

[*H*] *He ſet ſail about the middle of September.*] Beſides the fore-mentioned charter from the King, he obtained a parliamentary grant of 20,000 l. for the purpoſe; moreover, ſeveral private perſons contributed towards executing this noble deſign. It was particularly ſaid that the ſhip, of the burden of 250 tons, was hired by himſelf; that he took ſeveral tradeſmen and artificers with him, and two gentlemen of fortune, *James* and *Dalton*, with all their effects, as alſo his lady and her ſiſter, who had 4000 l. each to their for-

tune,

(*e*) See Swift's article, under the remark [*AA*], Vol. VI. part i.

(6) Communicated by the friend already mentioned. This may ſerve to correct a miſapprehenſion, which is inſinuated in the *Obſervations upon Lord Orrery's life of Dean Swift*, where the reader is led to believe that Dr Berkeley conſented to the publication of this poem. See Swift's article in this work, under remark [*EE*], and the ſaid Obſervations, p. 112. edit. 1754, 8vo.

ſome unforeſeen diſappointments, to do any thing further towards the completion of this noble deſign ſo worthy of him, he found himſelf under a neceſity of returning to Europe [*I*]. Not long after his arrival at London, he preached *A ſermon before the Incorporated Society for the propagation of the Goſpel in foreign parts, at their anniverſary meeting at the pariſh-church of St Mary le Bow in Feb.* 1731 *(f)*, after which he returned to his deanery, without any further expectations. But in Nov. 1733, he was informed, by a letter from the Duke of Newcaſtle, then Secretary of State, that it was the King's pleaſure to promote him to the ſee of Cloyne, void by the tranſlation *(g)* of Bp Synge *(h)*, to which he was accordingly nominated by letters patent March 7 following *(i)*. This promotion he neither ſought nor deſired, and at the time of his accepting it, he determined never to accept of a tranſlation, a reſolve which he perſevered in to the laſt; nor was he diſpoſed to recede from it upon receiving an offer, in 1745, of the rich biſhopric of Clogher, the income whereof was at leaſt double to that of Cloyne, upon which he conſtantly reſided, in the faithful diſcharge of all epiſcopal duties, from the æra of his conſecration, excepting one winter that he attended the buſineſs of parliament in Dublin; at the ſame time he extended his care to the exigencies of the public, and occaſionally employed his pen in writing ſuch treatiſes as he judged neceſſary for the ſervice of true religion, morality, ſcience, and all the ſocial virtues [*K*]. Nor did he think it beſide his province to exert his talents in providing ſalutary means for the bodily health of his fellow-mortals, a very conſpicuous proof of which he gave, by a moſt uſeful medicine of his own invention, communicated to the world in a treatiſe, intituled, *Siris, or a chain of philoſophical reflections on the virtues of tar-water*, the ſecond edition whereof was printed in 1747, and was followed by *Farther thoughts on tar-water*, publiſhed in 1752. This was his laſt performance for the preſs, and he ſurvived it but a ſhort time. Towards the latter end of the ſame year he took a journey to Oxford (*k*), in order to ſuperintend the education of one of his ſons, then newly admitted a ſtudent at Chriſtchurch [*L*], for this purpoſe he took a houſe in Holywell-ſtreet, where he died very ſuddenly, on Sunday, January 14, 1753, a few minutes after he had been commenting to his family (who had accompanied him thither) on the fifteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians, nor had he for a conſiderable time been in better health than he appeared to be the moment before his departure from a world, in which he had from his early youth laboured to render his great talents extremely uſeful to the ſouls and bodies of men. His remains were interred at Chriſtchurch Oxford, where there is a handſome marble monument erected to his memory by his lady [*M*], who ſurvived him, having during her marriage brought him four ſons and three daughters.

tune, which they carried with them, beſides goods to a great value, and that the Dean alſo had 2000 l. of his own money, that he intended to purchaſe an eſtate on Rhode Iſland, in order to ſupply Bermuda with black cattle and ſheep from thence (7).

[*I*] *He found himſelf obliged to return.*] Before his departure he ſigned a reſignation of his deanery, worth 1200 l. per annum, which was to take effect one year after the payment of 20,000 l. granted by parliament, which, at the time of leaving England, was ſaid by men in power ſhould be paid as ſoon as ever lands on the continent near Bermuda had been pitched upon and agreed for, as proper eſtates for the ſupport of the intended college. The Dean's reſidence while in America, though principally on Rhode Iſland, yet whenever the ſeaſon permitted during his ſtay of two years in thoſe parts, he was indefatigable in paſtoral labours throughout New England. When eſtates had been agreed for, it was fully expected that the public money would, according to grant, be immediately paid as the purchaſe of them: but after having received various excuſes, Biſhop Gibſon (then Biſhop of London, in whoſe dioceſe all the Weſt Indies are contained) applying to Sir Robert Walpole, then at the head of the treaſury, received this anſwer: *If you put the queſtion to me*, ſays Sir Robert, *as a miniſter, I muſt and can aſſure you, that the money ſhall moſt undoubtedly be paid, as ſoon as ſuits with public convenience; but if you aſk me, as a friend, whether Dean Berkeley ſhould continue in America, expecting the payment of* 20,000 *l. I adviſe him by all means to return home to Europe, and to give up his preſent expectations.* The Dean being informed of this conference by his good friend the Biſhop, and thereby fully convinced, that the bad policy of one great man had rendered abortive a ſcheme, whereon he had expended much of his private fortune, and more than ſeven years of the prime of his life, returned to Europe.

[*K*] *He publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes,* &c.] Theſe are, 1. *The quæriſt, containing ſeveral quæries propoſed to the conſideration of the public,* London 1735. 2. *A diſcourſe addreſſed to magiſtrates and men in authority, occaſioned by the enormous licence and irreligion of the times,* ibid. 1736. 3. *A letter to the Roman catholics of the dioceſe of Cloyne,* ibid. 1745 (8). 4. *A word to the wiſe, or an exhortation to the Roman catholic clergy of Ireland,* ibid. 1749 (9). 5. *Maxims concerning patriotiſm,* ibid. 1750. Theſe five, with *Farther thoughts on tar-water, Verſes on the proſpect of planting arts and learning in* America, his Propoſal for better ſupplying of churches in our foreign plantations, &c. his *Sermon at Bow church,* and his tract *De motu,* were printed, under the title of *Miſcellanies,* &c. Lond. 1752, 8vo.

[*L*] *Then newly admitted a ſtudent of Chriſtchurch.*] This gentleman, George Berkeley, proceeded A. M. January 26, 1759 (10), took holy orders, and in Auguſt following was preſented to the vicarage of Bray in Berkſhire, to which was added this year (1764) the rectory of Acton in Middleſex, by the preſentation of Dr Secker Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being an option of his Grace's, on the promotion of Dr Oſbaldeſton to the ſee of London.

[*M*] *His monument.*] The inſcription, which is in Latin, was drawn up by Dr Markham, head maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool, and now Prebendary of Durham, is in theſe terms:

> Graviſſimo præſuli Georgio Epiſcopo Clonenſi,
> viro ſeu ingenii & eruditionis laudem, ſeu probitatis & beneficentiæ ſpectemus, inter primos omnium ætatum numerando. Si Chriſtianus fueris, ſi amans patriæ, utroque nomine gloriari potes, Berkleium vixiſſe. Obiit annum agens ſeptuageſimum tertium. Natus anno Chriſti MDCLXXIX.
> Anna conjux L. M. P.

To Berkeley every virtue under heaven. Pope.

(*f*) The ſame year he alſo publiſhed *The minute philoſopher*, with *The theory of viſion*, in 2 vols 8vo.

(*g*) He publiſhed this year The analyſt, &c. 8vo. after which came out A defence of free-thinking in mathematics.

(*h*) He was tranſlated to the ſee of Leighlin and Fernes February 8, 1733. See the article of Dr Synge his father, Abp of Tuam, under the remark [*D*].

(*i*) He was conſecrated in St Paul's church at Dublin, May 19, 1734, by Theophilus Abp of Caſhel, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of Raphoe and Killaloe. Sir James Ware's Hiſt. reviſed and corrected, as before.

(*k*) He was carried from his landing on the Engliſh ſhore in a horſe-litter to Oxford. The ſtory told in Dodſley's Regiſter for 1763, of his having received great part of his education at Oxford is intirely without the leaſt foundation, he never was there but once before, in 1713, on a viſit to Dr Smallridge, with whom he ſtaid 3 months.

(7) Hiſtorical regiſter for 1728, p. 289.

(8) The year of the Scotch rebellion.

(9) The printer received a letter of thanks to his Lordſhip from the Roman catholic clergy of the dioceſe of Dublin, deſiring it to be inſerted in the Dublin chronicle for Nov. 18, that year.

(10) Catalogue of Oxford degrees.

BOYCE [Samuel], a remarkable inſtance of that thoughtleſs inſenſibility to the miſchiefs of a pennyleſs purſe, which is the too common opprobrium of a poetical genius. He was born in 1708 at Dublin, where his father was a diſſenting miniſter of note [*A*], and obſerving his ſon's pregnant parts at ſchool, ſent him at eighteen years of age (*a*) to the univerſity of Glaſgow, in the deſign of breeding him to his own profeſſion; but the ſon defeated the old gentleman's views, and, what was worſe, ruined his fortunes. Before the year came about, he married the daughter of a tradeſman in that city (*b*); an imprudence which brought a double expence upon his father, who (ſuch was his folly and indulgence) ſuffered this worthleſs ſon to waſte the little eſtate of his family [*B*]. Boyce's education being by this ſtep interrupted, he had in the exigence recourſe to his muſe, and in 1731, he publiſhed a volume of poems at Edinburgh; to which was ſubjoined *The Tablature of Cebes*, and the fore-mentioned letter upon liberty. This procured him a great number of friends, and he was particularly diſtinguiſhed by the Counteſs of Eglington, to whom the poems, &c. were addreſſed. Upon the death of the Viſcounteſs Stormont, our poet wrote an elegy, which he intitled the *Tears of the Muſes*, that Lady being a perſonage of the moſt refined taſte in the ſciences, and a great admirer of poetry. The Lord Stormont was ſo much pleaſed with this mark of eſteem paid to the memory of his Lady, that he ordered a very handſome preſent to be given to the author by his attorney at Edinburgh [*C*]. The notice which Lady Eglington and Lord Stormont took of our poet, recommended him likewiſe to the patronage of the Dutcheſs of Gordon, a Lady of diſtinguiſhed taſte, who did him conſiderable ſervices, while he continued in Scotland; and on his going not long after to London, gave him a letter of recommendation to Mr Pope, and obtained another for him to Lord King, Lord Chancellor of England. He alſo carried with him recommendatory letters from Lord Stormont to his brother Mr Murray, then Sollicitor General (*c*), and many other perſons of the firſt faſhion (*d*). Here Boyce had fine opportunities of improving his fortune, but he made no uſe at all of them. He was indolent, voluptuous, extravagant; and about 1740 ſo extremely reduced, that he had not a ſhirt, a coat, or any kind of apparel to put on; the ſheets in which he lay were carried to the pawnbrokers; and in this condition he was confined to his bed, with no other covering than a blanket. He ſupported himſelf ſix weeks in this diſtreſsful ſituation, by writing verſes for the magazines, when he was relieved by the generoſity of ſome gentlemen, who knew him to be a man of parts (*e*). About the year 1743, he was employed, with others, in writing for the collection of travels (*f*), publiſhed in four volumes, quarto, and was retained about the ſame time by a bookſeller, to tranſlate Fenelon on *The Exiſtence of God* (*g*), and began now to ſupport a better appearance than uſual. Towards the latter end of his life, his behaviour was alſo more decent than it had ever been before, and there were ſome hopes that a reformation, though late, would at length be wrought in him. But while the ſtate of his mind and finances were thus improving, his health declined; he had, however, the ſatisfaction in his laſt lingering illneſs to obſerve a poem of his, intituled *The Deity*, recommended by two celebrated writers, the ingenious Mr Fielding, and Mr Hervey, author of *The Meditations* [*D*]. Mr Boyce died in May 1749, in obſcure lodgings near Shoe-lane, and was buried at the expence of the pariſh [*E*].

(*a*) His letter upon liberty was inſerted in the Dublin Journal 1726.

(*b*) Cibber's lives of the poets.

(*c*) The preſent Lord Mansfield, and Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-bench.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) From memoirs penes me, he was obſerved to be very quick at this work.

(*g*) It was publiſhed in 8vo. and well received by the public.

[*A*] *His father was a miniſter of note.*] This gentleman joined with Weld and Chappin, two other diſſenting miniſters at Dublin, in writing a preface to Abernethey's ſeaſonable advice to the contending parties in the North (1).

[*B*] *Suffered his ſon to waſte the eſtate of the family.*] When the old man lay in his laſt ſickneſs, he was entirely ſupported by preſents from his congregation, and buried after his death at their expence (2).

[*C*] *Lord Stormont ordered him a handſome preſent.*] Though Boyce's name was very well known in that city, yet his perſon was obſcure, for he was perfectly unſocial in his temper; and when he affected company, he choſe that which was very low: ſo that Lord Stormont's kind intention had been defeated, but for an advertiſement publiſhed in one of the weekly papers, deſiring the author of *The Tears of the Muſes* to call at the houſe of his Lordſhip's attorney (3).

[*D*] *Mr Fielding and Mr Hervey.*] The former, in the beginning of his humorous hiſtory of Tom Jones, calls it an excellent poem, and Mr Hervey ſtiles it a pious and inſtructive piece; and that worthy gentleman, upon hearing that the author was in neceſſitous circumſtances, depoſited two guineas in the hands of a truſty perſon, to be given to him whenever his occaſions ſhould preſs (4). This poem was written ſome years before Mr Fielding and Mr Hervey took any notice of it in print; and upon the firſt publication of it, Mr Pope, it is ſaid, being aſked if he was not the author, anſwered in the negative, but with this commendation, that there were many lines in it which he ſhould not be aſhamed of.

[*E*] *Buried by the pariſh.*] Never was a more ſhocking exit, nor a life ſpent with leſs prudence and virtue; and never were uncommon abilities given to leſs purpoſe. His genius was not confined to poetry; he had a taſte for painting, muſic, and heraldry, in the laſt of which he was very well ſkilled. His poetical pieces, if collected, would make ſix moderate volumes; many of them are ſcattered in the Gentleman's Magazine (5), marked with the letter Y, and *Alcæas*. Two volumes were publiſhed at London, but never ſold well.

(1) Life of Abernethy, p. lxvii.

(2) Lives of the Poets by Cibber, Vol. VI.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) From memoirs ut ſupra.

BOYLE [John], Earl of Cork and Orrery in Ireland, and Baron of Marſton in Somerſetſhire in England, a nobleman of diſtinguiſhed learning and genius, the only ſon and heir of Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrery, by the Lady Elizabeth Cecil, daughter to the Earl of Exeter, who brought him into the world on the 2d of January 1706-7 (*a*). He received his education at Chriſtchurch college, Oxford, to which his father had been a ſingular honour, and to which he was afterwards a conſiderable benefactor (*b*), and where the ſon improved his great natural endowments with a large ſtock of ſolid literature (*c*). Soon after he came of age, he married May 9, 1728, the Lady Henrietta Hamilton,

(*a*) Peerage of Ireland, under the article of Charles Earl of Orrery.

(*b*) See remark [*B*].

(*c*) Budgell's memoirs of the Boyle family.

youngeſt daughter to George Earl of Orkney. This match, though made with the entire approbation of the old Earl, yet unluckily happened to bring the ſon ſoon after into ſome uneaſy circumſtances, occaſioned by a family diſpute between his own and his Lady's father. In this unhappy ſituation, it was ſcarce poſſible for him, either not to diſoblige a wife, whom he tenderly loved, and who well deſerved all his love, or a father, whom he both loved and reſpected in the higheſt degree (*d*). He reſolved, however, if poſſible, to do neither, fully perſuaded that his father's excellent underſtanding would ſoon oblige him to reflect upon the unhappy dilemma into which his ſon was thrown. It was not indeed poſſible that a coldneſs could long ſubſiſt between ſuch a father, and ſuch a ſon. They ſoon run into each other's arms. The late coldneſs that had been between them ſerved but to endear them to each other the more, and make them reſolve that no accident ſhould leſſen their affection. Whoever ſaw them together, and they were ſeldom aſunder when in town, would not have taken them for father and ſon, but for two men of quality, between whom there was a moſt ſtrict and intimate friendſhip. The late Lord Orrery now plainly ſaw all the abilities of his ſon, and was ſo much pleaſed with him, that he could hardly be eaſy without him (*e*). But this happineſs proved to be of no long continuance, being put an end to by the unexpected death of the father in 1731 (*f*), a loſs which ſo extremely afflicted the ſon, that it flung him into a fit of ſickneſs, which had like to have coſt him his life, and obliged him to go to Bath for his recovery [*A*]. Nor did this, or any other means, effect a re-eſtabliſhment of his health, which, as is not unuſual in ſuch caſes, was only perfected by the hand of time; ſo that he did not take his ſeat in the Houſe of Peers, as an Engliſh Baron, till November 7, 1735 (*g*); in which year he loſt that much beloved youth and relation Edmund, the ſecond Duke of Bucks, in whoſe company he had paſſed many of his ſweeteſt hours, and to whoſe dear memory he paid the juſt tribute of an excellent copy of verſes (*b*). He had been now ſome time a widower by the death of his firſt Lady, which happened at Cork in Ireland, Auguſt 22, 1732, who, having left him three infants (*i*), he reſolved to provide a mother for them by a ſecond marriage, which was ſolemnized June 30, 1738, with Margaret, daughter and heir of John Hamilton, of Caledon in the county of Tyrone in Ireland, Eſq. Some untoward accidents, which his Lordſhip met with in his youth [*B*], having indiſpoſed him for an active life, he paſſed his time moſtly in his ſtudy, daily exerciſing and improving his excellent talents for polite literature and poetry; in which laſt art he gave occaſionally ſeveral noble ſpecimens, as he did ſeveral others in the copious and curious notes added to his elegant edition of *Pliny the Younger's Letters*, tranſlated into Engliſh, which came out in April 1751, in two volumes quarto, and ſo rapid was the ſale, that another edition was publiſhed in September the ſame year in octavo, and two more have been printed ſince in that ſize. This work he declared was undertaken for the ſervice of his eldeſt ſon the Lord Boyle, and in 1752 he publiſhed in octavo *The Life of Dean Swift*, in ſeveral letters, addreſſed to his ſecond ſon the Honourable Hamilton Boyle, for his uſe, who was then a ſtudent at Chriſtchurch (*k*). The fourth edition of this moſt entertaining piece came out in 1753, and before the expiration of the year, the

(*d*) His Lordſhip probably alludes to this unlucky incident, among others, when he declared that early diſappointments, the perplexed ſtate of his affairs, indifferent health, and many other untoward accidents, all contributed to make him, even in the earlieſt part of life, too fond of retirement. Swift's life, letter I.

(*e*) Budgell's memoirs.

(*f*) See his article in this work.

(*g*) Iriſh Peerage, as before.

(*b*) See the article of the firſt Duke in this work.

(*i*) Viz. Charles Lord Boyle, born Jan. 27, 1728; Hamilton Boyle, born Feb. 23, 1729; and Elizabeth, born May 7, 1731, and married March 4, 1749. to Thomas, only ſon of Sir James Worſley, of Plewell in Hampſhire, Bart. Peerage of Ireland.

(*k*) Perhaps it was upon his carrying this ſon to Chriſtchurch, that his Lordſhip was preſented to the degree of LL. D. at Oxford, Aug. 25, 1743. See the univerſity regiſter. His Lordſhip was alſo a Fellow of the Royal Society, as appears on their regiſter.

[*A*] *He went to Bath for his recovery.*] While he was there, a friend ſent him a letter of condolence upon the death of his father; in which were theſe verſes (1):

'Tis ſaid for every common grief,
The muſes can afford relief;
And ſurely one that holds their train;
A Boyle! can never call in vain.
Then ſtreight invoke the ſacred nine,
Nor impious ſleight their gifts divine:
Diſpel thoſe clouds that damp your fire,
Shew Bath, like Tunbridge, can inſpire.

To theſe his Lordſhip returned the following anſwer:

Nor Bath, nor Tunbridge, can my lays inſpire,
Nor radiant beauty make me ſtrike the lyre:
Far from the buſy world I ſit forlorn,
And ſigh in ſecret, and in ſilence mourn:
Nor can my anguiſh ever find an end,
I weep a father, but I've loſt a friend.

[*B*] *Some diſappointments*, &c. *made him early too fond of retirement.*] Moſt of theſe traverſes have been already mentioned, as they proceeded from a diſpute between his own and his firſt wife's father; upon which Mr Budgell obſerves (2), that "perhaps neither of thoſe noble Lords were wholly in the wrong. There are, continues he, ſome things of ſo tender a nature, that though they are reaſonable enough in themſelves, yet may become unreaſonable, by being inſiſted on at an improper time, or in an improper manner." We ſee here that this writer, a particular friend of the firſt, ſpares not the inſinuation of laying the blame upon him. "It was during the coldneſs (continues the ſame writer) occaſioned by this unhappy incident between our author and his father, that the father made his will, in which he bequeathed his large and elegant library to Chriſtchurch at Oxford (3), except the Journals of the Houſe of Lords, and ſuch books as related to the Engliſh hiſtory and conſtitution, which were left to his ſon, who was allowed the term of three years to ſeparate theſe from the other books. The ſon's friends have often heard him ſay, that though he could not help wiſhing his father had left him his library, and would gladly purchaſe it at any rate; yet, that ſince he was deprived of ſo valuable a treaſure himſelf, he was pleaſed to think it would go to Chriſt-church, the college to which he owed his own academical education; and his father, when he became reconciled to him, reſolved, before he went to Paris, for which place he was to have ſet out but a few days after his death, to have cancelled that will, which he had made in a paſſion, and to have left his library to his ſon, who he was fully convinced deſerved it ſo well, and was as likely to make a proper uſe of it, as any young nobleman in Great Britain. To this purpoſe, he had actually ſent for that gentleman, who had made his will about four years before; but was prevented in this deſign by the precipitate caſe of his unexpected death: which likewiſe prevented him from calling to an account the perſon intruſted with his affairs in Ireland, who he had diſcovered a little before had not returned him one half of the yearly income; yet he left his ſon not only a clear eſtate, but a conſiderable ſum in ready money, and as much plate as amounted to ſix thouſand pounds."

(1) His Lordſhip had wrote ſome humorous verſes when he was at Tunbridge, the year before his father's death. Budgell's memoirs of the family of Boyle.

(2) Ubi ſupra.

(3) It has been ſaid that he had but a mean opinion of his ſon's parts for ſome time, which the ſon turned into a ſpur for a cloſer application to his ſtudies.

on the death of the Lord Burlington [*C*] the title of Earl of Cork devolved upon him. He enjoyed this additional honour ſeveral years, and in that interval having carefully peruſed a curious manuſcript preſented to him by a relation (*l*), he printed it, under the title of *Memoirs of Robert Carey Earl of Monmouth, with explanatory notes* [*D*], in 1759, 8vo. to which he prefixed a ſhort dedication to his third and youngeſt ſon the Honourable Edmund Boyle. His Lordſhip ſurvived this work but a few years, being taken out of the world in the latter end of the year 1762 (*m*). He was ſucceeded by his ſecond ſon Hamilton Boyle, who dying January 1764 without iſſue, the honour and eſtate devolved upon his third ſon Edmund (*n*), the preſent Earl of Cork and Orrery in Ireland, and Baron of Marſton in the county of Somerſet in England.

(*l*) Lady Elizabeth Spelman, daughter to the Earl of Middleton.

(*m*) His Lordſhip's eldeſt ſon died before him, having no iſſue by his wife, the daughter of Mr Hoare, a banker in Fleet-ſtreet, London.

(*n*) He was born at Marſton, Nov. 21, 1742, after the death of his ſiſter Catherine Agnes, born at Cullodon, 31ſt Oct. 1740, and died in Duke-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, Aug. 31, 1741. He had alſo a ſiſter called Lucy, born at Marſton, May 27, 1744. Peerage of Ireland.

[*C*] *Lord Burlington.*] We have the following account of his Lordſhip in the Iriſh peerage (4). Richard Boyle, the fourth Earl of Cork, was born April 25, 1695. On the 9th of October 1714, he was choſen by King George I. into his privy council of Ireland. May 1, 1715, he was made Lord Lieutenant of the weſt-riding of Yorkſhire, of the city of York, and the county of the ſame. Cuſtos Rotulorum, June 21, of the north and weſt-riding of Yorkſhire; and Auguſt 25, Lord High Treaſurer of Ireland, which was renewed to him by K. George II. on his acceſſion to the throne. In September 1727, he was made Vice-Admiral of the county of York; and May 1729, Lord Lieutenant of the weſt riding thereof, and one of the privy-council. May 18, 1730, he was elected Knight of the Garter; into which he was inſtalled June 18th following. On the 12th of June 1731, he was made Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Penſioners, which he reſigned May 4, 1733, together with his appointments in Yorkſhire. His Lordſhip was an encourager of all liberal arts; his ſublime taſte and ſkill in architecture, and his plans and deſigns in that uſeful art, are juſtly admired; among many inſtances whereof, it is ſufficient to mention his noble improvements at his ſeat at Chiſwick near London; his reſtoration of the portico of Covent-Garden church to its original beauty, and the grand aſſembly room he built at York [*a*]. After the finiſhing whereof, being at that city in 1732, he was preſented with his freedom in a gold box, as an acknowledgment of that and other benefactions to the city. In 1737 the barony of Clifford deſcended to him (5), and his claim was allowed by the Houſe of Peers. He had three daughters by his lady, who died a little before him (6), the youngeſt of whom, Lady Charlotte, born 1731, was married March 28, 1748, to William Marquis of Hartington, ſon and heir to William Duke of Devonſhire, who, on his father's deceaſe, ſucceeded to that honour, and is the preſent Duke of Devonſhire, and came into the poſſeſſion, in right of his lady, of a very large eſtate in Ireland, by the death of her father, which happened December 7, 1753 (7).

[*D*] *Memoirs of R. Carey Earl of Monmouth.*] Our noble editor, having in the preface modeſtly confirmed his reſolution to publiſh theſe memoirs by the authority of Mr Horace Walpole (8), proceeds to corroborate that gentleman's opinion from their real merit, particularly in giving a new light to ſeveral tranſactions in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. One of theſe particulars is very remarkable, I mean the dying ſcene of the Queen: 'On Wedneſday the 23d of March,' ſays Sir Robert Carey (9), 'ſhe grew 'ſpeechleſs. That afternoon, by ſigns, ſhe called 'for her council, and by putting her hand to her 'head, when the King of Scots was named to ſucceed her, they all knew he was the man ſhe deſired 'ſhould reign after her (10).' To explain this paſſage, our noble editor ſubjoins the following note. 'The 'ſign here mentioned is a true and indiſputable fact, 'otherwiſe it would not have been inſerted by the 'plain, ſincere, and ingenuous author of theſe memoirs, who was preſent at the time the ſign was 'made; but ſtill it remains a doubt, whether the 'Queen intended it for a ſign or not. The Lords 'preſent pretended to think it one.' Here his Lordſhip barely inſinuates his own opinion; but in the preface he is not afraid to ſpeak out. 'It is certain,' ſays he, 'that Queen Elizabeth could not bear the 'thoughts of a ſucceſſor. The ſpeeches made for 'her on her death-bed are all forged; Echard, Rapin, and a long ſtring of hiſtorians, make her ſay 'faintly (ſo faintly indeed, that it could not poſſibly 'be heard) I WILL THAT A KING SUCCEED ME, 'AND WHO SHOULD THAT BE, BUT MY NEAREST 'KINSMAN THE KING OF SCOTS. A different 'account of this matter will be found in theſe memoirs. She was ſpeechleſs, and almoſt expiring, 'when the chief counſellors of ſtate were called into 'her bedchamber. As ſoon as they were perfectly 'convinced that ſhe could not utter an articulate 'word, and ſcarce could hear or underſtand one, 'they mentioned the King of Scots to her, a liberty 'they dared not to have taken, if ſhe had been able 'to ſpeak. She put her hand to her head, which 'was probably at that time in agonizing pain. The 'Lords, who interpreted her ſigns juſt as they pleaſed, 'were immediately convinced, that the motion of 'her hand to her head was a declaration of James VI. 'as her ſucceſſor. What was this but the unanimous 'interpretation of perſons, who were adoring the 'riſing ſun (11).' P.

(4) Vol I. 1754, p. 101, 102, and p. 296, 297.

(5) He proved himſelf deſcended from the next heir to the Lady Eliz. Clifford, his great grandmother, daughter and heir of Henry Lord Clifford.

(6) She was Lady Dorothy Savile, elder daughter and coheir to William Marquis of Halifax, by the Lady Margaret Finch, his ſecond wife, daughter of Daniel Earl of Nottingham. Her excellent qualities are fully diſplayed in the dedication to her ladyſhip of Shakeſpeare's works, by Mr Theobald; and in a poem on her death, by Mr Weſley.

(7) The Magazines for that month and year.

(8) Who ſays they well deſerved the public view. Catalogue of royal and noble authors. Strawberry-hill, 1758. in 2 vols. 8vo.

(9) Memoirs, p. 176.

(10) This paſſage had been extracted and publiſhed among Sir Tho. Edmond's papers by Dr Birch, in his hiſtorical view of Q. Elizabeth's reign from the year 1519 to 1617.

(11) Preface, p. xi and xii.

[*a*] The foundation-ſtone of this room was laid May 1730, with this inſcription affixed in braſs:

Imp. Georgio Auguſto II.
Richardus Comes de Burlington hujus urbis præſes, ſeculi Mæcenas, has ædes erexit; quo publici exhibeantur ludi; quo proceres undique confluant; quo artes effloreſcant liberales; quo (dilatante negotio) gloria priſtina novo Eboraci ſplendore obumbretur. Ab hoc die natali Carolinæ Reginæ ſereniſſimæ noſtræ March 1, MDCCXXX. ſtabit Brigantium epocha.

BUCHANAN [GEORGE], particularly famous for being the beſt Latin poet of his time, was born, February 1506, in a village called Kilkerne, in the ſhire of Lenox in Scotland (*a*). He was yet an infant, when by the death of his father, and the bankruptcy of his grandfather, the family, whoſe circumſtances were never opulent, found themſelves reduced nearly to extremities, and a mother left a widow with eight children, five ſons and three daughters; however, ſhe managed ſo as to breed them up, wherein ſhe had ſome aſſiſtance from her brother (*b*), who, obſerving this boy's promiſing genius at ſchool, ſent him to Paris for further inſtruction. George was now probably about fourteen years of age (*c*), and made a great proficiency at the French capital; but his uncle dying within two years, the want of money, added to a bad ſtate of health, obliged him to return home. In this indigent condition, he reſolved to try his fortune in the military way, and made a campaign the following year with the French auxiliaries, who had landed in Scotland; but in this attempt he ſuffered ſuch hardſhips, as confined him to his bed all the enſuing winter; ſo that quitting the military, he went on his recovery betimes in the ſpring to the univerſity of St Andrews to learn logic, under a famous profeſſor Mr John Maiz (*d*), whom he followed in the ſummer to Paris. Here he fell into

(*a*) The greateſt part of this article is taken from Buchanan himſelf, in vita propria poemat. prefixa.

(*b*) His name was James Heriot.

(*c*) This is collected by comparing the dates with the facts in the ſubſequent part of his life, in which Buchanan ſcarce ever marks the years.

(*d*) This profeſſor was alſo tutor to the famous John Knox, who was only one year older than Buchanan, who wrote an account of Knox. See Knox's article, the laſt in Vol. IV.

a favourable ſentiment of the Lutheran tenets [*A*], which began to ſpread at that time. After ſtruggling two years with ill fortune, he went upon an invitation, in 1526, to teach grammar in the college of St Barbe, in which ſtation he continued near three years, till he was taken into the family of the young Earl of Caſſels, who, liking his converſation, and valuing his parts, kept him in his hotel at Paris five years, and then carried him into Scotland. Upon the Earl's death, about two years after, Buchanan was preparing to return again to France, when the king [James V.] appointed him preceptor to his natural ſon (*e*) in 1536. But he found it neceſſary to quit this care in a year or two, and provide for his own ſafety. He was informed by his friends at court, that the monks, whom he had made his implacable enemies by his poem *Franciſcanus*, ſought how to deſtroy him, and 'tis certain that Cardinal Beaton got him apprehended, and had given the king a ſum of money to have him executed [*B*]. In this exigence he fled in 1539 (*f*), firſt to England; but not thinking himſelf out of danger there [*C*], he croſſed the ſea to France, and on his arrival at Paris, finding his inveterate enemy Cardinal Beaton at that court, he retired privately to Bourdeaux at the invitation of Andrew Govea [*D*], a learned Portugueze. He taught in the public ſchool, lately erected there, three years; in which time he wrote four tragedies [*E*], which were afterwards occaſionally publiſhed. Mean while Cardinal Beaton wrote to the Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux to get him apprehended; but the letters, luckily for Buchanan, fell into the hands of his friends, who prevented their effect for the preſent; and in 1547 he went into Portugal with Goveanus, who had received orders from the King his maſter to bring him a certain number of men able to teach philoſophy and claſſical learning in the univerſity he had lately eſtabliſhed at Coimbra. Every thing went well as long as Goveanus lived; but after his death, which happened the following year 1548 (*g*), the learned men who followed him, and particularly Buchanan, who was a foreigner, and had few friends, ſuffered every kind of ill uſage from the perſecution of the monks, who, after cavilling with him a year and a half, procured him to be confined in a monaſtery for ſome months [*F*], for better inſtruction in religious matters (*h*). Upon obtaining his liberty in 1551, he applied to the King for a paſſport to return to France; but was prevailed upon to ſtay at the requeſt of his Majeſty, who promiſed to give him a place as ſoon as he could, and ſupplied him with money for his current expences. Buchanan, however, being impatient of delays, croſſed the ſea to England, where not liking

(*e*) Afterwards the famous Earl of Murray, regent of Scotland. Hiſt. of Scotland.

(*f*) Buch. hiſt. rerum Scotic. lib. xiv. p. 277. edit. Rudiman. writes thus: Initio anni 1539, Lutheraniſmi ſuſpecti complures CAPTI ſunt. In his fuit Georgius Buchananus, qui ſopitis cuſtodibus per cubiculi feneſtram evaſerat; i. e. he got out of his chamber window while his guards were aſleep.

(*g*) Remark [*E*] below.

(*h*) Buchanan ſays theſe monks were indeed not bad men, but knew nothing of religion.

[*A*] *He entertained favourable ſentiments of Lutheraniſm.*] This change was apparently wrought in him (as it was in Luther) by the ſcandalous lives of the monks; which provoked him to write the poem called *Somnium* againſt the Franciſcans, and thoſe good fathers in return branded him for an atheiſt. Their clamours made him a little more inclined to Lutheraniſm; and King James returning from France about that time, viz. in 1537, put the eccleſiaſtics into ſo great uneaſineſs; they were afraid that Queen Magdalen, whom he had brought with him, had been tainted with the new opinions, while ſhe lived with her aunt the Queen of Navarre. Some time after a kind of conſpiracy againſt the King being diſcovered, wherein that Prince was perſuaded the Franciſcans had not done their duty, he commanded Buchanan to write ſome verſes againſt them. The poet obeyed without any reluctance, but he kept ſome meaſures, and made uſe of expreſſions ſuſceptible of a double meaning. The Prince, not at all ſatisfied, ordered others more poignant, and was ſerved to his wiſh. Buchanan preſented him with the famous *Silva*, intituled *Franciſcanus* (1).

[*B*] *Cardinal Beaton applied to have him executed*] Our author's words are: *Brevi poſt per amicos ex aula certior factus ſe peti, et Cardinalem Betonium a rege pecunia vitam ejus mercari* ELUSIS CUSTODIBUS *in Angliam evaſit.* Mr Bayle has apparently played the hypocrite upon this paſſage: 'I don't know,' ſays he (2), 'why Buchanan ſuppreſſes his having been 'impriſoned; for it is to ſuppreſs it, to ſay only in 'a vague manner, that he deceived the guards. As 'he was preceptor to the King's natural ſon, Mr 'Bayle ſuppoſes that the guards, then deceived, 'were not the gaolers of the common priſon, but 'only certain perſons who had orders to watch him, 'becauſe he had been rendered ſuſpected (3);' ſo that he has not expreſſed himſelf clearly enough. 'The hiſtory of the reformation,' proceeds he, 'is 'more preciſe in this point; we find there even at 'what time he was impriſoned, a circumſtance which 'Buchanan ought to have ſet down at leaſt in the 'margin, if he apprehended the date of the years 'would have rendered his periods leſs flowing. It 'is from Biſhop Burnet that we learn, that *in* 1539 '*the eccleſiaſtics, highly exaſperated at the ſatires which* '*Buchanan had written againſt them, cauſed him to be* '*put in priſon; and that as the King gave up all the* '*world to them, this great man would, without doubt,* '*have been condemned to capital puniſhment, if he had* '*not had the dexterity to eſcape out of priſon* (4).'

[*C*] *Not thinking himſelf quite ſafe there.*] He tells us, he found things in ſuch an uncertain ſtate there, that Lutherans and Papiſts were burnt in the ſame fire on the ſame day, while Henry VIII. ſtudied more his own ſafety, than the purity of religion (5).

[*D*] *Andrew Govea.*] In Latin *Goveanus*, was a native of Beja in Portugal, and became principal of the college of Barbara at Paris in the 16th century, and was afterwards choſen to the ſame office in the college of Guienne at Bourdeaux, whither he went in 1534; but left it in 1547, to eſtabliſh ſuch another college at Coimbra, by the command of John III. King of Portugal; for this purpoſe he took with him our author, and his brother Patrick, beſides ſeveral others. He enjoyed at Coimbra the ſame poſt he had filled at Bourdeaux, deſigning, however, to return thither, after two years ſpent in ſettling the college at Coimbra; but he died before the expiration of that time, viz. in June 1548, being at moſt fifty years old (6).

[*E*] *He wrote four tragedies.*] Theſe are the *Baptiſta*, the *Medea*, and two others. He wrote them to comply with the rules of the ſchool, which every year demanded a new fable; and his view in chuſing theſe ſubjects, was to draw off the youths of France as much as poſſible from the allegories, which were then greatly in vogue, to an imitation of the antients, in which he ſucceeded beyond his hopes (7).

[*F*] *Confined in a monaſtery.*] His poem againſt the Franciſcans was objected to him by his enemies, though they knew nothing of its contents. Eating fleſh in Lent, which was the common cuſtom throughout the whole kingdom, was charged upon him as a crime; ſome things which he had ſaid glancing at the monks, but at which none but a monk would have been offended, were alſo objected againſt him. It was reckoned a heinous offence in him to have ſaid in a private converſation with ſome Portugueze youths, that he thought St Auſtin favoured rather the Proteſtant, than the Popiſh doctrine of the euchariſt, and two witneſſes were brought to teſtify, that he had ſhewn ſome diſlike to the Romiſh religion (8). It was chiefly at this time that he tranſlated the Pſalms of David into Latin verſe, an excellent work, and which, ſays Mr Bayle, triumphed over the criticiſms of Lewis de la Croix (9).

(1) Buchanan in vita propria.

(2) Under our author's article.

(3) Of Lutheraniſm. See below in note (*e*).

(4) Burnet's hiſt. of the Reformation, part i. book iii.

(5) Buchanan in vita propria.

(6) Bayle, under the article of his uncle Govea [Andrew].

(7) Buchanan in vita propria.

(8) Idem.

(9) A Portugueſe Jeſuit, author of a verſion of the Pſalms in Latin verſe, in the preface to which he cenſures Buchanan. Bayle in his article.

the ſtate of affairs (*i*), he refuſed ſome very advantageous offers to continue there, and went to France in the beginning of 1552. In July 1554, he publiſhed his tragedy of *Jephtha*, with a dedication to Charles de Coſſi Marſhal de Briſſac, who the next year ſent for him into Piedmont, and made him preceptor to his ſon Timoleon de Coſſi. Buchanan ſpent five years in this employ, ſometimes in Italy, and ſometimes in France. He quitted this care in 1560, and paſſing into Scotland, after the troubles which the Guiſes had cauſed there were appeaſed, he publicly profeſſed the reformed religion, as eſtabliſhed there in 1563 (*k*). He went again to France in 1565, from whence he was recalled the following year by Mary Queen of Scots, who had fixed upon him to be preceptor to her ſon, when that Prince ſhould be of a proper age for it, and in the mean time made him principal of St Leonard's college in the univerſity of St Andrews, where he reſided four years; but upon the misfortunes of that Queen, he joined the party of the Earl of Murray, once his pupil, now regent of Scotland, by whoſe order he wrote his *Detection*, reflecting on the Queen's character and conduct, and he was appointed preceptor to her ſon and ſucceſſor the young King James VI. (*l*), by the ſtates of the kingdom. He ſpent his leiſure hours, during the twelve laſt years of his life, in writing the hiſtory of his country, and died in his preceptorſhip at Edinburgh Feb. 28, 1582, aged ſeventy-ſix, with a moſt odious character, according to the Popiſh writers, who are cited by himſelf (*m*), and at the ſame time condemned by Mr Bayle, after Sir James Melvil, who was of the oppoſite party to Buchanan with regard to the Queen of Scots, and therefore cannot well be ſuppoſed to be partial in his favour, and who tells us, that he was a Stoic philoſopher, who looked not far before him; a man of notable endowments for his learning and knowledge in Latin poeſy; much honoured in other countries, pleaſant in converſation, rehearſing on all occaſions moralities, ſhort and inſtructive, whereof he had abundance, inventing where he wanted. He was alſo religious, but eaſily abuſed, and ſo facile, as to be led by every company that he haunted, which made him factious in his old days, ſpeaking and writing as thoſe who were about him informed him; for he was become careleſs, following in many things the vulgar opinion. He was naturally popular, and extremely revengeful againſt any man who had offended him, which was his greateſt fault (*n*). Beſides the pieces already mentioned, he wrote a dialogue concerning the right of Kings, intituled, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*. P.

(*i*) On account of the confuſion, as he ſays, during the minority of Edw. VI.

(*k*) During the five years of his attendance on the Count de Briſſac, he tells us he *ſpent* his leiſure hours in the ſtudy of the Scriptures, to enable him to form a better judgment of the controverſies which at that time divided the Chriſtian world.

(*l*) When it was obſerved to him that he had made his Majeſty a pedant, he replied, that it was the beſt he could make of him.

(*m*) In his memoirs.

(*n*) More particulars of his life may be ſeen in Camden's Elizabeth and Burnet's hiſt. of the Reformation, both cited by Bayle.

BUDGELL [EUSTACE], Eſq; a remarkable inſtance of that pride and vanity too generally incident to ſuperior wit, was deſcended from an antient family in Devonſhire [*A*], and born at St Thomas near Exeter about 1685. After an education for ſome years at Chriſtchurch college in Oxford, he was ſent to London, and entered of the Inner Temple, in the view of being bred to the law; but his inclinations carrying him to the ſtudy of polite literature, he reſolved to accompliſh himſelf therein, and was admitted into the beſt company (*a*). Among others, he contracted a ſtrict intimacy and friendſhip with his kinſman Mr Addiſon; and when that gentleman was appointed ſecretary to Lord Wharton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he took Budgell thither, as one of the clerks of his office, in 1710. He had by this time read the claſſics, the moſt reputed hiſtorians, and the beſt French, Engliſh, and Italian writers. Upon this ſtock he now commenced author, and wrote ſome papers inſerted in the *Tatler*, as alſo in the *Spectator* (*b*), and afterwards in the *Guardian* (*c*). He likewiſe publiſhed, in 1713, an Engliſh tranſlation from the Greek of Theophraſtus's characters, with a dedication to Lord Halifax. Beſides theſe pieces, he wrote about this time ſeveral little ſmart epigrams and ſongs, as alſo the epilogue to the *Diſtreſſed Mother* (*d*), which, added to Mr Addiſon's known affection for him, brought him into general eſteem. In 1715, upon the arrival of King George I. in England, he was appointed under ſecretary to Mr Addiſon [*B*], and chief ſecretary to the Lords Juſtices of Ireland; he was made likewiſe deputy clerk of the council in that kingdom, and ſoon after choſen a member of the Iriſh parliament, where he appeared to be a good ſpeaker. In 1717, Mr Addiſon, being made one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate in England, procured this relation the place of accomptant and controller general of the revenue in Ireland. Mr Budgell held theſe ſeveral places till 1718, when the Duke of Bolton, being made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, diſplaced him from the ſecretary's office, and ſoon after got him removed from the poſt of accomptant general [*C*]. Hereupon he came to England, and ſoon after publiſhed a pamphlet,

representing

(*a*) Account of Mr Budgell, &c. publiſhed ſoon after his death, in 8vo.

(*b*) All the papers ſigned [X] were of his writing, and the whole 8th volume was written by him and Mr Addiſon, without the concurrence of Sir Richard Steele.

(*c*) The papers marked with an aſteriſk are his. See the preface to that work.

(*d*) This had a greater run than any thing of that kind ever had before.

[*A*] *Deſcended from an antient family.*] His father was Gilbert Budgell, D. D. His mother Mary, only daughter of Dr William Gulſton, Biſhop of Briſtol, whoſe ſiſter Jane married Dean Addiſon, and was mother to the famous Mr Joſeph Addiſon (1).

[*B*] *Clerk to Mr Addiſon.*] He might have had him for his under ſecretary, but his continuance in Ireland was thought more expedient to his Majeſty's ſervice (2).

[*C*] *Diſplaced by the Duke of Bolton.*] His Grace carried over with him one Mr Edward Webſter, whom he made a privy counſellor, and his ſecretary. There aroſe, upon ſome account or other, a miſunderſtanding between this gentleman and Mr Budgell, who in that humour treated Mr Webſter's perſon, education, abilities, and family with the utmoſt contempt. He was even indiſcreet enough to write a lampoon, wherein the Lord Lieutenant was not ſpared, which upon his arrival in England, he publiſhed in ſpite of all Mr Addiſon could ſay againſt it (3), under the title of, *A Letter to the Lord ****, from Euſtace Budgell, Eſq; Accomptant General of Ireland, and late Secretary to their Excellencies the Lords Juſtices of that kingdom* (4). Afterwards, in the Poſtboy of Jan. 17, 1718-19, he publiſhed an advertiſement to juſtify his character againſt reports which had been ſpread to

his

(1) See Dean Addiſon's article, Vol. I. p. 30.

(2) Budgell's life, as above.

(3) Idem.

(4) Eleven hundred of theſe were ſold off in one day.

repreſenting his caſe. His behaviour made many of his friends conclude him delirious; and his paſſions were certainly very ſtrong, nor were his vanity and jealouſy leſs ſo. The death of Lord Sunderland, ſecretary of ſtate in 1719, to whom he was related, put an end to all our author's hopes of ſucceeding at court, where he continued nevertheleſs to make ſeveral attempts, but was conſtantly kept down by the weight of the Duke of Bolton. In 1720 Mr Budgell loſt above 20,000 l. in the South-Sea ſcheme, which almoſt ruined him. He tried afterwards to get into parliament at ſeveral places, and ſpent 5000 l. more in unſucceſsful attempts, which completed his ruin [*D*]. From this period he began to behave and live in a different manner than before, wrote libellous pamphlets againſt Sir Robert Walpole, and others of the miniſtry, and did many unjuſt things in regard to his relations, being diſtracted in his private fortune, as he was judged to be in his ſenſes. In 1729, he cloſed with the writers of the Craftſman, and wrote many of thoſe weekly papers, and publiſhed at the ſame time many other political pieces *(d)*. In 1732, he publiſhed the *Life of* Charles *Earl of* Orrery. In 1733, he began a weekly pamphlet called *The Bee.* He had for ſome time contracted an acquaintance with Dr Tindal, upon whoſe death this year our author produced a will, wherein the Doctor bequeathed to him 1000 l. beſides other things: a moſt flagrant piece of iniquity, which has been already laid open under the Doctor's article in this work [*E*]. After the ceſſation of the *Bee*, which had been kept up about two years, Mr Budgell became ſo involved in law-ſuits, that he was reduced to a very unhappy ſituation. He got himſelf called to the bar, and attended ſome time in the courts of law; but finding himſelf uncapable of making any progreſs, and being diſtreſſed to the utmoſt, he determined at length to work his infallible cure. For which purpoſe, in 1736, he took a boat at Somerſet ſtairs, after filling his pockets with ſtones, and ordering the waterman to ſhoot London bridge, he threw himſelf under the arch into the river, where he immediately periſhed *(e)*. He was never married, but left a natural daughter, who afterwards took his name, and was not long ago an actreſs in Drury-Lane. Mr Budgell has the character of an ingenious and elegant writer, agreeable and entertaining, though not argumentative, but ſuperficial. He had undeniably more wit than wiſdom. Beſides the pieces already mentioned, he publiſhed *Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles*, an edition of which came out in 1737, 8vo.

(d) One of the moſt virulent of theſe was, *A Letter to Cleomenes King of Sparta*, which diſgraced the preſs in 1730.

(e) The Magazines.

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his diſadvantage; and he did not ſcruple to declare in all companies, that his life was attempted by his enemies, which deterred him from attending his ſeat in parliament.

[*D*] 5000*l. more in unſucceſsful attempts*, &c.] In 1727, he received 1000 l. from the late Sarah Dutcheſs Dowager of Marlborough (being related by his mother's ſide to the Duke) with a view to his getting into parliament; but as he could never get choſen, this ſcheme failed.

[*E*] *This piece of iniquity has been already laid open.*] Mr Pope alludes to it in this diſtich:

Let Budgell charge low Grubſtreet on my quill,
And write whate'er he pleaſe, except my will. P.
DUNCIAD.

BUTLER [JOSEPH], an Engliſh divine of the moſt diſtinguiſhed learning and charity, ſuceſſively Biſhop of Briſtol and Durham, was born, in the year 1692 *(a)*, at Wantage in Berkſhire, where his father Mr Thomas Butler was a ſubſtantial and reputable ſhopkeeper; and obſerving this the youngeſt of eight children *(b)* to be endued with an excellent genius and inclination for learning, reſolved to breed him up for the miniſtry in his own ſect, which was that of a Preſbyterian. In the proſecution of this deſign, after a ſuitable education at the free grammar-ſchool in that town [*A*], he ſent him to an academy in Glouceſterſhire, to be qualified for a Diſſenting teacher *(c)*; and his diligence there is manifeſt from the extraordinary progreſs he made in the ſtudy of divinity. He had not left this academy when he addreſſed a letter to Dr Samuel Clarke, containing ſome remarks upon his firſt ſermon at Boyle's lecture [*B*]. The ſubject was well known, was particularly

(a) He died in 1752 at the age of ſixty.

(b) From the information of his nephew Mr Butler, a prebendary of St. Paul's.

(c) Idem.

[*A*] *A ſuitable education at the free grammar ſchool.*] The ſchoolmaſter's name was Phil. Barton, who, being a clergyman of the eſtabliſhed church, was preſented by this ſcholar, when Dean of St Paul's, April 4, 1749, to the rectory of Hutton in Eſſex, in the gift of that church, where he died in 1762, and was ſucceeded the ſame year by Mr Trebeck, the preſent rector, and brother-in-law to Dr Thomas Newton, biſhop of Briſtol, and a reſidentiary of St Paul's.

[*B*] *He addreſſed Dr Clarke upon the ſubject of his firſt ſermon at Mr Boyle's lecture.*] In this letter, which was dated November 4, 1713, our young ſtudent, after a modeſt apology for this addreſs from a ſtranger, expreſſes a particular ſatisfaction on meeting with an attempt to *demonſtrate* the being of a God, which he obſerves was more than had been done before; but in peruſing it there aroſe two difficulties to him, the chief of which was in the Doctor's proof, that the ſelf-exiſtent Being muſt of neceſſity be but one (1). The other difficulty, which precedes this in the letter, aroſe from the Doctor's argument to prove the infinity or omnipreſence of the ſelf-exiſtent Being (2). This difficulty, he declares afterwards, was cleared up to his ſatisfaction by the Doctor; and our ſtudent, in his fifth letter, ſpeaking of the ſelf-exiſtent Being, writes thus: 'Could we make the ſuppoſition of its ceaſing 'to be, yet ſpace and duration would ſtill remain 'unaltered (viz. in the neceſſity of their exiſtence); 'but I grant the ſuppoſition is abſurd, yet how other'wiſe can we know whether any thing be a property 'of ſuch a ſubſtance, but by examining whether it 'would ceaſe to be, if the ſuppoſed ſubſtance ſhould 'do ſo.' He then proceeds thus: 'Notwithſtanding 'what I have now ſaid, I cannot ſay that I believe 'your argument not concluſive; for I muſt own my 'ignorance, that I am really at a loſs about the 'nature of ſpace and duration; but did it plainly 'appear that they were properties of a ſubſtance *, 'we ſhould have an eaſy way with the atheiſts, for 'it would at once prove demonſtrably an eternal 'neceſſary ſelf-exiſtent Being; that there is but one 'ſuch; and that he is needful, in order to the ex'iſtence of all other things: which makes me think, 'that though it may be true, yet it is not obvious to 'every capacity, otherwiſe it would have been ge'nerally uſed as a fundamental argument to prove 'the being of a God. In anſwer to this letter the 'Doctor obſerves, that our ſtudent's granting the 'abſurdity

(1) Prop. VII. edit. 2d, p. 74.

(2) Prop. VI. p. 69, 70.

* This problem has exerciſed our profoundeſt metaphyſicians ever ſince, as Waterland, Law, Jackſon, Maclaurin, &c.

particularly abſtruſe and metaphyſical to a degree greatly above his years, but was drawn with a penetration and knowledge, which the Doctor thought worthy of a particular notice. This condeſcenſion encouraged Mr Butler to addreſs the Doctor again upon the ſame ſubject, which was likewiſe again anſwered by that divine; and the correſpondence being carried on in three other letters, the whole was annexed to the fourth edition of the Doctor's celebrated treatiſe upon the *Being and Atributes of God*, and the collection has been retained in all the ſubſequent editions of that work. In the mean time, our author having made it his buſineſs to enter into a thorough examination of the principles of Nonconformity, he grew diſſatisfied therewith, and reſolving to conform to the eſtabliſhed church, thought fit to communicate his intention to his father, who, after trying all proper methods in his power without any effect *(d)* to prevent it, yielded at length to his ſon's fixed reſolution, and ſuffered him to remove to Oxford, where he was admitted a commoner of Oriel college, March 17, 1714 *(e)*. He was now two-and-twenty years old, an age ſufficient for deacon's orders, and muſt have been epiſcopally ordained prieſt as ſoon as he had attained the canonical age, his 24th year, if it be true that he ſometimes aſſiſted Mr Edward Talbot in the divine ſervice at his living of Hendred near Wantage *(f)*. This gentleman, a ſon of the Biſhop of Durham, and younger brother of the Lord High Chancellor Talbot, was contemporary with Mr Butler at the college *(g)*, and being much pleaſed with his rare qualities both intellectual and moral, took him into his particular acquaintance and friendſhip. *That* friendſhip laid the foundation of all his ſubſequent preferments, and he reaped the firſt-fruits of it in a very ſhort time. In 1718, apparently by the recommendation of the laſt-mentioned family, he was appointed by Sir Joſeph Jekyl to be preacher at the Rolls *(h)*, ſome years before he had taken any degree in the univerſity, where he did not go out Batchelor of Law till the 10th of June 1721 *(i)*, which, however, was as ſoon as that degree could be ſtatutably conferred upon him. He continued at the Rolls till 1726, which year he publiſhed, in one volume 8vo. *Fifteen ſermons preached at that chapel* [C]. In the interim he became

absurdity of the ſuppoſition he was endeavouring to make, was conſequently granting the neceſſary truth of his argument of ſpace and duration's neceſſarily remaining, even after they are ſuppoſed to be taken away; and by not doing this, it is plain they are not themſelves ſubſtances, and that the ſubſtance, on whoſe exiſtence they depend, will neceſſarily remain likewiſe, even after it is ſuppoſed to be taken away; which ſhews that ſuppoſition to be abſurd and contradictory.' Upon the whole, the Doctor obſerves in the concluſion, that our ſtudent's difficulty aroſe in not ſufficiently conſidering the nature of abſolute neceſſity, which muſt neceſſarily exiſt every where. This remark was plainly made by the Doctor, in conſequence of our ſtudent's prior declaration to conſider the argument by himſelf, without troubling the Doctor any further about it. Thus ended this amicable controverſy in 1714 (3). But this remark muſt not be cloſed without obſerving, in juſtice to Mr Butler, that in his objections to Dr Clarke's notion of the nature of ſpace and duration, which include his diſſatiſfaction with the argument *à priori*, he raiſed the firſt battery againſt that argument; and though through modeſty, conſidering his youthful age, he forbore to puſh it to the utmoſt, yet he was followed therein by others of more ſtrength and aſſurance (4), who played upon it ſo effectually, as abſolutely demoliſhed it. It is obſervable, that Dr Clarke evidently raiſed the hint for erecting that argument from Sir Iſaac Newton's general ſcholium at the end of his *Principia*, &c. and had he kept within the bounds which that great maſter never tranſgreſſed, he might have avoided the imputation of this metaphyſical chimera, to demonſtrate the neceſſary exiſtence of the Deity *à priori*.

[*C*] *He publiſhed* 15 *ſermons*, &c.] The great demand for the 1ſt edit. obliged him to print a ſecond reviſed and improved in 1729‖, to which he prefixed a preface, wherein having obviated a complaint that theſe diſcourſes were abſtruſe, by obſerving that this difficulty was unavoidable, from the abſtruſeneſs of the truths advanced in them, he proceeds to make ſome illuſtrations of what ſeemed moſt to require them: ‘There are two ways,' ſays he, ‘in which the ſubject of morals may be treated; one begins from enquiring into the abſtract relations of things; the other from a matter of fact, namely, what the particular nature of man is, its ſeveral parts, their oeconomy or inſtitution; from whence it proceeds to determine what courſe of life it is, which is correſpondent to this whole nature.' In the former method the concluſion is expreſſed thus: ‘That vice is contrary to the nature and reaſon of things; in the latter, that it is a violation, or breaking in upon our own nature; they both lead us to the ſame thing, our obligations to the practice of virtue; and thus they exceedingly ſtrengthen and ſupport each other. The firſt ſeems the moſt direct formal proof, and in ſome reſpects the leaſt liable to diſpute; the latter is in a peculiar manner adapted to ſatisfy a fair mind, and is more eaſily applicable to the ſeveral particular relations and circumſtances of life. The following diſcourſes proceed chiefly in this latter method; the three firſt wholly. They were intended to explain what is meant by the nature of man, when it is ſaid that virtue conſiſts in following, and vice in deviating from it; and by explaining, to ſhew that the aſſertion is true, that the antient moraliſts had ſome inward feeling or other, which they choſe to expreſs in this manner; that man is born to virtue; that it conſiſts in following nature; and that vice is more contrary to this nature than tortures or death, of which their works in our hands are inſtances. But it need not be thought ſtrange, that this manner of expreſſion, though familiar with them, and if not uſually carried ſo far, yet not uncommon amongſt ourſelves, ſhould want explaining; ſince there are ſeveral perceptions daily felt and ſpoken of, which yet it may not be very eaſy at firſt view to explicate, to diſtinguiſh from all others, and aſcertain exactly what the idea or perception is. The many treatiſes upon the paſſions are a proof of this; ſince ſo many would never have undertaken to unfold their ſeveral complications, and trace and reſolve them into their principles, if they had thought what they were endeavouring to ſhew was obvious to every one, who felt and talked of thoſe paſſions. Thus, tho' there ſeems no ground to doubt but that the generality of mankind have the inward perception expreſſed ſo commonly in that manner by the antient moraliſts, more than to doubt whether they have thoſe paſſions; yet it appeared of uſe to unfold that inward conviction, and lay it open in a more explicit manner than I had ſeen done; eſpecially when there were not wanting perſons, who manifeſtly miſtook the whole thing, and ſo had great reaſon to expreſs themſelves diſſatisfied with it. A late author (5) of great and deſerved reputation ſays, that to place virtue in following nature, is at beſt a looſe way of talk. And he has reaſon to ſay this, if what I think he intends to expreſs, though with great decency, be true, that ſcarce any other ſenſe can be put upon thoſe words, but acting according as the ſeveral parts without diſtinction of a man's nature happened moſt to incline him.' To this our author anſwers: ‘Whoever thinks it worth while to conſider this matter thoroughly, ſhould begin with ſtating to himſelf exactly the idea of a ſyſtem, oeconomy or conſtitution of any particular,

(d) He procured ſome of the moſt eminent divines of that perſuaſion to attack him. Communicated by Mr Fawcett, verger of St Paul's.

(e) From the college regiſter.

(f) The verger of St Paul's and Mr Butler our author's nephew.

(g) See the article of Chancellor Talbot, under the remark [*B*].

(h) From the information of Mr Rooke, keeper of the records in the Rolls chapel, which is confirmed in the preface to our author's Sermons, preached, as he there declares, in a courſe of eight years at that chapel.

(i) From the univerſity regiſter.

(3) The Doctor's fifth anſwer is dated April 8th that year.

(4) For inſtance, Mr Gretton, Mr Law, and Dr Waterland, who have likewiſe ſhewn the incluſiveneſs of Dr Clarke's argument à priori.

‖ The 4th edit. was publiſhed in 1749.

(5) Mr Wollaſton, in his Religion of nature delineated, edit. 1724, p. 22, 23.

became Rector of Haughton, a very valuable benefice in the biſhoprick of Durham, to which he had been preſented, in 1722 (*k*), by Dr Talbot Biſhop of that ſee, who likewiſe about

'or particular any thing; and he will I ſuppoſe find, that it is a one or a whole made up of ſeveral parts, but yet the ſeveral parts, even conſidered as a whole, do not complete the idea, unleſs in the notion of a whole you include the ſeveral relations and reſpects which thoſe parts have to each other. Every work both of nature and art is a ſyſtem; and as every particular thing both natural and artificial is for ſome uſe or purpoſe out of and beyond itſelf, one may add to what has been already brought into the idea of a ſyſtem, its concluſiveneſs to this one or more ends. Let us inſtance in a watch—Suppoſe the ſeveral parts of it taken to pieces, and placed apart from each other; let a man have ever ſo exact a notion of thoſe ſeveral parts, unleſs he conſiders the reſpects and relations which they have to each other, he will not have any thing like the idea of a watch. Suppoſe theſe ſeveral parts brought together, and any how united, neither will he yet, be the union ever ſo cloſe, have an idea which bears any reſemblance to that of a watch; but let him view thoſe ſeveral parts put together, or conſider them as put together in the manner of a watch; let him form a notion of the relation which thoſe ſeveral parts have to each other—all conducive in their reſpective ways to this purpoſe, ſhewing the hour of the day; and then he has the idea of a watch. Thus it is with regard to the inward frame of man; appetites, paſſions, and affections, and the principle of reflection, conſidered merely as the ſeveral parts of our inward nature, do not at all give us an idea of the ſyſtem or conſtitution of this nature, becauſe the conſtitution is formed by ſomewhat not yet taken into conſideration, namely, by the relations which theſe ſeveral parts have to each other; the chief of which is the authority of reflection or conſcience.—From this idea it will as fully appear, that this our nature, i. e. conſtitution, is adapted to virtue, as from the idea of a watch it appears, that its nature, i. e. conſtitution or ſyſtem, is adapted to meaſure time. What in fact or event commonly happens, is nothing to this queſtion; every work of art is apt to be out of order; but this is ſo far from being according to its ſyſtem, that let the diſorder increaſe, and it will totally deſtroy it. This is merely by way of explanation what an oeconomy ſyſtem or conſtitution is; and thus far the caſes are perfectly parallel (6). Thus nothing can poſſibly be more contrary to nature than vice; meaning by nature not only *the ſeveral parts* of our internal frame, but alſo the *conſtitution* of it. Poverty and diſgrace, tortures and death, are not ſo contrary to it. Miſery and injuſtice are indeed equally contrary to ſome different parts of our nature taken ſingly; but injuſtice is moreover contrary to the whole conſtitution of our nature. From theſe and ſuch like determinations of the antient philoſophers, it is evident they had a perception that injuſtice was contrary to their nature, and that pain was ſo too. They obſerved theſe two perceptions totally different, not in degree, but in kind; and the reflecting upon each of them, as they thus ſtood in their nature, wrought a full intuitive conviction, that more was due, and of right belonged to one of theſe inward perceptions, than to the other; that it demanded in all caſes to govern ſuch a creature as man. So that upon the whole infers he, in anſwer to Mr Wollaſton, this is a fair and true account of what was the ground of their conviction; of what they intended to refer to when they ſaid, *Virtue conſiſted in following nature*: a manner of ſpeaking not looſe and indeterminate, but clear and diſtinct, ſtrictly juſt and true.—In proceeding, he alſo takes Lord Shaftſbury to taſk, obſerving, that the not taking into conſideration this authority of conſcience, which is implied in the idea of reflex approbation or diſapprobation, ſeems a material deficiency or omiſſion in his Lordſhip's *Inquiry concerning Virtue*. He has ſhewn, beyond all contradiction, that virtue is naturally the intereſt or happineſs, and vice the miſery of ſuch a creature as man, placed in the circumſtances which we are in this world. But ſuppoſe there are particular exceptions; a caſe which this author was unwilling to put; and yet ſurely it is to be put: or ſuppoſe a caſe which he has put and determined, that of a ſceptic not convinced of this happy tendency of virtue, or being of a contrary opinion. His determination is, that it would be *without remedy* (7). One may ſay more explicitly, that leaving out the authority of reflex approbation or diſapprobation, ſuch an one would be under an obligation to act viciouſly; ſince intereſt, one's own happineſs, is a manifeſt obligation, and there is not ſuppoſed to be any other obligation in the caſe. But does it much mend the matter to take in that natural authority of reflection? There indeed would be an obligation to virtue; but would not the obligation from the ſuppoſed intereſt of vice remain? If it ſhould, yet to be under two contrary obligations, i. e. under none at all, would not be exactly the ſame, as to be under a formal obligation to be vicious, or to be in circumſtances, in which the conſtitution of man's nature plainly required that vice ſhould be preferred. But the obligation on the ſide of intereſt really does not remain; for the natural authority of the principle of reflection, is an obligation the moſt near and intimate, the moſt certain and known: whereas the contrary obligation can at the utmoſt appear no more than probable; ſince no man can be certain, in any circumſtances, that vice is his intereſt in the preſent world, much leſs can he be certain againſt another: and thus the certain obligation would intirely ſuperſede and deſtroy the certain one.

'In truth, the taking in this conſideration totally changes the whole ſtate of the caſe; and ſhews what this author does not ſeem to have been aware of, that the greateſt degree of ſcepticiſm, which he thought poſſible, will ſtill leave men under the ſtricteſt moral obligations, whatever their opinion be concerning the happineſs of virtue. For that mankind upon reflection felt an approbation of what was good, and diſapprobation of the contrary, he thought a plain matter of fact, as it undoubtedly is, which none could deny, but from mere affectation. Take in then that authority and obligation, which is a conſtituent part of this reflex approbation, and it will undeniably follow, though a man ſhould doubt of every thing elſe, yet that he would ſtill remain under the neareſt and moſt certain obligation to the practice of virtue; an obligation implied in the very idea of virtue, in the very idea of reflex approbation. And how little influence ſoever this obligation alone can be expected to have in fact upon mankind, yet one may appeal to intereſt and ſelf-love, and aſk, ſince from man's nature, condition, and the ſhortneſs of life, ſo little, ſo very little indeed can poſſibly in any caſe be gained by vice, whether it be ſo prodigious a thing to ſacrifice that little to the moſt intimate of all obligations, and which a man cannot tranſgreſs without being ſelf-condemned, and unleſs he has corrupted his nature without real ſelf diſlike? this queſtion, I ſay, may be aſked, even upon ſuppoſition that the proſpect of a future life were ever ſo uncertain.

'The obſervation that man is thus by his very nature a law to himſelf, purſued to its juſt conſequences, is of the utmoſt importance; becauſe from it 'twill follow, that though men ſhould, through ſtupidity or ſpeculative ſcepticiſm, be ignorant of or diſbelieve any authority in the univerſe to puniſh the violation of this law, yet if there ſhould be ſuch authority, they would be as really liable to puniſhment, as though they had been before-hand convinced that ſuch puniſhment would follow. For in whatever ſenſe we underſtand juſtice, even ſuppoſing what I think would be very preſumptuous to aſſert, that the end of divine puniſhment is no other than that of civil puniſhment, namely, to prevent future miſchief; upon this bold ſuppoſition, ignorance or diſbelief of the ſanction would by no means exempt even from this juſtice; becauſe it is not foreknowledge of the puniſhment which renders obnoxious to it, but merely violating a known obligation.

'And here it comes in one's way to take notice of a manifeſt error or miſtake in the author now cited, unleſs perhaps he incautiouſly expreſſed himſelf ſo as

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(*k*) Communicated by Dr Secker, the preſent Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

(6) If we go farther, there is, indeed, continues he, a difference nothing to the preſent purpoſe, but too important an one ever to be omitted. A machine is inanimate and paſſive, but we are agents. Our conſtitution is put in our own power, we are charged with it: and therefore are accountable for any diſorder or violation of it.

(7) Characteriſt. Vol. II. p. 69.

about the year 1625 promoted him to the rectory of Stanhope [*D*] in the ſame dioceſe (*l*), ſaid to be the richeſt parſonage in England *. He divided his time between his pariſhes and the Rolls, till he quitted the laſt in 1726. After which he conſtantly reſided at Stanhope, in the conſcientious performance of all the duties of a good pariſh prieſt till 1733, when Mr Charles Talbot being raiſed to the peerage, and made Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain (*m*), pitched upon him for his chaplain. Upon receiving this notice he preſently ſet out for the capital, and taking Oxford in his road (*n*), was inveſted there with the degree of Doctor of Law, June 8, that year (*o*). Upon his arrival at London, he was immediately taken under the wing of his noble patron, who was careful to provide ſo as that this new honour ſhould infringe as little as poſſible upon his duty at Stanhope [*E*]; the Chancellor alſo gave him a prebend in the church of Rocheſter. Such was his agreeable ſituation as long as the Chancellor lived; during which he received the additional honour of being appointed, in 1736, clerk of the cloſet to Q. Caroline (*p*), to whom he preſented a copy of his excellent treatiſe *The analogy of religion natural and revealed to the conſtitution and courſe of nature* [*F*], before it was publiſhed that year †. He attended her

* A principal part of the revenue ariſes from [illegible] tithes iſſuing [illegible] ſome lead mines in the pariſh belonging to the Blacket family.

(*l*) Idem.

(*m*) See his article.

(*n*) From the information of Mr Fawcett, who attended him.

(*o*) The univerſity regiſter.

† This edit. was in 4to. The 2d edit. with improvements came out in 1750, 8vo. as did alſo the two ſubſequent editions.

(*p*) From the Court Regiſter and London Magazine for that year.

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to be miſunderſtood, namely, that *it is malice only, and not goodneſs which can make us afraid* (8); whereas in reality goodneſs is the natural and juſt object of the greateſt fear to an ill man. Malice may be appeaſed or ſatiated, humour may change, but goodneſs is a fixed, ſteady, immoveable principle of action; if either of the former holds the ſword of juſtice, there is plainly ground for the greateſt of crimes to hope for impunity; but if it be goodneſs, there can be no poſſible hope, whilſt the reaſons of things or the ends of government call for puniſhment. Thus every one ſees how much greater chance of impunity an ill man has in a partial adminiſtration, than in a juſt and upright one. It is ſaid, that *the intereſt or good of the whole, muſt be the intereſt of the univerſal Being, and that he can have no other*. Be it ſo. This author has proved, that vice is naturally the miſery of mankind in this world; conſequently it was for the good of the whole that it ſhould be ſo. What ſhadow of reaſon then is there to aſſert, that this may not be the caſe hereafter? Danger of future puniſhment (and if there be danger there is ground of fear) no more ſuppoſes malice, than the preſent feeling of puniſhment does †.'

[*D*] *Preſented to Stanhope.*] The honours of theſe favours from Bp Talbot were not a little heightened by the pleaſure of ſeeing his particular friend Mr Secker reared up under the wing of the ſame patron Bp Talbot. I mean Dr Secker, the preſent moſt worthy Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who has been pleaſed to favour me with this account relative to his acquaintance with our author: that he was the eldeſt ſon of a gentleman of a ſmall fortune in Nottinghamſhire, bred at the free ſchool of Cheſterfield in Derbyſhire, became an intimate friend of Mr Butler at the academy in Glouceſterſhire, applied himſelf afterwards to the ſtudy of phyſic, which he purſued five years at London, Paris, and Leyden, and at the laſt place took the degree of M. D. in March 172$\frac{0}{1}$. But changing his purpoſe, he entered himſelf of Exeter College, Oxford, April 1721; took epiſcopal orders, and was made domeſtick chaplain to Biſhop Talbot in 1722; received from him the rich rectory of Houghton le Spring in 1723; married the ſiſter of Dr Benſon, afterwards Biſhop of Glouceſter, in the latter end of 1725; and exchanged his rectory for that of Ryton near Newcaſtle, and a prebend of Durham in 1727 (9).

[*E*] *His duty at Stanhope was hindered as little as poſſible.*] For this purpoſe the Chancellor, who had another chaplain, required only the attendance of one at a time upon himſelf, which being divided half yearly between them, each was at liberty to reſide upon his pariſh ſix months in the year. His Lordſhip's other chaplain was Mr Upton, who being bred at Exeter College, Oxford, became a fellow of it, and afterwards tutor to two of the chancellor's ſons there *. The Chancellor gave him a prebend of Rocheſter, which he enjoyed till his death, which happened Dec. 9, 1760. He left the reputation of a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed claſſical learning. He publiſhed an edition of *Spenſer's Fairy Queen, with notes critical and explanatory, and an account of his life prefixed* (10); as alſo *Critical Remarks* upon *Shakeſpeare*, beſides other things (11).

[*F*] *His analogy*, &c.] This incomparable performance is dedicated to the Chancellor, to teſtify the author's gratitude for the many favours received from his Lordſhip, and his father, ſome time Biſhop of Durham. The treatiſe contains the finiſhing and completion of that way of reaſoning, the foundation whereof was laid in his ſermons; the laſt of which, *On the Ignorance of Man*, concludes with the true uſe to be made of that ignorance. 'Firſt,' ſays he, 'we may learn from it with what temper of mind a man ought to enquire into the ſubject of religion, namely, with expectation of finding difficulties, and with a diſpoſition to take up and reſt ſatisfied with any evidence whatever which is real. Secondly, our ignorance is the proper anſwer to many things, which are called objections againſt religion, particularly to thoſe which ariſe from the appearances of evil and irregularity in the conſtitution of nature, and the government of the world.' Thus the *Sermons* were an introduction to, and paved the way for, *the Analogy*; in the introduction to which he ſhews, 'that man is formed to be governed by probabilities both in ſpeculative and practical caſes, and aſſerts the argument from analogy to be natural, juſt, and concluſive. That he who denies the ſcripture to have been from God, upon the difficulties found in it, may for the very ſame reaſon deny the world to have been formed by him. On the other hand, if there be an analogy or likeneſs between that ſyſtem of things and diſpenſation of Providence which revelation informs us of, and that ſyſtem of things and diſpenſation of Providence which experience, together with reaſon, informs us of, i. e. the known courſe of nature, it is a preſumption that they have both the ſame author and cauſe, at leaſt ſo far as to anſwer objections againſt the former being from God, drawn from any thing which is analogical or ſimilar to what is in the latter, which is acknowledged to be from Him: for an author of nature is here ſuppoſed. This, he obſerves, is no hypotheſis like that of Des Cartes's formation of the world, or explaining the ſtructure of the human body, and the nature of diſeaſes and medicines from mere mathematics without ſufficient *data*. It muſt be allowed juſt to join abſtract reaſoning with the obſervation of facts, and argue from ſuch facts as are known, to others that are like them; from that part of divine government over intelligent creatures, which comes under our view, to that larger and more general government over them, which is beyond it; and from what is preſent to collect what is likely, credible, or not incredible, will be hereafter ‡.

'If we act at all, we cannot but act upon this method of concluding and determining in the common affairs of life, which is evidently concluſive in various degrees, proportionable to the degree of exactneſs of the whole analogy or likeneſs. And having ſo great authority for its introduction into the ſubject of religion, even revealed religion, my deſign (continues he) is to apply it to that ſubject in general, both natural and revealed; taking it for proved that there is an intelligent author of nature, and natural governor of the world; for as there is no preſumption againſt this, prior to the proof of it, ſo it hath been often proved with accumulative evidence, from this argument of analogy and final cauſes, from abſtract reaſoning, from the antient tradition and teſtimony, and from the general account of mankind: nor does it appear, as far as I can find, to be denied by the generality of thoſe, who profeſs themſelves diſſatisfied with the evidence of religion.

'In proceeding, let us turn our thoughts (continues he) to what we experience to be the conduct of na-

'ture

(8) Characteriſt. Vol. I. p. 39.

† The reaſon of this long extract will be ſeen in Ld Shafteſbury's article.

(9) Communicated by Dr Secker, the preſent Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who, I can aſſure the reader, never took (as ſome have imagined) preſbyterian orders, or offered himſelf to be a diſſenting miniſter, nor ever received the communion in any other than the eſtabliſhed church.

* See Chancellor Talbot's article, p. 3908.

(10) See Spenſer's article.

(11) See Shakeſpeare's article.

‡ We have ſhewn already, under Mr Locke's article, that this argument from analogy was made uſe of by St Paul, to enforce the credibility of his doctrine to the Corinthians concerning the reſurrection of the dead.

her Majeſty, by her ſpecial command, from ſeven to nine in the evening every day (q); and though this particular relation to that excellent and learned Queen was ſoon determined by her death in 1737 (r), yet he had been ſo effectually recommended by her, as well as by the chancellor, to the royal favour, that the King raiſed him the next year to the higheſt order in the church, by a nomination to the biſhoprick of Briſtol [G], to which he was conſecrated

(q) Fawcett.

(r) The magazines.

ture reſpecting intelligent creatures, which may be reſolved into general laws or rules of demonſtration, in the ſame way as many of the laws of nature reſpecting inanimate matter may be collected from experiments; and let us compare the known conſtitution and courſe of nature, the acknowledged diſpenſations of providence, or that government which we find ourſelves under, with what religion teaches us to believe and expect, and ſay whether they are not analogous and of apiece; and by ſuch compariſon I think it will be found, that they are very much ſo; that both may be traced up to the ſame general laws, and reſolved into the ſame principles of divine conduct.

‘ Now, the divine government of the world implied in the notion of religion in general, and of Chriſtianity in particular, contains in it, That mankind is appointed to live in a future ſtate, chap. i. That there every one will be rewarded or puniſhed, chap. ii. Rewarded or puniſhed reſpectively for all that behaviour here, which we comprehend under the words virtuous or vicious, moral good or evil, chap. iii. That the preſent life is a probation, a ſtate of trial, chap. iv. and of that alone, chap. v. For that a future one, notwithſtanding the objections which men may fancy to have from notions of neceſſity againſt there being any ſuch moral plan, is appointed to all, chap. vi †. And whatever objections may appear to lie againſt the wiſdom and goodneſs of it, as it ſtands imperfectly made known to us at preſent, chapter vii. That this world being in a ſtate of apoſtaſy and wickedneſs, and conſequently of ruin, and the ſenſe both of their condition and duty being greatly corrupted among men, this gave occaſion for an additional diſpenſation of Providence, of the utmoſt importance, part II. chap. i. proved by miracles, chap. ii. but containing many things appearing to us ſtrange, and not to have been expected, chap. iii. a diſpenſation of Providence, which is a ſcheme or ſyſtem of things, chap. iv. carried on by the mediation of a divine perſon the Meſſiah, in order to the recovery of the world, chap. v. yet not revealed to all men, nor proved with the ſtrongeſt poſſible evidence to all thoſe to whom it is revealed, but only to ſuch a part of mankind, and with ſuch particular evidence, as the wiſdom of God thought fit, chap. vi and vii.

‘ The deſign then of the following treatiſe will be to ſhew, that the ſeveral parts principally objected againſt in this moral and Chriſtian diſpenſation, including its ſcheme, its publication, and the proof which God hath afforded us of its truth, that the particular parts principally objected againſt in this whole diſpenſation are analogous to what we ſee experienced in the conſtitution and courſe of nature and Providence; and that the chief objections themſelves, which are alledged againſt the former, are no other than what may be alledged with the like juſtneſs againſt the latter, where they are found in fact to be inconcluſive, and that this argument from analogy is in general unanſwerable, and undoubtedly of weight on the ſide of religion, chapter vii. notwithſtanding the objections which may ſeem to lie againſt it, and the real ground which there may be for difference of obligation to the particular degree of weight which is to be laid upon it. This is a general account of what may be looked for in the following treatiſe; and I ſhall begin with what is the foundation of all our hopes and fears, which are of any conſideration, I mean a future ſtate *.’

To this treatiſe are ſubjoined two eſſays; 1. *Of perſonal identity*; 2. *Of the nature of virtue*. In the firſt, our author obſerves, that ‘ the queſtion wherein perſonal identity conſiſts, is anſwered the ſame way as, that wherein conſiſts ſimilitude or equality, which though all attempts to define would but perplex, yet there is no difficulty at all in aſcertaining the idea; for as by two triangles being compared or viewed together, there ariſes to the mind the idea of ſimilitude, ſo likewiſe upon the conſciouſneſs of one's ſelf, or one's own exiſtence in any two diſtant moments being compared, there as immediately ariſes to the mind the idea of perſonal identity. This compariſon ſhews us the identity of ourſelves in thoſe two moments, and raiſes the idea of perſonal identity. But though conſciouſneſs thus aſcertains our perſonal identity, or ourſelves, yet to ſay that conſciouſneſs conſtitutes perſonality, or is neceſſary to our being the ſame perſons, is to ſay that a perſon has not exiſted a ſingle moment, nor done one action, but what he can remember, indeed none but what he reflects on: conſciouſneſs of perſonal identity preſuppoſes, and therefore cannot conſtitute perſonal identity, any more than knowledge in any other caſe can conſtitute truth, which it preſuppoſes.

‘ The thing (continues he) here conſidered and demonſtratively determined is propoſed by Mr Locke, in theſe words (12): Whether it, that is, the ſame ſelf or perſon, be the ſame identical ſubſtance; and he has ſuggeſted what is a much better anſwer to the queſtion than that, which he gives it in form; for he defines perſon a thinking intelligent being, &c. and perſonal identity the ſame as of a rational being; the queſtion then is, whether the ſame rational being is the ſame ſubſtance? which needs no anſwer, becauſe being and ſubſtance in this place ſtand for the ſame idea. The ground of the doubt whether the ſame being is the ſame ſubſtance, is ſaid to be this, that the conſciouſneſs of our own exiſtence in any diſtant moments is not the ſame conſciouſneſs, but different ſucceſſive conſciouſneſſes. Surely a perſon may have a capacity of knowing ſome object or other to be the ſame now, which it was when he contemplated it formerly, yet in this caſe, where by the ſuppoſition the object is perceived to be the ſame, the perception of it in any two moments cannot be one and the ſame perception; and thus though the ſucceſſive conſciouſneſſes, which we have of our own exiſtence, are not the ſame, yet are they conſciouſneſſes of one and the ſame thing or object, of the ſame perſon, ſelf, or living agent; the perſon, whoſe exiſtence is felt now, and was felt a year ago, is diſcerned to be not two perſons, but one and the ſame perſon, and therefore is one and the ſame.’ Mr Locke's obſervations upon the ſubject appear too haſty, and he appears to be himſelf diſſatisfied with the ſuppoſitions he has made about it (13). In his ſecond eſſay *Of the nature of virtue*, his buſineſs is to prove that we have a faculty of approving and diſapproving actions or characters, which is the ſtandard of virtue: ‘ It is manifeſt (ſays he) that a great part of common language and of common behaviour over the world is formed upon the ſuppoſition of ſuch a moral faculty; whether called conſciouſneſs, moral reaſon, moral ſenſe, or divine reaſon, whether conſidered as a ſentiment of the underſtanding, or as a perfection of the heart, or, which ſeems to be the truth, as including both. Nor is it at all doubtful in the general what courſe of action this faculty or practical diſcerning power within us approves, and what it diſapproves; whatever ground for doubt there may be about particulars, yet in general there is in reality, an univerſally acknowledged ſtandard of virtue. It is that which all ages and all countries have made profeſſion of in public; it is that which every man puts on the ſhew of; it is that which the fundamental laws of all the ſeveral conſtitutions over the face of the earth make it their buſineſs and endeavour to enforce the practice of upon mankind, namely, juſtice, piety, and a regard to common good.’

Upon the whole, as our author was the firſt who handled the argument in proof of religion from analogy, in a ſet treatiſe, he has undeniably merited the character of a firſt diſcoverer; others, indeed, had occaſionally dropt ſome hints and remarks of the argument, but Dr Butler firſt of all brought it to a ſtate and degree of perfection.

[G] *He was made Biſhop of Briſtol.*] Upon this promotion, he appointed for his chaplain Mr Nathaniel

† In this chapter having obſerved, that we aſcribe to God a neceſſary exiſtence, uncauſed by any agent, he proceeds to prove it thus: “For we find within ourſelves the idea of infinity, i. e. immenſity and eternity impoſſible, even in imagination to be removed out of being. We ſeem to diſcern intuitively, that there muſt and cannot but be ſomewhat external to ourſelves, anſwering this idea, or the archetype of it. And from hence (for this abſtract as much as any other implies a concrete) we conclude that there is and cannot but be an infinite, an immenſe, eternal Being, exiſting, prior to all deſign contributing to his exiſtence, and excluſive of it. And from the ſcantineſs of language a manner of ſpeaking has been introduced, that neceſſity is the foundation, the reaſon, the account of the exiſtence of God. But it is not alledged, nor can it be at all intended, that every thing exiſts as it does by this kind of neceſſity, a neceſſity antecedent in nature to deſign.”— In ſo clear a manner does he explain and candidly excuſe Dr Clarke's argument à priori.

* In this chapter among other things he obſerves, that all which is new in revealed religion concerning this ſtate is, that the final judgment will commence immediately after the end of the world.

(12) Locke's Works, p. 146, 147.

(13) Ib. p. 152.

conſecrated December the 3d, 1738 (s). His merit now was univerſally known, and another royal reward of it trod as it were upon the heels of the former, in the deanery of St Paul's, London, into which he was inſtalled May 24, 1740 (t). Finding the demands of this dignity (which he reſolved to fulfil with exact fidelity) incompatible with his pariſh duty at Stanhope [H], he immediately reſigned that rich benefice. Upon the death of Dr Egerton Biſhop of Hereford in 1746 he was made Clerk of the cloſet to the King (u); and was removed again into the dioceſe of Durham, by a tranſlation to the biſhopric, October 16, 1750 (v). The very large revenues of this ſee furniſhed him with ample means of exerting that moſt excellent gift of Chriſtian graces, charity, which ſo eminently abounded in him; and in the exerciſe of which lay his greateſt delight and happineſs; but this gratification was very ſhort-lived, being taken from it by his tranſlation into the next world, on the 16th of June 1752; not without a particular regret that he was taken out of this world ſo ſoon after he became able to do ſo much more good in it (w). In his laſt illneſs he was carried to Briſtol to try thoſe waters, which proving ineffectual, he removed to Bath; but he was paſt recovery, and dying there, his corpſe was conveyed to Briſtol, and interred in that cathedral, where there is a monument with an inſcription erected to his memory (x). While he was Biſhop of that ſee, he expended, in repairing and improving the epiſcopal palace, 4000 l. which was more than the whole amount of the revenues of the Biſhoprick while he held it. His profound learning and prodigious ſtrength of mind appear ſufficiently in his written works, as alſo did his almoſt unparalleled charity in works of that kind. Beſides his private alms he was a contributor to the infirmary at Briſtol, a conſtant ſubſcriber to three of the hoſpitals at London, and though not the firſt founder of that at Newcaſtle in Northumberland, yet a principal promoter of it (y). At the ſame time he

(s) The magazines.

(t) Regiſter of that church.

(u) Dr Secker the preſent Archbp of Canterbury.

(v) Regiſter of that church.

(w) He uttered this to a friend, who was complimenting his great reſignation. Fawcett.

(x) Idem.

(y) Speech of Dr Cooper the preſent Dean of Durham on the inſtallation of the preſent Biſhop Dr Trevor.

niel Forſter, of Corpus Chriſti college, Oxford (14), a divine of the moſt diſtinguiſhed erudition, as is evident from the ſeveral learned treatiſes which he publiſhed with the following titles, namely, *Reflections on the natural foundation of the high antiquity of government, arts, and ſciences in Egypt*; *A diſſertation upon the account ſaid to be given of Jeſus Chriſt by Joſephus*; *Platonis Dialogi quinque, Gr. et Lat. recenſuit notiſque illuſtravit*; *Biblia Hebraica, ſine punctis*, 2 vol. quarto; beſides *A ſermon preached before the univerſity of Oxford on the 5th of November*, intituled, *Popery deſtructive of Chriſtianity*. After Bp Butler's death he was recommended by Dr Hayter, ſucceſſively Biſhop of Norwich and London, to Archbiſhop Herring, who made him his chaplain, and in 1754 gave him the rich vicarage of Rochdale in Lancaſhire, which he held till his death, which happened in 1757 at London, having married a rich young widow lady about ſix weeks before. While he was chaplain to Archbp Herring, he was collated to a prebend in the church of Briſtol by Lord Chancellor Hardwicke (15). Dr Forſter was intirely orthodox in his faith, and muſt not be confounded with his name-ſake in ſound, Dr James Foſter, a concealed Socinian, of whom we have the following account (16). That he was born at Exeter, Sept. 16, 1697, and at five years old, being put to the free ſchool there, contracted an acquaintance with Dr Conybeare, afterwards Biſhop of Briſtol, and finiſhed his ſtudies at an academy in Exeter; that he began to preach there in 1718; but in the diſpute which aroſe ſoon after among the Diſſenters about the Trinity *, embracing the obnoxious opinions, he was obliged to quit the county, and went to Milborne in Somerſetſhire; whence having by his principles made that place uneaſy to him, he took refuge at Aſhwick, an obſcure retreat under the hills of Mendip in the ſame county, where he preached to two poor plain congregations at Colesford and Wookey near Wells. From hence he removed to Trowbridge in Wiltſhire, where his finances, raiſed by preaching to a congregation of not more than thirty perſons, being inſufficient for a ſupport, he began to entertain thoughts of quitting this function, and learning the trade of Mr Norman a glover, with whom he boarded. About this time he became a convert to Dr John Gale's opinion againſt infant baptiſm, and was afterwards baptized again in London; but this was not regarded by his Preſbyterian congregation there, being choſen in 1724, to ſucceed Dr Gale at Barbican, where he continued till he was called, in 1744, to be paſtor of the Independent church at Pinners-hall. In 1746, he attended Lord Kilmarnock in the Tower of London, having been condemned for rebellion the preceding year. In December 1748, he was diplomated to the degree of D. D. at Aberdeen in Scotland, by the particular favour of Dr Thomas Blackwell, principal of that univerſity, a noted Socinian. However, it was thought that he ſympathized too deeply for his ſpirits with Lord Kilmarnock, and his vivacity was obſerved to abate till 1750, when he was ſtruck with a violent diſorder, of which he never thoroughly recovered. Three days after he had another ſhock, which was ſuppoſed to be paralytical, and which impaired his underſtanding ſo, that he never poſſeſſed it rightly afterwards. However, he continued to preach at times till Jan. 5, 1752. About ten days before his end, he was ſeized with a dead palſey, but did not loſe his ſenſes till he breathed his laſt, Nov. 5, 1753. He wrote the following books: (1.) *An Eſſay on Fundamentals*, printed 1720, 8vo. (2.) *A defence of the Chriſtian revelation*, 1721, againſt Dr Tindal's Chriſtianity as old as the creation. (3.) *Tracts upon hereſy*; upon which ſubject he had a controverſy with Dr Stebbing. (4.) *An account of Lord Kilmarnock*. (5.) A collection of ſermons, in four volumes, 8vo. beſides ſeveral funeral ſermons, one among the reſt on the death of that noted Socinian Mr Emlyn. (6.) *Diſcourſes on natural religion and ſocial virtue*, two volumes, 4to. He was a very popular preacher, which remarkably appeared in his Sunday's evening lecture, begun in 1728, and carried on at the Old Jewry above twenty years, whither reſorted perſons of every rank, ſtation, and quality, clergy, wits, freethinkers; and hither curioſity might perhaps draw Mr Pope, who, in the epilogue to his Satires, has theſe lines:

'Let modeſt Foſter, if he will, excell
'Ten metropolitans in preaching well (17).'

In reality, Mr Foſter muſt be allowed to have been a learned and good man: he was conſpicuouſly humane, had generous ſentiments and compaſſionate ſympathies; and ſo extraordinary was his benevolence and charity, that if he did not die poor, it was owing to the large ſubſcription to his *Diſcourſes on natural religion and ſocial virtue* *. Theſe diſcourſes are connatural with Lord Shafteſbury's principles; and the late famous Deiſt Henry Lord Bolingbroke was greatly pleaſed with that memorable aphoriſm of our preacher, WHERE MYSTERY BEGINS RELIGION ENDS (18).

[H] *His duty at St Paul's was incompatible with that at Stanhope.*] Beſides his conſtant attendance upon the ſervice of this cathedral, he was frequently called upon to preach on the public occaſions in the city; witneſs his ſeveral printed ſermons, (1.) Before the Lord Mayor, &c. at St. Bridget, on Eaſter Monday 1740. (2.) A ſermon at Chriſtchurch, on Thurſday, May 9, 1745, being the time of the yearly meeting of the children educated in the charity-ſchools in and about the cities of London and Weſtminſter. (3.) A ſermon preached before the governors of the London infirmary, at St Lawrence-Jewry, on Thurſday, March 31, 1748. He likewiſe, (4.) preached a ſermon before the Society for the propagation of the Goſpel, on Friday, February 16, 1738-9. (5.) A ſermon preached before the Houſe of Lords, in Weſtminſter abbey, on Friday, January 30, 1740-41. (6.) A ſermon preached before the ſame houſe, in the ſame church, on his Majeſty's acceſſion-day, June 11, 1747 (19).

(14) Where he took the degree of A. M. Feb. 10, 1738, that of B. D. April 9, 1746, and D. D. Oct. 13, 1750. From the univerſity regiſter.

(15) Communicated by Dr Secker the preſent Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

(16) In the Biograph. Diction. Vol. V.

* See ſome account of this diſpute under Dr John Gale's article in vol. IV. of the Biograph. Britan.

(17) Pope's Works, Vol. IV. edit. 1753, 12mo. Upon which Dr Warburton remarks, that there be very few Biſhops who *act* a ſermon ſo well as diverſe Preſbyterians and fanatic preachers can do.

* There were not leſs than 2000 ſubſcribers.

(18) Bolingbroke's letter to Mr Pope, p. 521. edit. 1753.

(19) Theſe ſix ſermons are inſerted at the end of the later editions of his ſermons at the Rolls.

was particularly emulous of his patron Biſhop Talbot's ſpirit in ſupporting the hoſpitality and dignity of that rich and powerful dioceſe; in which ſpirit he ſet apart three days every week for the reception and entertainment of the principal gentry in his dioceſe (*z*); and occaſionally invited ſome of the worſt beneficed clergy (whom he did not diſdain to viſit at their reſpective pariſhes) to dine with him. By his will he left 500 l. to the ſociety for propagating the goſpel, and ſome legacies to his friends, and made his chaplain Mr Forſter his executor and reſiduary legatee, after ſome legacies bequeathed to his domeſtics (*aa*): among theſe the principal was Mr Iſaac Fawcett, his gentleman (*bb*), to whom he bequeathed 200 l. having before given him the place of Apparitor-general in the eccleſiaſtical court at Durham, and the verger's place of St Paul's, worth together upwards of 100 l. per annum (*cc*). The Biſhop died a bachelor. P

BYROM [John], an ingenious poet, and a polite writer, was deſcended from a genteel family in Lancaſhire, and a younger ſon of Mr Edward Byrom, of Kerſall in that county, near Mancheſter; in which town being ſettled in the trade of a linen-draper and milliner (*a*), this ſon was born to him in the year 1691, and having received the firſt elementary rudiments there, was ſent by his father to ſome relations in London, and put to Merchant Taylor's ſchool in that city *. In this excellent nurſery young Byrom's genius preſently began to open and diſplay itſelf; and the extraordinary proficiency he made there in the claſſics determining his deſtination for the univerſity, he was ſent to Cambridge, and admitted a penſioner of Trinity college under the tuition of Mr Baker, July 6, 1708, at the age of ſixteen (*b*). In the univerſity, logic and philoſophy had no greater a ſhare in his ſtudies than was neceſſary to qualify him for his degrees: he followed the bent of his inclination and genius; and having conſtitutionally a tincture of that enthuſiaſm ſo neceſſary to excell in poetry, it was not long before the polite world was ſtruck with admiration by his beautiful natural paſtoral [*A*], which was printed in the eighth

[*A*] *His paſtoral.*] This beautiful poem is inſerted in the eighth volume of the Spectator, N° 603, for September 7, 1714, with this ſhort preface, which I ſhall take the liberty of adopting as my own motive for tranſlating it hither, with this motto, *Decies repetita placebit.*

> 'The following copy of verſes comes from one of 'my correſpondents, and has ſomething in it ſo 'original, that I don't much doubt, but it will 'divert my readers.'

I.

My time, O ye muſes, was happily ſpent,
When Phœbe ‡ went with me, wherever I went;
Ten thouſand ſweet pleaſures I felt in my breaſt,
Sure never fond ſhepherd like Colin was bleſt:
But now ſhe is gone, and has left me behind,
What a marvellous change on a ſudden I find,
When things were as fine as could poſſibly be,
I thought 'twas the ſpring, but alas it was ſhe.

II.

With ſuch a companion, to 'tend a few ſheep,
To riſe up to play, or to lie down and ſleep,
I was ſo good humour'd, ſo chearful and gay,
My heart was as light as a feather all day:
But now I ſo croſs and ſo peeviſh am grown,
So ſtrangely uneaſy as ever was known,
My fair one is gone, and my joys are all drown'd,
And my heart, I am ſure, it weighs more than a pound.

III.

The fountains that wont to run ſweetly along,
And dance to ſoft murmurs the pebbles among,
Thou know'ſt, little Cupid, if Phœbe was there
'Twas pleaſure to look at, 'twas muſic to hear:
But now ſhe is abſent, I walk by its ſide,
And ſtill as it murmurs do nothing but chide;
Muſt you be ſo chearful, while I go in pain?
Peace there with your babling, and hear me complain.

IV.

When my lambkins around me would oftentimes play,
And when Phœbe and I were as joyful as they,
How pleaſant their ſporting, how happy the time,
When ſpring, love, and beauty were all in their prime:
But now in their frolics, when by me they paſs,
I fling at their fleeces an handful of graſs;
Be ſtill then, I ſay, for it makes me quite mad
To ſee you ſo merry, while I am ſo ſad.

V.

My dog I was ever well pleaſed to ſee
Come wagging his tail to my fair one and me;
And Phœbe was pleas'd too, and to my dog ſaid,
Come hither, poor fellow, and patted his head:
But now when he's fawning, I with a ſour look,
Cry, Sirrah, and give him a blow with my crook;
And I'll give him another, for why ſhould not Tray
Be as dull as his maſter, when Phœbe's away?

VI.

When walking with Phœbe what ſights have I ſeen,
How fair was the flower? how freſh was the green?
What a lovely appearance the trees, and the ſhade,
The corn-fields, and hedges, and every thing made?
But now ſhe has left me, tho' all are ſtill there,
Yet none of them now ſo delightful appear:
'Twas nought but the magic I find of her eyes,
Made ſo many beautiful proſpects ariſe.

VII.

Sweet muſic went with us both all the wood through,
The lark, linnet, throſtle, and nightingale too;
Winds over us whiſper'd, flocks by us did bleat,
And chirp went the graſhopper under our feet:
But now ſhe is abſent, tho' ſtill they ſing on,
The woods are but lonely, the melody's gone;
Her voice in the concert, as now I have found,
Gave every thing elſe its agreeable ſound.

VIII.

Roſe, what is become of thy delicate hue?
And where is the violet's beautiful blue?
Does aught of its ſweetneſs the bloſſoms beguile
Theſe meadows, thoſe daiſies, why do they not ſmile?
Ah rivals! I ſee what it was that ye dreſt
And made yourſelves fine for, a place in her breaſt;
Ye put on your colours to pleaſure her eye,
To be pluck'd by her hand, on her boſom to die.

IX.

(*z*) Fawcett.

(*aa*) Thus in publick and private bounties he exhauſted his treaſure, which being well known to his relations, nothing was expected by them at his death. From the information of his nephew as before.

(*bb*) He had ſerved him in that poſt more than 20 years.

(*cc*) Communicated by that ſervant, in gratitude to ſo good a maſter.

(*a*) Memoirs penes meipſum.

* Dr John Andrews, the late eminent advocate in Doctors Commons, was his relation, and bred at the ſame ſchool, from whence being ſent to Trinity-Hall in Cambridge he became a Fellow, and died a great benefactor to that college. Ibid.

(*b*) His admiſſion runs thus: Julii 6, 1708. Admiſſus Johannes Byrom Penſionarius, filius Edvardi Byrom, annos natus 16, e ſchola Mercatorum Sciſſorum apud Londinenſes, ſub præſidio D^ris^ Shortyng, Mag^ro^ Baker tutore. From the college regiſter. Mr (afterwards Dr) Baker, was many years Vice-maſter of the college.

‡ This was the name of his youngeſt and favourite ſiſter.

eighth volume of the *Spectator*. He likewiſe wrote two humorous letters upon dreams, which are inſerted in the ſame volume of the Spectator. In the mean time, having proceeded regularly to take both his degrees in arts, he was choſen fellow of his college in 1714 (*c*); his rare talents, the delightful pleaſantry and ſweet innocence of his temper, together with the general ſobriety and modeſty of his manners, having recommended him to the particular notice and favour of Dr Bentley the maſter. But not inclining to enter into the prieſthood, his fellowſhip became vacant by the college ſtatutes in 1716 (*d*); and being affected, as it is ſaid, with an hereditary diſorder, he made a trip croſs the water to Montpellier for the recovery of his health: meeting, however, in France with father Malebranche's *Search after Truth* (*e*), and ſome pieces of Madamoiſelle *Antoinette Bourignon*, he returned home ſtrongly poſſeſſed with the viſionary philoſophy of the former, and the enthuſiaſtic extravagancies of the latter; yet his circumſtances requiring it, he entertained ſome thoughts of practiſing phyſic, to which the title of Doctor being incident, he generally paſſed from this time under that appellation. But whatever were his other deſigns, they were all cut ſhort by an occurrence the moſt important of his life. No body that has read the fore-cited paſtoral, will be ſurprized to find the author of it ſuſceptible of the tender paſſion. He had not been long in London, when his couſin Miſs Elizabeth Byrom (*f*) accompanied her elder ſiſter thither upon their father's buſineſs, which was that of a mercer. Our Doctor, on their arrival, was not wanting to welcome them to the metropolis by a viſit; in which the ſight of the young lady pierced his amorous ſoul with the moſt ardent love, and diſcovering his paſſion before her return to Mancheſter, he was ſeen there ſoon after purſuing his addreſſes with all the rapturous flights of a Spaniſh Inamorato: which being carried on with inextinguiſhable ardor for a conſiderable time, at length ſucceeded to obtain her in marriage, to the exceſſive grief and concern of her parents, who were in opulent circumſtances. To the Doctor this ſtep brought with it all the calamities that attend the train of an empty purſe; his fortune was exhauſted, and his ſpouſe's father (naturally a worldling) refuſed to ſupply any aſſiſtance for a ſupport (*g*). Neceſſity is the mother of invention: in the preſent exigence the Doctor had recourſe to his wits. He had, while at Cambridge, invented a curious method of writing ſhort-hand [*B*]. This now proved a *palladium*. After teaching it to ſome friends at Mancheſter, leaving his wife, by her own conſent, to the care of her relations, he went to London, where meeting with ſuch encouragement as yielded a tolerable ſupport, he continued ſeveral years in this courſe, and it was the more agreeable, as he was at leiſure to ſpend the ſummer ſeaſon at Mancheſter with his family; which uſually received an annual increaſe [*C*]. At length, on the deceaſe of his elder brother Mr Edward Byrom without iſſue, the eſtate at Kerſal devolved upon him. After this acceſſion to his fortune, the buſineſs of teaching ſhort-hand was not ſo aſſiduouſly purſued, the neceſſity of it was happily evacuated, and he was ſet free to the full enjoyment of that conjugal felicity, for which he had the higheſt reliſh, and which was rendered exquiſite by the undeviating fidelity of his wife, whoſe affection had never abated during all the traverſes of fortune. In the latter part of his life, the Doctor ſeems to have adopted Dean Swift's maxim, *Vive la bagatelle*; pleaſing himſelf with trifling amuſements. Many ſuch not worth mentioning eſcaped his pen

(*c*) College regiſter.

(*d*) There are only two lay fellowſhips in that college, the reſt of the fellows being obliged to take holy orders in two years after their election, upon pain of forfeiting their fellowſhips. Communicated by Dr Pearce, the preſent Biſhop of Rocheſter, ſome time a fellow of that ſociety.

(*e*) He was particularly fond of Malebranche's fanciful notion of *ſeeing all things in God*.

(*f*) Second daughter of his uncle Mr Joſeph Byrom, a mercer at Mancheſter.

(*g*) He alledged that his nephew was not in his right ſenſes, and carried his reſentment ſo far as not to permit him to have the education of his own children, a cruelty which the Doctor lamented to me not without a flood of tears.

IX.

How ſlowly time creeps till my Phœbe return,
While 'midſt the ſoft zephyr's cool breezes I burn;
Methinks if I knew whereabouts he would tread,
I could breathe on his wings, and 'twould melt down
his lead.
Fly ſwifter, ye minutes, bring hither my dear,
And ſtay ſo much longer for't when ſhe is here.
Ah Colin, old Time is too full of delay,
Nor will budge one foot faſter for all you can ſay.

X.

Will no pitying power that hears me complain,
Or cure my diſquiet, or ſoften my pain.
To be cur'd, thou muſt, Colin, thy paſſion remove;
But what ſwain is ſo ſilly to live without love?
O Deity bid the dear nymph to return,
For ne'er was poor ſhepherd ſo ſadly forlorn.
Ah! what ſhall I do? I ſhall die with deſpair:
Take heed, all ye ſwains, how ye love one ſo fair.

This poem was elegantly tranſlated into Latin Hexameters, conſiſting of the ſame number of ſtanzas of eight lines each, by Mr Wadham Knatchbull, of Trinity-hall, Cambridge. But though it was approved by our author, to whom I procured a ſight of it there, yet the tranſlator's modeſty would not ſuffer him to print it. He died not long ago a prebendary of Durham.

[*B*] *A new method of writing ſhort-hand.*] This invention was prompted by the following incident. Some manuſcript ſermons being communicated to him, written in ſhort-hand, he eaſily diſcovered the true reading; but that method being obſerved to be clumſy and ill contrived, our author ſet about inventing a better, the reſult of which was his own method, uncommonly beautiful and eaſy, ſince well known by the title of Byrom's ſhort hand (1). While he was employed in teaching it, he received a challenge from *Weſton*, a much famed competitor in the art; the challenge was accepted, and in this extraordinary trial of ſkill Byrom came off a complete victor, and the conqueſt could not fail to be of ſervice in the increaſe of his pupils, among whom he had ſeveral gentlemen of rank and quality, particularly that eminent wit then Lord Stanhope, the preſent Earl of Cheſterfield. Our author occaſionally read a lecture in the evenings to his ſcholars, upon the hiſtory and utility of ſhort-hand, which being interſperſed with thoſe pleaſant ſtrokes of wit and humour ſo much in his nature, was very entertaining. About the ſame time, he made himſelf known to that abnormous genius Dr Byfield, with whom he had frequent ſkirmiſhes of wit and humour at the Rainbow coffee-houſe near Temple-bar; and upon the chymiſt's death who was the inventor of the *Sal volatile oleoſum*, Byrom wrote the following ſhort epitaph *impromptu*:

Hic jacet Dr Byfield, diu volatilis, tandem fixus. (2)

[*C*] During this interval, he became a member of the Royal Society, of which he was choſen a fellow, under the title of M. A. March 29, 1723-4, and he afterwards addreſſed a letter to Martin Folkes, Eſq; containing ſome remarks on the elements of ſhort-hand, by Samuel Geake, Eſq; which was read at the ſociety, June 23, 1748, and printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, N° 488, p. 388; and in that N°. p. 401, is another letter of his to the ſame preſident, containing ſome remarks upon Mr Lodwick's alphabet (3), which was read before that ſociety.

(1) In the St James's Chron. for Saturday May 26, 1764, is the following advertiſement. "Dr Byrom's method of Short-hand is now preparing from his own papers for the preſs, and ſhortly will be publiſhed by his executors.

(2) From my own MS. memoirs.

(3) Communicated by Dr Birch.

things

before his death (*b*), which happened September 26, 1763, at Mancheſter, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age. As the general tenor of his life was innocent and inoffenſive, at a great diſtance from any reproachful vice, ſo he bore his laſt illneſs with chearfulneſs and reſignation. He had ſeveral children by his wife, and his eldeſt ſon was taken early into the ſhop of his grandfather, where he acquired a handſome fortune (*i*). Beſides the things already mentioned, the Doctor publiſhed an excellent poem upon *Enthuſiaſm*, and another upon the *Immortality of the Soul* (*k*), after Sir John Davies's Latin poem upon that ſubject; he wrote alſo ſeveral epigrams [*D*], which may be ſeen below. With reſpect to all his productions, that diſtich of Ovid may be juſtly prefixed to them, which we ſee is made the motto to Mr Waller's works:

> Non ego mordaci diſtrinxi carmine quenquam;
> Nulla venenato eſt litera miſta joco.

(*b*) Communicated by Mr R. Sedgewick of Mancheſter, who from a reclaimed rake of the worſt kind married a virtuous young gentlewoman with a handſome fortune, and now enjoys a plentiful paternal eſtate with a fair reputation.

(*i*) Idem.

(*k*) This poem, which was wrote in the latter part of his life, falls greatly ſhort of the former; yet there are ſeveral good lines in it; it was publiſhed in March 1755.

[*D*] *Other poetical pieces.*] When we were honoured with the arrival of Mr Handel not long after that of Bononcini, the devotees of *La Vertu* were preſently all in a flame, and run into the moſt violent parties upon the merits of theſe two rivals in muſic. Nothing engaged the attention, and ſo much engroſſed the town's talk, as the opera. It was about this time, that Byrom going to a coffee-houſe with one Mr Leyceſter, his particular friend, a gentleman of fortune, a muſical man, and a performer upon the violin; that friend was determined by an engagement to go to the opera, and took his leave of our poet. So affecting a traverſe provoked his muſe to break out in the following epigram:

Some ſay, compar'd to Bononcini,
That Mynheer Handel's but a niny;
Others averr, that he to Handel,
Is ſcarcely fit to hold the candle:
Strange ſuch high diſputes ſhould be,
'Twixt Tweedledum and Tweedledee. (4)

Again: upon the printing of a moſt extravagantly ſenſeleſs dramatical piece, called Hurlothrumbo, written by one Johnſon, a dancing-maſter at Mancheſter, the Doctor wrote this motto for it; a triplet *impromptu*:

Ye ſons of nonſenſe read my Hurlothrumb-o,
Turn it between your finger and your thumb-o,
And being quite outdone, be quite ſtruck dumb-o.

Johnſon's Hurlothrumbo gave birth to a very humorous pamphlet, written by Dr John Arbuthnot (5).

Again: the Doctor was at Mancheſter, when the corn-mills there having been leaſed out at an advanced price, the leſſees, in order to raiſe the money, thought proper rigorouſly to enforce the cuſtom of obliging all the inhabitants to have their corn ground at thoſe mills. The profits indeed of the mills were a charitable donation, given in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, for the uſe of a free grammar ſchool in the town; but this was ſo much increaſed ſince, that the mills were not ſufficient to ſupply all the inhabitants, and the grievance was become inſupportable. In theſe circumſtances, our poet obſerving both the leſſees (6) to be remarkably tall, and of a thin habit, threw out the following epigram upon them:

Bone and ſkin,
Two millers thin,
Would ſtarve the town, or near it:
But be it known,
To ſkin and bone,
That fleſh and blood can't bear it.

Accordingly, not long after, a law-ſuit was commenced, and an application made to parliament, upon which the charity was put under a different regulation, and the inhabitants permitted to grind their corn elſewhere, by an act paſſed 32 Georgii II. intituled, *An act for diſcharging the inhabitants of the town of Mancheſter, in the county palatine of Lancaſter, from the cuſtom of grinding their corn and grain, except malt, at certain water corn-mills in the ſaid town, called the ſchool-mills; and for making a proper recompence to the feoffees of ſuch mills.*

The following epitaph is ſometimes, though how truly I know not, aſcribed to our poet. It is ſaid to be found written with chalk upon the grave-ſtone of one John Hill (7), in the church-yard of the collegiate church of Mancheſter, and is intirely in our author's manner:

Here lies John Hill,
A man of ſkill,
His age was five times ten;
He ne'er did good,
Nor ever wou'd,
Had he liv'd as long again.

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(4) See an encomium upon this epigram in Fitzoſborne's letters, by Mr Melmoth, who has however cited only the two laſt lines of it.

(5) See his article.

(6) One of them was Joſ. Yates, Eſq; father to Sir Joſ. Yates, lately made a puiſné Judge of the King's bench and knighted.

(7) This Hill taught arithmetic at Mancheſter, and in 1716 publiſhed a treatiſe upon that ſubject in 8vo. at London, well eſteemed, but led a moſt profligate life, eſpecially with women.

C.

CHUBB [Thomas] a very extraordinary perſon, who made a diſtinguiſhed figure in his time, was born in 1679, at Eaſt Harnham, a ſmall village near Saliſbury in Wiltſhire, where his father was a maltſter, in mean circumſtances; and dying a few years after his marriage, left this and three more children to be maintained by the labour of his widow, who, having got him taught to read and write an ordinary hand, put him, at the age of fifteen, apprentice to a glover in Saliſbury, and he afterwards ſerved his maſter as a journeyman for ſome time; till the weakneſs of his eyes obliging him to quit that buſineſs, he was admitted by a tallow-chandler, an intimate friend, as an under-partner with him in that trade *(a)*. Thus in his younger days he obtained an honeſt livelihood by his labour. In the mean time, being a man of uncommon natural parts, and fond of reading, he ſpent his leiſure hours in ſucking in ſuch knowledge as could be had from Engliſh books; and by that means acquired a tolerable inſight into mathematics, geography, and many other branches of ſcience. But his inclination leading him chiefly to theological enquiries, he formed a little ſociety at Saliſbury, under the management and care of his direction, for the ſake of debating upon thoſe ſubjects [*A*]. Thus dignified, he preſently began to think himſelf capable of clearing up the moſt abſtruſe myſteries; and the controverſy between Clarke and Waterland upon the Trinity being taken under the cognizance of his theological aſſembly, he drew up, at the requeſt of his members, his ſentiments upon it in a kind of diſſertation, which he afterwards ſurprized the public with under the title of, *The Supremacy of the Father aſſerted*, &c. This piece diſcovering ſome talents for reaſoning, as well as perſpicuity and correctneſs in writing, ſtruck the world with aſtoniſhment, and the author began to be conſidered as one much above the ordinary ſize [*B*]. His name was ſpread far and wide, and his ſucceſs in this new capacity procured him ſomething more ſolid than fame. It introduced him to the perſonal knowledge of ſeveral gentlemen of letters, by whoſe generoſity, as it is preſumed, he was enabled to live in ſome ſort independent of labour. The late Sir Joſeph Jekyl, Maſter of the Rolls, took him into his family, and uſed at his leiſure hours to refreſh the fatigue of buſineſs in his converſation. This patron alſo, it is ſaid, purpoſed to give him a genteel allowance; but finding himſelf under ſomewhat too reſpectful an awe and reſtraint in regard to ſome extravagant notions which began to infeſt his rational faculties, he left Sir Joſeph in a few years, and returned to Saliſbury [*C*], where he wrote ſeveral tracts in favour of Deiſm *(b)*, and that with ſo great confidence, and ſo little real ſtrength, as rendered him equally the ſhame, as he had been the boaſt of his friends, and made him the indignation and contempt of all others [*D*] *(c)*. The phænomenon, which at its firſt appearance had drawn all eyes to gaze at it with wonder and amazement, proved to be a mere ſhort-lived meteor, and went out at laſt in an empty and unſavoury ſtench. He became extinct at Saliſbury, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age. He was never married, and has been charged with a black and unnatural crime; but ſuch a crime is inconſiſtent with the general tenor of his life and converſation, in which, though licentious as were his religious ſentiments, yet nothing, it is generally agreed, was ſeen irregular or immoral *(d)*.

(a) Memoirs of Mr Thomas Chubb, &c. edit. 1748, 8vo.

(b) A collection of his tracts came out in 1732, 3 vols. 8vo.

(c) Memoirs of Mr Thomas Chubb.

(d) Memoirs, &c.

[*A*] *Formed a ſociety.*] In this ſociety the ſcriptures were uſually read under the guidance, as was reported, of ſome commentator; and every man delivered his ſentiments upon all points freely and without reſerve (1). This club was apparently in imitation of thoſe at London.

[*B*] *One above the ordinary ſize.*] Mr Pope, in a letter to his friend Gay, aſked him if he had ſeen and converſed with Mr Chubb, the wonderful phænomenon of Wiltſhire; and ſays, in relation to a quarto volume of tracts printed afterwards, 'that 'he had read through his whole volume with admi-'ration of the writer, though not always with ap-'probation of his doctrine (2).'

[*C*] *He returned to Saliſbury.*] We are told, however, that though he ſpent his days in reading and writing, and lived there quite free, yet he always took a pleaſure in aſſiſting at the trade (which by the death of his partner had devolved on a nephew) and was co-adjutor in it to the laſt period of his life (3).

[*D*] *The indignation and contempt of all others.*] He left behind him two volumes of his poſthumous works (4), which he calls a farewel to his readers; from which it appears, that he had little or no belief of revelation; that he plainly rejects the Jewiſh revelation, and conſequently the Chriſtian founded upon it; that he diſclaims a future judgment, and is very uncertain as to any future ſtate of exiſtence; that a particular Providence is not deducible from the phænomena of the world; and therefore that prayer cannot be proved a duty, &c.

(1) Memoirs of Chubb, as above.

(2) Pope's letters to his friends.

(3) Memoirs, ut ſupra.

(4) They were publiſhed in 1748, 8vo.

CHUDLEIGH [Lady Mary] a philoſophic and poetic lady, was the daughter of Richard Lee, Eſq; of Winſlover in Devonſhire, and born in 1656. She had an education in which literature ſeemed but little regarded, being taught no other than her native language (*a*); but her fondneſs for books, great application, and uncommon abilities, enabled her to make a conſiderable figure among the literati of her time. She became raviſhed particularly with the charms of poetry, and being married to Sir George Chudleigh, Bart. ſhe had by him, among ſeveral other children, one daughter named Elizabeth Maria, who, dying in the bloom of life, to the great grief of her mother, this lady ſacrificed to her memory in a poem, intituled, *A Dialogue between Larinda and Mariſſa.* Some time after appeared another evidence of her poetic talent, called, *The Ladies Defence,* occaſioned by an angry ſermon preached againſt the fair ſex (*b*). Though ſhe was indeed perfectly in love with the charms of poetry, yet ſhe dedicated ſome part of her time to the ſeverer ſtudies of philoſophy, as appears in the excellent eſſays which ſhe publiſhed in verſe and proſe, in 1710, with a dedication to her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Sophia, then heir apparent to the Britiſh crown; upon which occaſion the Princeſs, in her eightieth year, honoured her with a very polite epiſtle in French [*A*]. Lady Chudleigh ſurvived this addreſs but a very ſhort time, being tranſlated into another world the ſame year 1710, in the fifty-fifth year of her age. She is ſaid to have written, beſides her works in print, ſeveral other things, as tragedies, operas, maſques, &c. of which the manuſcripts are preſerved in the family. She was a lady of great virtue as well as underſtanding, and made the latter ſubſervient to the former.

(*a*) Ballard's lives of eminent women, in her article.

(*b*) Theſe, with many others, were collected into a volume, and printed in 1722.

[*A*] *The Princeſs honoured her with an epiſtle in French.*] It runs thus in Engliſh:

Hanover, June 25, 1710.

'Lady Chudleigh,

'You have done me a very great pleaſure in letting 'me know, by your agreeable book, that there is 'ſuch a one as you in England, who has ſo improved 'herſelf, that ſhe can communicate her ſentiments 'in a fine manner to the world. As for me, I do 'not pretend to deſerve the commendations you give 'me; but by the eſteem which I have of your merit 'and good ſenſe, which will always induce me to 'perfectly regard you; and to be, upon all occaſions,

'Your affectionate friend to ſerve you,

'Sophia, Electreſs.'

The ſubjects of Lady Chudleigh's eſſays are *knowledge, pride, humility, life, death, fear, grief, riches, ſelf-love, juſtice, anger, calumny, friendſhip, love, avarice, ſolitude;* in all which (to ſay nothing of the purity and elegance of her pen) ſhe diſcovers an uncommon degree of piety and knowledge, and a noble contempt of thoſe vanities which the generality of her ſex ſo much regard, and ſo eagerly purſue; in which reſpect, ſhe deſerves to be recorded as a worthy benefactor to the cauſe of religion.

CIBBER [Colley] Eſq; a celebrated comedian and dramatic writer, and Poet Laureat to his Majeſty, was the ſon of Caius Gabriel Cibber, an excellent ſtatuary [*A*], by his wife the daughter of William Colley, of a very antient family in Rutlandſhire, from whom this ſon took his ſurname (*a*). He was born November 6, 1671, at his father's houſe in Southampton-ſtreet, facing Southampton-houſe. In 1682, at the age of eleven, he was ſent to Grantham ſchool in Lincolnſhire, where he continued till 1687 (*b*), when he was taken thence, to ſtand at the election of children into Wincheſter, upon the ſtrength of his deſcent from the founder; but not ſucceeding there, he prevailed with his father, who deſigned him for the church, to ſend him to the univerſity. But the revolution happening in the interim, gave a turn to young Cibber's fortune, and drove him to take up arms on the ſide of the Prince of Orange, under the Earl of Devonſhire, then at Nottingham, in his road to Chatſworth, where the young man's father was then employed, with other artiſts of all kinds, in raiſing that ſeat from a Gothic to a Grecian magnificence. When the new government was ſettled, our ſoldier betook himſelf to the ſtage, for which he had conceived a very early inclination. He did not meet with much encouragement at firſt, being there full three quarters of a year before he was taken into a ſalary of ten ſhillings a week. This, however, with the aſſiſtance of food and raiment at his father's houſe, as he expreſſes it, he then thought a moſt plentiful acceſſion, and himſelf the happieſt of

(*a*) It was given him by her brother Edward Colley Eſq; Life of Colley Cibber, by himſelf, p. 6.

(*b*) This was all the learning he ever pretended to, which he neither utterly forgot nor improved afterwards. Ibid.

[*A*] *Gabriel Cibber, or Cibert, an excellent ſculptor and ſtatuary.*] We have the following account of this gentleman. He was ſon of a cabinet-maker to the King of Denmark, was born, about the year 1630, at Henſbury in the duchy of Holſtein, and diſcovering a talent for ſculpture, was ſent at the King's expence to Rome. He came into England not long before the reſtoration, and worked for John ſon of Nicholas Stone, who going to Holland, and being ſeized with a palſey, Cibber his foreman was ſent to conduct him home. He became carver to the King's cloſet, and died about the year 1700, about ſeventy years of age. This imperfect ſketch is all that could be picked up of his life, his ſon having recorded nothing of a father who had ſo much merit in his profeſſion. He was twice married, and by his ſecond wife had 6000l. and ſeveral children, among whom was the well known Laureat (1). What is wanting in other circumſtances is more than compenſated by his works; of which the moſt capital are the two figures of raving and melancholy madneſs, before the front of Bedlam. The baſs reliefs on two ſides of the monument are of his hand. The fountain in Soho-ſquare, and one of the fine vaſes at Hampton-court, ſaid to be done in competition with a foreigner, who executed the other; but no body has told us which was Cibber's. He carved moſt of the ſtatues of the Kings round the Royal Exchange as far as King Charles, and that of Sir Thomas Greſham in the piazza beneath. The firſt Duke of Devonſhire employed him much at Chatſworth; where two Sphinxes on large baſes, well executed, and with ornaments in good taſte, are of his work; and till very lately there was a ſtatue of Neptune in a fountain ſtill better. He carved there ſeveral door-caſes of alabaſter, with rich foliage and many ornaments. In the chapel, on each ſide of the altar, is a ſtatue by him, Faith and Hope; the draperies have great merit, but the airs of the heads are not ſo good as that of Neptune. Cibber built the Daniſh church in London, and was buried there himſelf, with his ſecond wife, for whom a monument was erected in 1696 (2).

(1) Who had a portrait of him by old Larroon, and another by Chriſtoph. Richter is in the poſſeſſion of Mr Horace Walpole.

(2) Walpole's anecdotes of painting, &c. Vol. III. p. 81, 82. edit. 1764. 4to.

mortals.

mortals. The firſt part in which he appeared with any glimpſe of ſucceſs was the chaplain in the *Orphan*, which he performed ſo well (*c*), that his ſalary was raiſed then, as it ſhould ſeem, to fifteen ſhillings a week, which was raiſed further to twenty, upon his performance of Lord Touchwood (*d*) in Congreve's *Double Dealer*, at the recommendation of the author. Cibber was not a little conceited, and ſomewhat ambitious; he began to think himſelf not ſufficiently noticed, and reſolved upon attempting ſome new rank of diſtinction. In this ſpirit he wrote his firſt play, called *Love's laſt Shift*, which was acted in January *1695*. This piece had merit, and ſucceeded the better, by his own performance of Sir Novelty Faſhion, in which the character of the fop was ſo well executed, that from this time Mr Cibber was thought not to have his equal in parts of the ſame caſt. After this he became an induſtrious play-wright [*B*], and produced a dozen of theſe brats of the brain, which met with different fates. The *Careleſs Huſband* is reckoned his beſt play [*C*], which was firſt brought upon the ſtage in 1704. But none of his plays was of more importance to the public, and to himſelf, than his comedy called *The Nonjuror*, which was acted in 1717, and printed with a dedication to the King. This piece laid the foundation of a miſunderſtanding between him and Mr Pope; which growing in proceſs of time from bad to worſe, was revenged by raiſing Cibber to the hero of the Dunciad. The play-wright had grounds enough, however, for a triumph in this over that poet, whom he expoſed very ſmartly, and with excellent temper and humour, in a printed letter addreſſed to him in 1742. And though the Nonjuror brought upon its author ſome imaginary evils, it is certain that it procured him ſome very real goods; when he preſented it to King George I. his Majeſty ordered him 200l. and the merit of it made him Poet Laureat in 1730. The ſame year he quitted the ſtage, though he occaſionally appeared on it afterwards; particularly, when *Papal tyranny under the reign of King John* was acted in 1744, he performed the part of Randolph the Pope's legate with great ſpirit and vigour, though at that time upwards of ſeventy. He ſurvived that æra many years, not being carried off the ſtage of this world till December 1757, at the age of eighty-ſix years. Such of his plays as he thought worth preſerving he collected and publiſhed in two volumes quarto. Though Pope has made him the prince of dunces, he was undoubtedly a man of parts; but then he was vain and conceited, and ſeemingly never ſo happy as when among the great, and making ſport for people, who had more money, but generally leſs wit, than himſelf; however, there was nothing ſcandalouſly vicious or immoral in his character. He did not ſucceed in writing tragedy, no more than he did in acting it; nor in his poetical capacity, his odes not partaking of that genius and ſpirit which he has ſhewn in his comedies. In his own life written by himſelf (which has furniſhed the chief materials of this article) he has dignified a great number of trifling anecdotes of the players with the expreſſive energy of his ſtyle. He will be well known as long as the memoirs of his own life and the Careleſs Huſband exiſt, and ſo long the injuſtice of calling the figures before the gate at Bedlam *his brazen brainleſs brothers*, and the peeviſh weakneſs of throwing him into the Dunciad, in the room of Theobald the proper hero, will be notorious (*e*). We have alſo a piece of his, intituled, *Obſervations on the life of Cicero*, publiſhed in 1749, 4to. Beſides other children, he had a ſon, Mr Theophilus Cibber, who entered early upon the ſtage, and became an excellent actor; but having, by a boundleſs extravagance, brought himſelf into innumerable difficulties and diſtreſſes at home, he reſolved at length to croſs the water to Ireland, apparently in the view of mending the ſtate of his finances there. He actually embarked; but was drowned in the paſſage, in or about the year 1760; which fatal accident prevented all poſſibility of his verifying that obſervation of the poet:

Cœlum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.

He publiſhed, with additions, Coxeter's *Lives of the Poets*, in five volumes octavo, beſides two pamphlets, intituled, *A diſſertation on the Theatre*, and *An appendix* to the ſame.

(*c*) Goodman, an old celebrated actor, upon ſeeing him in this part, affirmed, with an oath, that he would one day make a good actor: and this commendation, as he tells us himſelf, filled his boſom with ſuch tranſports, that he queſtions whether Alexander himſelf, or Charles XII. of Sweden, felt greater at the head of their victorious armies.

(*d*) He got his part perfect in one day, upon the illneſs of Kynaſton, who was to have acted it. Ibid.

(*e*) Mr Walpole's anecdotes of painting, &c.

[*B*] *He became a diligent play-wright.*] It is obſervable (ſays he) that my muſe and my ſpouſe (for he was then married) were equally prolific; that the one was ſeldom the mother of a child, but the ſame year the other made me father of a play. I think we had a dozen of each ſort between us; of both which kinds ſome died in their infancy, and near an equal number of each were alive when I quitted the theatre (3).

[*C*] *The Careleſs Huſband is reckoned his beſt play.*] It met with very great and deſerved ſucceſs. Our author himſelf acknowledges, that whatever favourable reception this comedy met with from the public, it would be unjuſt in him not to place a large ſhare of it to the account of Mrs Oldfield. We have already taken notice of the advantage given to it by that actreſs, in the character of Lady Betty Modiſh (4), yet not more than the author himſelf, in the part of Lord Foppington (5).

(3) His life, by himſelf.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

COCKBURNE [CATHARINE], a remarkable inſtance of an extraordinary genius for literature in the female ſex, was the daughter of Captain David Trotter, a Scottiſh gentleman, and a ſea commander in the reign of King Charles II. She was born in London, Auguſt 16, 1679, and baptized in the Proteſtant church, according to which ſhe was bred up in her infancy a Proteſtant: but being a ſprightly, ingenious, and beautiful child, ſhe was particularly careſſed by ſome conſiderable Popiſh families. This favour naturally wrought a good opinion of ſuch friends, and entering into an intimacy with them as ſhe grew up,

The ſubſtance of this article is taken from her Life by Dr Birch, prefixed to her Works.

ſhe became an eaſy conqueſt to their faith, in which ſhe continued many years. In the mean time her genius ripened apace, and ſhot forth proofs of her talents for poetry, even before ſhe had paſſed her childhood. In her ſeventeenth year ſhe produced a tragedy called *Agnes de Caſtro*, which was acted in 1695. This performance, and ſome verſes addreſſed to Mr Congreve upon his *Mourning Bride* in 1697, brought her into the acquaintance of that gentleman. Thus encouraged in her firſt attempt, her muſe brought upon the ſtage three plays more, before the death of Mr Dryden in 1701, to whoſe memory ſhe joined with ſeveral other ladies in paying a tribute of verſe. However, poetry and dramatic writing was not the moſt diſtinguiſhed of Miſs Trotter's talents, ſhe had a remarkable philoſophic turn, and capacity equal to ſuch reſearches. Mr Locke's Eſſay on human underſtanding came out during this interval: that famous philoſopher had dreſſed out logic and metaphyſics in ſuch a new mode as was very agreeable to the taſte of the ſex in general, and particularly engaged the attention and admiration of our young authoreſs. She had begun to project a defence of the eſſay againſt ſome remarks of Dr Burnet of the Charterhouſe, which was finiſhed ſo early as the beginning of December 1701. She had but lately paſſed the twenty-ſecond year of her age, and the maſterly way in which the piece was drawn, muſt needs give a ſingular pleaſure to her great champion, who accordingly expreſſed his ſatisfaction by a preſent of books to his fair defendreſs (*a*). Philoſophy ſojourns in the neighbourhood of religion, theſe philoſophic reveries would naturally lead a thoughtful mind to that ſubject; and taking into her conſideration, the tenets of her preſent faith, ſhe began to diſcover their indefenſible grounds; ſhe therefore reſolved to renounce it, and publiſhed a vindication of her change in 1707 (*b*); and returning to the eſtabliſhed church of Scotland, ſhe changed her condition likewiſe the next year 1708, and was married to Mr Cockburne, a learned divine of that church. The duties of a wife and mother (for ſhe ſoon became one) called Mrs Cockburne from her books and pen many years, and domeſtic cares engaging her attention, we hear nothing of this writer till 1726, when her zeal for Mr Locke's opinions drew her again into public light. She exercised her pen afterwards as occaſion offered, and in 1739 ſhe entered into the controverſy concerning the foundation of moral duty and obligation. In that controverſy ſhe wrote two treatiſes, the laſt of which ſhe tranſmitted in manuſcript to Mr now Dr Warburton, the preſent Biſhop of Glouceſter, who publiſhed it, with a preface of his own, in 1747. Mrs Cockburne ſurvived this publication two years only. She died in 1749, and was interred at Long-Horſley, near her huſband, who died the year before her, with this ſhort ſentence upon the tomb, *Let their works praiſe them in the gates*, Prov. xxx. 31. Her works were collected and publiſhed in 1751, in two volumes octavo [*A*], with an account of her life prefixed, to which we are obliged for the ſubſtance of this memoir. Her character is that of a moſt uncommon lady, no leſs celebrated for her beauty in her younger years, than for her genius and accompliſhments. She was ſmall of ſtature, but had a remarkable livelineſs in her eyes, and a delicacy of complexion, which continued to her death.

(*a*) At his couſin's requeſt, the preſent was carried by Mr King, afterwards Lord High Chancellor of England.

(*b*) See the title of this and her other works in remark [*A*].

[*A*] *Her works*, &c.] Firſt volume contains, (1.) A diſcourſe concerning a guide in controverſy, publiſhed in 1707, with a preface by Biſhop Burnet. (2.) A defence of Mr Locke's eſſay on human underſtanding, in 1702. (3.) A letter to Dr Holdſworth concerning the reſurrection of the ſame body, 1726. (4.) A vindication of Mr Locke's chriſtian principles from the injurious imputations of Dr Holdſworth, now firſt publiſhed. (5.) Remarks on ſome writers in the controverſy concerning the foundation of moral obligation, with ſome thoughts concerning neceſſary exiſtence; the reality and infinity of ſpace; the extenſion and place of ſpirits; and on Dr Watts's notion of ſubſtance, in 1743 (1). The ſecond volume contains, (1.) Remarks on Dr Rutherford's eſſay on the nature and obligation of virtue, in 1747, in vindication of the contrary principles, and reaſons enforced in the writings of the late Dr Samuel Clarke. (2.) Miſcellaneous pieces, now firſt printed. A letter of advice to her ſon. Sunday's journal. On the uſefulneſs of ſchools and univerſities. On the credibility of the hiſtorical parts of ſcripture. On moral virtue. Notes on chriſtianity as old as the creation. On the infallibility of the church of Rome. Anſwer to a queſtion concerning the power of the magiſtrate over the life of the ſubject. Remarks on Mr Seed's ſermon on moral virtue. Remarks upon an enquiry into the origin of human appetites and affections. (3.) Letters between Mrs Cockburne, and ſeveral of her friends. (4.) Letters between the Reverend Dr Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumberland, and Mrs Cockburne, concerning the foundation of moral virtue. (5.) Fatal friendſhip, a tragedy. (6.) Poems on ſeveral occaſions.

This collection is an inconteſtible proof of the author's genius. But her abilities, as a writer, will not be ſeen, without attending to the peculiar circumſtances in which her writings were produced. Her early youth, for inſtance, when ſhe wrote ſome; her very advanced age, and ill ſtate of health, when ſhe drew up others; the uneaſy ſituation of her fortune during the whole courſe of her life; and an interval of near twenty years, in the vigour of it, ſpent in the cares of a family, without the leaſt leiſure for reading or contemplation; after which, with a mind ſo long diverted and encumbered, reſuming her ſtudies, ſhe inſtantly recovered its entire powers; and in the hours of relaxation from domeſtic employments, purſued to the utmoſt limits ſome of the deepeſt reſearches the human underſtanding is capable of.

(1) Theſe were at firſt publiſhed in 1743, in the Works of the Learned, and inſcribed, with the utmoſt deference, to Alex. Pope Eſq; by an admirer of his moral character.

COLLINS [John], an eminent mathematician and accomptant, ſometimes called Attorney-general for the mathematics, was the ſon of a Nonconformiſt divine, and born at Wood-Eaton near Oxford, on the 5th of March 1624; in which city he was put apprentice to a bookſeller in 1640 (*a*); but, on the beginning of the public diſturbances, he left that trade, and got an employment as clerk under Mr Mar, a clerk of the kitchen to the Prince, afterwards King Charles II. His maſter having ſome knowledge of the mathematics, our author by that means made a good progreſs in thoſe ſciences. The inteſtine wars and troubles increaſing, Collins was driven from his clerkſhip, and went to ſea, where he ſpent ſeven years (*b*). Here having leiſure, he applied himſelf to merchants accompts, and

(*a*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 116.

(*b*) In an Engliſh merchantman, which became a man of war in the Venetian ſervice againſt the Turks. Ibid.

and improved his ſkill in the mathematics, to which his genius was naturally formed. Upon his return from the ſea, he took up the profeſſion of an accomptant (c), and compoſed ſeveral uſeful treatiſes upon practical ſubjects in that way [*A*]. After the reſtoration, and upon the eſtabliſhment of the Royal Society, Mr Collins was taken notice of by the literati, and was nominated for a member of that ſociety, into which he was elected fellow October 12, 1667, having fully explained the rule given by the learned Jeſuit De Billy, for finding the number of the Julian period for any year aſſigned, the cycles of the ſun and moon, with the Roman indiction for the years being given. To this he added ſome very neatly contrived rules for the ready finding on what day of the week any day of the month falls for ever, and other neceſſary kalendar rules (*d*). Several other mathematical papers of his are printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions [*B*]. During the chancellorſhip of Anthony Earl of Shaftſbury, his Lordſhip nominated Mr Collins in diverſe references concerning ſuits depending in Chancery about intricate accompts, in ſtating which, he excelled; and from that time his aſſiſtance was often uſed in other like occaſions, whereby he acquired ſome wealth and much fame, and became eſteemed in matters of this nature the moſt uſeful and neceſſary perſon of his time (*e*). In 1680 he publiſhed a ſmall treatiſe in quarto, intituled, *A plea for the bringing in of Iriſh cattle, and keeping out the fiſh caught by foreigners; together with an addreſs to the members of parliament of the counties of Cornwall and Devon, about the advancement of tin, fiſhery, and divers manufactures.* About this time he was made accomptant to the royal fiſhery company; and he publiſhed in quarto *A diſcourſe of ſalt and fiſhery* in 1682. Soon after which, after the act at Oxford was finiſhed, he went from thence to Malmſbury in Wiltſhire, in order to take a ſurvey of the ground to be cut for a river between the Iſis and the Avon, and drinking too large a quantity of cyder after a hot day's journey, he fell into a conſumption, of which he died, at his houſe on Garlick-hill in London, about the 10th of November 1683.

Beſides his own productions, Mr Collins was the chief promoter of many other valuable publications in his time. It is to him that the world is indebted for the publication of Dr Barrow's optical and geometrical lectures, his abridgment of Archimedes's works, and of Apollonius's conics; Mr Branker's tranſlation of Rhonius's algebra, with Dr Bell's additions; Mr Kerſey's algebra, Dr Wallis's hiſtory of algebra, Mr Strode of combinations, and many other excellent works, which were procured by his unwearied ſollicitations. About five-and-twenty years after, all his papers, and moſt of his books, came into the hands of William Jones Eſq; F. R. S. [*C*]. From which it appeared, that Mr Collins held a conſtant correſpondence for many years with all the eminent mathematicians of his time, and ſpared neither coſt nor pains to procure what was requiſite for the promoting of real ſcience. Many of the late diſcoveries in phyſical knowledge, if not actually made by him, were yet brought about by his endeavours [*D*]. It was Mr Collins who engaged all that were able to make any advances in the ſciences, in a ſtrict inquiry into the ſeveral parts of this branch of learning which each had a peculiar talent for. He ſet them all to work, by ſhewing the deſiderata; by pointing the difficulties in ſupplying them; by ſetting forth the advantages of completing the ſubject; and laſtly, by keeping up a ſpirit, and a warm deſire of making further diſcoveries and improvements. Mr Collins was the regiſter of all the new improvements made in the mathematical ſcience; the magazine to which all the curious had recourſe; and the common repoſitory, where every part of uſeful knowledge was to be found: It was upon this account that he came to be called by foreigners the Engliſh Merſennus, and at home Attorney-general (as has been ſaid) of the Mathematics. If ſome of his correſpondents had not obliged him to conceal their communications, there could have been no diſpute about the priority of the invention of the method of fluxions, otherwiſe called the differential method, the honour of which evidently belongs to the incomparable Sir Iſaac Newton, as has been already ſhewn from the *Commercium epiſtolicum D. Johannis Collinſii*, &c. the papers of which collection were in the hand of Mr Jones, who inheriting his maſter's diſpoſition, aimed to ſucceed him in the attorney-general's office

(c) Wood's Faſti, Vol II who tells us he alſo taught writing and ſome parts of the mathematics.

(*d*) Phil. Tranſ. Nov. 30, for Dec. 1669.

(*e*) Wood, as before.

[*A*] *Uſeful practical treatiſes.*] Theſe were, 1. *An introduction to merchants accompts*, 1652, and again in 1665, the greateſt part of which impreſſion was conſumed by the fire in 1666. There is likewiſe a third edition, with the addition of two more accompts. A ſmall part of this work relating to intereſt was reprinted in 1685, 8vo. 2. *The ſector or quadrant; or, A treatiſe containing the deſcription and uſe of four ſeveral quadrants* (1), Lond. 1658, 4to. 3. *Mariner's plain ſcale new plained* (2), Lond. 1659. 4. *A treatiſe of geometrical dialing*, edit. 1659. After the reſtoration came out, 5. *The doctrine of decimal arithmetic, ſimple intereſt, as alſo of compound intereſt and annuities, generally performed for any time of payment*, Lond. 1664. In a quarter of a ſheet, for portability, in a letter-caſe. It was publiſhed again by J. D. Lond. 1685. 6. An introduction to merchants accompts, containing ſeven diſtinct queſtions or accompts, &c. Lond. 1674.

(1) Aſtronomical appendix to the ſphere of Manilius, Engliſhed by Edward Sherburne, p. 116.

(2) This was read to the 40 ſcholars of Chriſtchurch hoſpital bred up to the ſea.

[*B*] *Papers in Philoſophical Tranſactions.*] (1.) A diſcourſe concerning the reſolution of equations in numbers, N° 46. (2.) The conſtruction of a chronographical problem, N° 69. (3.) A letter to Dr Wallis about ſome defects in algebra, N° 159.

[*C*] *His papers in the hands of William Jones Eſq;*] Among them were found manuſcripts upon mathematical ſubjects by Mr Biggs, Oughtred, Dr Pell, Scarborough, Barrow, and Mr Iſaac Newton, with a multitude of letters received from and copies of letters ſent to Pell, Wallis, Barrow, Sir Iſaac Newton, James Gregory, Flamſtead, Fownley, Baker, Barker, Branker, Bernard, Sluſius, Leibnitz, Tſhirnaus, Father Bertet, and others.

[*D*] *Brought about by his endeavours.*] In the year 1666, he had under conſideration the manner of dividing the meridian line on the true nautical chart, a problem of the utmoſt conſequence in navigation; and ſome time after he engaged Mercator, Gregory, Barrow, Newton, and Wallis, ſeverally to explain and find an eaſy practical method for it; which excited Leibnitz, Bernoulli, Halley, &c. to give their ſolutions of it; and by that means the practice is reduced to the utmoſt ſimplicity imaginable. He employed ſome of the ſame hands in ſhortening and facilitating the method of computing by logarithms, till at laſt that whole affair was completed by Dr Halley.

for the mathematics, but with unequal abilities; neither, indeed, were the times altogether ſo fruitful of improvements in that ſcience. We have ſeveral gleanings of Mr Collins's papers in the General Dictionary, communicated by Mr Jones, who alſo publickly obtained Sir Iſaac Newton's leave to publiſh his *Analyſis per quantitatum ſeries infinitas, &c. et methodus differentialis*, which came out in 1711, 4to. Sir Iſaac's *Method of Fluxions* was likewiſe communicated by Mr Jones to Mr Colſon, who publiſhed it, with notes of his own, in 1736, 4to. Mr Jones is alſo the author of *Synopſis palmariorum matheſeos*, publiſhed in 1706, 8vo. and we have ſome tables of intereſt, in a looſe ſheet, by him. He taught the mathematics to gentlemen, whoſe recommendation procured him a place in the exchequer office worth 400 l. per annum.

COOPER [Anthony Ashley], the third Earl of Shaftſbury, and celebrated author of the Characteriſtics, was born on the 26th of February 1670-1, at Exeter-houſe in London, the town ſeat of his grandfather Anthony, the firſt Earl of Shaftſbury (*a*), who was fond of him from his birth, and ſoon perceiving in him very promiſing earneſts of an extraordinary genius, undertook the care of his education, which was executed in ſo excellent a manner, that he became able not only to read but even to ſpeak both Latin and Greek with eaſe and fluency at eleven years of age [*A*]. He proceeded with the ſame ſpeed to wing his way through claſſical and philoſophical literature [*B*] till 1686, when, though he had attained only to his fifteenth year, he was found to be ready for completing his education by foreign travel, and being of a tender conſtitution (*b*), it was thought proper, after viſiting other parts, to fix his reſidence in Italy. Accordingly paſſing through France to that country, he ſpent a conſiderable time there, under the beſt maſters with which Italy then abounded, in the cultivation of the polite arts of architecture, ſculpture, and painting, and became particularly diſtinguiſhed by his knowledge in the laſt (*c*). Upon his return home, in 1689, while his father was living, he was offered a ſeat in parliament for ſome of thoſe boroughs where his family had an intereſt: but he declined the compliment; by the conſtitution of his country he had not yet paſſed his infancy. He therefore continued to proſecute that ſtrict courſe of ſtudy which he had laid down to himſelf near five years longer, principally in the writings of the antient authors. Thoſe which he moſt admired were the moral works of Xenophon, Plato, the Fable of Cebes the elder diſciple of Plato, the Commentaries and Enchiridion of Epictetus as publiſhed by Arrian, and Marcus Antoninus, together with Lucian and Horace; from theſe he formed to himſelf the plan of his philoſophy. This done, he complied to his election as a burgeſs for Pool in Dorſetſhire, in the third parliament after the revolution, which met in November 1695 (*d*). Soon after his entrance into the Houſe of Commons, he made a very remarkable ſpeech upon the treaſon bill [*C*]. In ſtate matters he took his ſide with the Whig party, in the principles of which he ſteadily though not implicitly adhered to the end of his life [*D*]. But being diſabled by the weakneſs of an aſthmatical conſtitution from giving

(*a*) See his article.

(*b*) Which was aſthmatical.

(*c*) See his *Judgment of Hercules*, &c.

(*d*) Liſt of the Houſe of Commons for that parliament.

[*A*] *He could ſpeak both Greek and Latin at eleven years of age.*] This very ſurprizing and almoſt unexampled attainment was, next to his own parts, effected by a lady in his grandfather's houſe, who was ſo great a miſtreſs of both theſe languages, as to ſpeak them familiarly, and brought him to the like perfection, by conſtantly converſing in them with him from his earlieſt infancy (1). We ſee every day the children of both ſexes taught to ſpeak French in the ſame method. At the ſame time, and in the ſame method, he learned French, which he ſpoke ſo readily, and with ſo good an accent, that, in his way to Italy through France, he was frequently taken for a native of that country. But in this, indeed, there was nothing extraordinary: French is a living language, and we daily ſee children of both ſexes trained up by the ſame method to converſe familiarly in it. The difficulty was to procure a perſon qualified to teach the dead languages in that way.

(1) The famous Montaigne was taught theſe languages in the ſame way.

[*B*] *He winged his way through philoſophical literature.*] This part of his education was committed to Mr Locke, who was retained in the houſe of his grandfather as his phyſician. What opinion his Lordſhip had of this tutor has been already ſhewn in the courſe of this work (2). It is certain, however, that his free cenſure of him in regard to ſome points (3), and particularly upon the doctrine of innate ideas, maintained in the Eſſay of human underſtanding, yet in general he approved of that book, which he recommended to a ſtudent at the univerſity as no leſs fit to qualify for buſineſs and the world as for the ſciences and univerſity. 'No one (ſays he) has done more 'towards recalling of philoſophy from barbarity into 'the uſe and practice of the world, and into the company of the better and politer ſort, who might well 'be aſhamed of it in its other dreſs. No one has 'opened a better and clearer way to reaſoning. And 'above all I wonder (continues he) to hear him cenſured by any church of England men, for advancing 'reaſon, and bringing the uſe of it ſo much into religion (4).'

(2) See the articles of both in this work.

(3) In Locke's article.

(4) Letters of the Earl of Shaftſbury to a ſtudent in the univerſity, N° I. p. 2, 3. edit. 1750. 12mo.

[*C*] *He made a remarkable ſpeech on the treaſon bill.*] This bill was intituled, *A bill for granting counſel to priſoners in caſe of high treaſon.* He looked upon it to be important, and had prepared a ſpeech in its favour; but when he roſe up to ſpeak it, he was ſo much intimidated by the auguſtneſs of the aſſembly, that he loſt all memory, and was quite unable to proceed. The houſe, after giving him a little time to recover his confuſion, called loudly for him to go on; when he proceeded to this effect: 'If I, Sir, 'who riſe only to give my opinion on the bill now 'depending, am ſo confounded, that I am unable to 'expreſs the leaſt of what I propoſed to ſay, what 'muſt the condition of that man be, who without 'any aſſiſtance is pleading for his life, and under 'apprehenſions of being deprived of it (5).' During this and the other ſeſſions in which he continued in the Houſe of Commons, he perſevered in the ſame way of acting, always heartily concurring in every motion for the ſecuring of liberty.

(5) General Dictionary.

[*D*] *He continued in the Whig party to the end of his life.*] The Whigs, it is well known, chriſtened their cauſe the cauſe of liberty, in oppoſition to the Tories, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their devotion for the prerogative. Though Lord Shaftſbury never had any place or office at court during the Whig miniſtry, either under King William or Queen Anne, from which he was withheld by the weakneſs of his conſtitution, and his ſtrong propenſion to ſtudy and retirement, yet he was frequently conſulted on important occaſions, particularly by the treaſurer Lord Godolphin, the principal perſon on that ſide at the helm, of whoſe integrity he had the higheſt opinion (6).

(6) See his Letters to Robert Moleſworth Eſq;

To

giving a regular attendance in the Houſe of Commons any longer than the continuance of this parliament, the houſe often ſitting late in thoſe active times, upon its diſſolution, in 1698, he croſſed the water to Holland, having firſt prefixed a long preface to a volume of Dr Whichcot's Sermons, which were publiſhed the ſame year, under his particular inſpection (*e*). In Holland he was much pleaſed with the company and converſation of Mr Bayle [*E*], Mr Le Clerc, and other learned perſons then reſiding in that country, whoſe acquaintance induced him to continue there above a twelvemonth. During his abſence came out an imperfect edition of his *Inquiry into virtue*, ſurreptitiouſly taken from a rough draught ſketched when he was but twenty years of age [*F*]. Upon the death of his father (*f*),

To that ſtateſman he was firſt introduced by Lord Moleſworth, to which friend he opens himſelf upon the ſubject of public affairs, in a letter dated Beechworth, January 6, 1708 9, when the Whig miniſtry began to be ſhaken. ‘ Had I not (writes he) heard long ſince that you were on the road to town (7), you may be ſure I ſhould be employing the leiſure time I have here in writing to you, eſpecially after ſuch long and friendly letters, as I have lately received from you on public and private ſubjects, and in which you are ſo favourable to me as to lay a ſtreſs upon my judgment and opinion in the affairs of my country, which of late years I have been forced to look on, at a diſtance (8), without any thing that can be called a ſhare in them myſelf. I muſt own I began of late to flatter myſelf with a way of ſervice I little dreamt of, and which I never thought myſelf capable of or qualified for (9) heretofore. I never thought I ſhould ſee any of the great men at court ſo inclinable to public good as to regard or hearken to a man who had chiefly that at heart: and to ſay truth of myſelf, I always thought I had a ſtubbornneſs of nature, which would hinder me from making a right advantage of good miniſters, whenever we ſhould come to have any ſuch. But the being taken down very early in my life from thoſe high imaginations I had, and thoſe hopes of doing ſervice in the plain way of buſineſs and parliaments, the mortification wrought ſo far in my advantage, that I became milder and more tractable: and in this condition you found me, when you laid hold of an opportunity, and with a moſt particular mark of friendſhip recommended me to a great man (10), and brought me under obligation to him. The little time I have had ſince with him I employed the beſt I could in ſuch advices and ſuch offer of ſervice as became me. Nor do I think I have been any way unfortunate in giving the leaſt offence, or raiſing that frightful idea, which courtiers are apt to have of patriots and men of rigid virtue. I flatter myſelf egregiouſly or I am well in his opinion, and have loſt no ground. But if it be ſo, and I faithfully believe, I will be ſworn there never was a more diſintereſted man in his ſtation: for if I may judge by myſelf, he leaves it to his friends, and thoſe he has obliged to be grateful, and to act for him as they fancy, and as their heart prompts them; but for his part he lays no burdens, nor requires any ſervice in return.

‘ But this, however, ought not to leſſen the zeal and earneſt endeavour of one who is obliged, and in a truly honeſt man it muſt increaſe it, and this for his own ſake I wiſh he may be wiſe enough to know: for I had rather ſuch goodneſs of his ſhould come from reflection, than mere natural temper and generoſity; for he that can ſee ſo deep into hearts, and comprehend the myſtery of honeſty (a real myſtery in moſt courts) will never want any of thoſe generous inclinations which make a worthy character. But the misfortune is, we honeſt men (if I may ſpeak thus preſumptuouſly of myſelf) are a little myſterious ourſelves. There is a cloud over us, which is hard to be cleared up: the rugged paths we walk through give us a rugged pace; and the idle, ſupine, illiterate creatures of a court education, have a thouſand advantages above us, and can eaſier borrow from our character, than we from theirs; though of right there ſhould be nothing fair or handſome in which we ſhould come behind them. And it ought to be a ſhame that a mere courtier ſhould, for his intereſt ſake, be more aſſiduous, and better behaved in every reſpect, than the man who makes court for his country, and tries to profit of the good diſpoſition of the great men in power. Our friend Horace found the difficulty and weight of this in the caſe of an honeſt man, who loved his great friend (11), but ſcorned to be a ſlave,

‘ *Scurrantis ſpeciem præbere, profeſſus amicum* (12);

and therefore (with a ſigh to be ſure) he ſays;

‘ *Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici*
‘ *Expertus metuit* (13).

‘ But we have a better cauſe than Horace, or his friend Lollius, whom he writes to, and therefore ſhould ſtrive to do more. They had only themſelves to ſerve, but we our country, and mankind. And there was a great difference between thoſe miniſters whom they courted, and the miniſter our friend; for their miniſtry was the enſlaving their country, and the world; this miniſtry is the very delivering of both, and the foundation of a nobler ſtructure of liberty (by a juſt balance of power at home and abroad) than ever was yet laid by mankind. They are in ſo good a way, they can ſcarce miſcarry: nor can they fail of reward in the juſt eſteem and gratitude of the public, if they are not moſt unhappily wanting to themſelves in their private friendſhips. But if truſting to their public merit, or to their intereſt in their prince, they either make no friends, or ſuch as have not courage and wiſdom, their enemies will find advantages againſt them in any ſtate of affairs.

‘ As our preſent affairs ſtand, I am ſure a miniſter had need to be fortified with good friends and honeſt adviſers. He ought to know how he ſtands with the public, how every action and ſtep is conſtrued, and what the people think of matters, before the proof comes in a parliament (14).’

[*E*] *He was delighted with Mr Bayle.*] When he went to Holland he concealed his name, for the ſake, as it is ſaid, of being leſs interrupted in his ſtudies, pretending only to be a ſtudent in phyſic, and in that character contracted an acquaintance with Mr Bayle. But a little before his return home, being deſirous to be known to him by his real name, he contrived to have Mr Bayle invited to dinner by a friend, where he was told he was to meet Lord Aſhley. Mr Bayle accidentally calling upon Lord Aſhley that morning, was preſſed by him to ſtay; but excuſed himſelf, ſaying, I can by no means ſtay, for I muſt be punctual to an engagement, where I am to meet my Lord Aſhley. The next interview no doubt occaſioned ſome mirth, and their intimacy rather increaſed than leſſened after the diſcovery, for they never ceaſed correſponding till Mr Bayle's death (15).

[*F*] *Sketched at twenty years of age.*] His Lordſhip's zeal for the cauſe of liberty betrayed him ſometimes into connections with ſuch of the party as had nothing elſe to recommend them, among theſe was the famous, or rather infamous Mr John Toland, on whom he is ſaid to have conferred many favours. This ſon of liberty having got into his hands a copy of his friend's *Inquiry into virtue*, took the opportunity of his abſence to print and publiſh it at London, doubtleſs to the great relief of his finances. It is certain, that, imperfect as it was, there was no ſmall demand for it. Among others, it came to the knowledge of a young gentleman, for whom his Lordſhip had a particular kindneſs, and intereſting himſelf in the direction of his ſtudies at the univerſity, gives him the following advice concerning this baſe-born brat: ‘ I would not have you inquire further as yet after that book, intituled, *An inquiry*; becauſe it was an imperfect thing, brought into the world many years ſince, contrary to the author's deſign, in his abſence beyond ſea, and in a diſguiſed diſordered ſtyle. It may one day, perhaps, be ſet right, ſince other things have made it to be inquired after (16).’

ſoon

(*e*) Theſe Sermons are undeniably not without their merit, but apparently recommended themſelves to Mr Aſhley's taſte by their method of inculcating morality as founded upon the το καλον; without medling with the Chriſtian myſteries.

(*f*) He died Nov. 10, 1699. Collins's Peerage, and the article of the Earls of Shaftſbury.

(7) From Eglington, a ſeat of Lord Moleſworth, in Yorkſhire.

(8) By reaſon of his aſthma.

(9) Giving advice to thoſe at the helm, of which, perhaps, no man was more capable, both in reſpect of ability and integrity.

(10) The Lord Treaſurer.

(11) Mæcenas.

(12) Lib. i. epiſt. 18. ver. 2.

(13) Ib. ver. 86.

(14) Letter vii. In the collection of Letters from the Earl of Shaftſbury to Robert Moleſworth Eſq; &c. edit. 1750.

(15) General Dictionary.

(16) Accordingly it was completed by him, and publiſhed in the Characteriſtics, Vol. II.

ſoon after his return home, he became Earl of Shaftſbury, but did not take his place in the Houſe of Lords, till his particular friend the Lord Somers diſpatched a meſſenger to acquaint him with the buſineſs of the famous *Partition Treaty*, in February 1700-1 [*G*]. On the acceſſion of Queen Anne, his Lordſhip retired to his uſual courſe of ſtudy; and finding the Tory party to prevail, in the beginning of the ſubſequent year 1703 (*g*) he made a ſecond trip to Holland, and did not return home till the Whigs came again into the adminiſtration, at the end of 1704 (*h*). Soon after which, great diſturbances being raiſed by the enthuſiaſtic pretences of ſome refugees, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *French prophets* [*H*], his Lordſhip took that occaſion to draw up his letter concerning *Enthuſiaſm*. In 1706, he entered into a correſpondence with a ſtudent at the univerſity, which was carried on till that gentleman was ordained by Dr Burnet [*I*], Biſhop of Saliſbury, in 1710. In the

(*g*) Gen. Hiſt. of England.

(*h*) Idem.

[G] *Lord Somers acquainted him with the buſineſs of the Partition Treaty.*] We have his Lordſhip's ſentiments of this treaty in his letter laſt cited, where having given his opinion that a peace was not ſo near as it might ſeem, though the hard circumſtances which the Dutch lay under would make them preſs for the firſt terms that might ſeem any way advantageous, he proceeds thus: 'But matters are not at preſent to be tranſacted by a whiſper between two gentlemen of the blade; and others muſt have the ſecret communicated to them, beſides a Monſieur Boufleurs or my Lord Portland (17): ſo great a change has happened ſince that laſt peace [the Partition Treaty] both in the government of England as well as Holland! and a chancellor here apprehends another ſort of duty, as well as a penſioner there, thanks to the Tory gentlemen for this their notable furtherance of the prerogative. For I was one of thoſe ſorrowful Whigs who bemoaned the ſad caſe of our conſtitution, according to which the power of peace and war was wholly in the prince; whilſt the Tories ſaw plainly that it was otherwiſe, and could impeach a lord chancellor (18) for placing the ſeal, where I ſincerely thought he could not refuſe to do it, at his prince's command. But let lord chancellor and other miniſters look to themſelves. If our conſtitution was not ſo then, it is become ſo now; for not the abſolute command, the raſhneſs, or ill judgment of the prince himſelf (tho' ever ſo much a principal in the caſe, or though ſingle or by himſelf) can juſtify or excuſe the leaſt flaw in a treaty; for which the miniſters are with their heads to be anſwerable to the people, as by late precedents has been eſtabliſhed.' His Lordſhip, in a former letter to the ſame correſpondent, expreſſed his regard for Lord Somers, on his intended promotion to the poſt of Preſident of the Council; and as we have likewiſe his Lordſhip's ſentiments upon ſome other changes in the miniſtry at that time, it will not be improper, in the view of diſcovering in ſome meaſure the true colour of Lord Shaftſbury's ſtate principles, to lay it before the reader, as follows.

(17) Theſe made the *Partition Treaty*, which was ſo ill reliſhed in England, and rejected by the parliament. Gen. Hiſt. of England.

(18) Lord Somers. Lord Portland was alſo impeached, as were at the ſame time the Lords Orford and Halifax. Idem.

'Chelſey, November 20, 1708.

'Dear Sir,

'I came hither from Surry but yeſterday, and found your ſecond letter; which if I had not received, I ſhould, however, not have failed writing this poſt about our changes talked of, which I hope will be to the public advantage. As to the admiralty, and the conſequences of keeping it in the adminiſtration it had lain under during the Prince's time (19), you know my mind fully, as well as my opinion of this preſent Lord, who I hope may with certainty be called *Lord high admiral*. It is Lord Pembroke I mean, who with great reluctancy at laſt accepts it, though he plainly ſaid (as I have been informed) that he was inſerted only to ſerve a turn, and that another great Lord (the favourite of our Whig party) was at the bottom intended, and would in ſome time ſucceed him. But I really believe things ſtand on a better bottom; and that as ſtrictly as the Lord Somers is bound to the party of friends with whom he roſe, he has yet that wiſdom, and withal that regard to his country intereſt, eſpecially under a miniſtry of which he is like to have ſo great a ſhare, that however the low Whigs may murmur, he will be glad to ſee the naval affairs in the hands of ſo univerſally beloved a man, ſo honourable and uncorrupt as Lord Pembroke.

(19) Prince George of Denmark.

'By this you will find I take for granted, that Lord Somers comes into the place talked of for him of *Preſident of the Council*, and believe it is true that he has kiſſed the Queen's hand, though not directly as a miniſter received. But pretty near it you may believe, ſince at this time of mourning (and ſo ſincere a mourner as the Queen is) ſhe hardly would ſee a ſtranger, and which is more, a man ſo eſtranged from her, and ſo wholly off from the court as Lord Somers has been, and whom I ſcarce believe ſhe has at any time to kiſs her hand; he having been for certain the Prince's averſion, as you may judge by thoſe who chiefly influenced the Prince, and were the violenteſt enemies Lord Somers had. I muſt confeſs I ever wiſhed well to this correſpondence there now is between Lord Somers and our Lord, but can pretend to have had no ſhare in effecting it. With all the other Lords of the *junto*, I have maintained only a very cool and diſtant acquaintance; but I have ever diſtinguiſhed Lord Somers, and believe ſo well both of our Lord (20) and him, that the union between them is upon a handſomer and better bottom than that of giving up their particular friends on either ſide; and even Lord Pembroke (a Tory) on whom all this turns, is a proof, I think, that this change is not wholly a party matter.

(20) The Lord Treaſurer Godolphin.

'Lord Wharton, indeed, is true ſteel; but as little partiality as I have for him, and as ill an opinion of his private life and principles, I fancy his good underſtanding will make himſelf a better Lord Lieutenant than is expected (21). More changes I know not of, nor do I believe many are to be expected.

'Forgive this haſty ſheet I here incloſe to you. It is late, and I ſhall miſs this night's poſt ſending hence to town: ſo add only my conſtant and ſincere profeſſion of being,

'Dear Sir,

'Your obliged friend, and

'faithful humble ſervant.'

(21) Nov. 25, 1708, Thomas Earl of Pembroke was appointed Lord high admiral, Thomas Lord Wharton Lord lieutenant of Ireland, and John Lord Somers Preſident of the council. Salmon, under that year.

[H] *Diſturbances from the French prophets.*] Theſe diſturbances grew to ſuch a height, as to become a public concern. Many thought it neceſſary that a ſtop ſhould be put to the ravings of thoſe enthuſiaſts, by ſome proper reſtraint in a legal way: but any ſuch proceeding was warmly oppoſed by Lord Shaftſbury, who, under the influence of his principle of liberty, branded any ſuch legal checks with the odious name of *perſecution* (22).

(22) Gen. Hiſt. of England, and Bayle.

[I] *That gentleman was ordained by Dr Burnet.*] This prelate was apparently pitched on to perform the ceremony, as being moſt agreeable to the mind of our author. In a letter, dated May 5, 1709 (23), he ſent the ſtudent an extraordinary euloge of that biſhop, in which, after recommending his Expoſition of the Articles as highly worthy of his friend's ſtudy, 'None (proceeds he) can better explain the ſenſe of the church, than one who is the greateſt pillar of it ſince the firſt founders; one who beſt explained and aſſerted the reformation itſelf, was chiefly inſtrumental in ſaving it from popery before and at the revolution; and is now the trueſt example of *laborious, primitive, pious,* and *learned epiſcopacy*.' After the ſame friend was ordained, his Lordſhip, in a letter dated July 10, 1710, expreſſes his opinion of Burnet in theſe terms:

(23) Letters to a ſtudent, Let. vii.

'I believe, indeed, it was your expecting me every day at * * *, that prevented your writing ſince you received ORDERS from the good biſhop my Lord of SALISBURY; who as he has done more than any man living for the good and honour of the church of England and the reformed religion, ſo he now ſuffers the mean time, our noble author publiſhed the fore-mentioned letter upon enthuſiaſm in 1708, with a dedication to Lord Somers, though without mentioning his name. This was followed by his *Moraliſts, a philoſophical rhapſody*, in 1709; and by his *Senſus communis; or, An eſſay on the freedom of wit and humour*, in the enſuing May. And in October the ſame year, he entered into a marriage with a young gentlewoman of ſmall fortune, to whom he was related, Miſs Jane Ewer [*K*], youngeſt daughter (*i*) of Thomas Ewer Eſq; of Buſhy-hall in Hertfordſhire, of an antient family that had been ſeated there ever ſince Henry the Seventh's time. This connection, happy as it proved, did not however wean him from the purſuit of his ſtudies. His *Soliloquy, or advice to an author*, came out in 1710; and, to his great joy, before the expiration of the year he ſaw the fruits of his marriage in the birth of a ſon and heir. But this bleſſed ſight was of ſhort duration, his aſthma grew preſently after ſo troubleſome and dangerous, that he found it neceſſary to yield to the advice of his friends, to withdraw into a warmer climate. He ſet out, therefore, for Naples, in July 1711 [*L*], where, after finiſhing his *Judgment of Hercules* (*k*), and

(*i*) She was not above 20 years of age. Letter the ſecond from Sir John Cropley to R. Moleſworth Eſq; p. 134. edit. 1750.

(*k*) He ſent this to a friend, in a letter dated Naples, March 6, 1712.

‘ ſuffers more than any man from the tongues and ſlander of thoſe ungrateful *churchmen*, who may well call themſelves by that ſingle term of diſtinction, having no claim to that of *Chriſtianity* or *Proteſtant*; ſince they have thrown off all temper of the former, and all concern or intereſt with the latter. I hope whatever advice the great and good biſhop gave you will ſink deeply into your mind; and that your receiving orders from the hands of ſo worthy a prelate, will be one of the circumſtances which may help to inſure your ſteadineſs in honeſty, good principles, moderation, and true Chriſtianity, which are now ſet at nought, and at defiance, by the far greater part and numbers of that body of clergy called *the church of* ENGLAND; who no more eſteem themſelves a Proteſtant church, or in union with thoſe of Proteſtant communion; though they pretend to the name of *Chriſtian*, and would have us judge of the ſpirit of *Chriſtianity* from *theirs*: which God prevent! leſt good men ſhould in time forſake Chriſtianity through their means.

‘ As for my part of kindneſs and friendſhip to you, I ſhall be ſufficiently recompenſed, if you prove (as you have ever promiſed) a virtuous, pious, ſober, and ſtudious man, as becomes the ſolemn charge belonging to you. But you have been brought into the world, and come into *orders* in the worſt time for inſolence, riot, pride, and preſumption of the clergymen that I ever knew, or have read of, though I have ſearched far into the characters of ſuch high churchmen from the firſt centuries, in which they grew to be dignified with crowns and purple, to the late times of our reformation, and to our preſent age. The thorough knowledge you have had of me, and the direction of all my ſtudies and life to the promotion of religion, virtue, and the good of mankind, will, I hope, be of ſome good example to you; at leaſt it will be a hindrance to your being ſeduced by infamies and calumnies, ſuch as are thrown upon the men called *moderate*, and in their ſtyle indifferent in religion, heterodox, and heretical.

‘ I pray God to bleſs you in your new function with all the true virtue, humility, moderation, and meekneſs which becomes it.

‘ I am your hearty friend,

‘ S * * * * (24).’

(24) Letters to a ſtudent, Let. x.

It was thought proper to tranſcribe this whole letter, as it ſo fully diſcovers his Lordſhip's church principles. We ſee he here claims the character of a moderate man, and the juſtneſs of the claim is confirmed through the whole courſe of this correſpondence, where we find him perpetually dignifying the cauſe of the Whig or low party in the church, as we have already obſerved he did in the ſtate, with the ſpecious title of the cauſe of liberty. While at one time he aſſerts the whole authority of the ſacred order is derived ſolely from the ſtate (25), and at another time he warmly eſpouſes the doctrine of Dr Hoadly, that virtue is its own reward, againſt Dr Atterbury, who maintained, that this maxim was ruinous to the cauſe of virtue, by leaving out the ſanctions of future rewards (26). Yet at another time we find his Lordſhip teſtifying his moderation, by doing juſtice to the merits of Tillotſon, Barrow, Chillingworth, and Hammond as the great pillars of the church againſt fanaticiſm (27).

(25) Letter ix.

(26) Letter vii.

(27) Letter i.

[*K*] *He married Miſs Jane Ewer.*] This lady was not his firſt love, nor did he make his addreſſes to her, till after a diſappointment in a propoſed match with another of a much greater fortune and family, a relation of Lord Moleſworth, who had given all the aſſiſtance he was able to bring it to a ſucceſsful iſſue. A little while after he had fixed his choice upon Miſs Ewer, and before his actually engaging with her, he wrote a letter to his friend Moleſworth, wherein having repeated what he had often ſaid, that his deſign of entering into any marriage was the pure effect of that and other friends inſtances, for the ſake of continuing his family. He proceeds thus:

‘ What other people will ſay of ſuch a match I know not, nor what motive they will aſſign for it, when intereſt is ſet aſide. Love, I fear, will be ſcarce a tolerable pretence in ſuch a one as I am: and for a family, I have a brother ſtill alive, whom I may have ſtill ſome hopes of. What a weakneſs, then, would it be thought in me, to marry with little or no fortune, and not in the higheſt degree of quality neither? Will it be enough that I take a breeder out of a good family, with a right education, fit for a mere wife; and with no advantages, but ſimple innocence, modeſty, and the plain qualities of a good mother and a good nurſe? This is as little the modern reliſh, as that old-faſhioned wife of Horace's (28),

‘ *Sabina qualis, aut peruſta ſolibus*
‘ *Pernicis uxor Appuli.*

(28) Epod. ii. ver. 41.

‘ Can you or my friends who me preſs to this, bear me out in it? The experiment, however, ſhall be made, if I live out this ſummer: and you ſhall hear me ſay as the old batchelor in the Latin Menander, with a little alteration,

‘ Etſi *hoc moleſtum, atque alienum a vita mea*
‘ *Videtur,* ſi vos *tantopere iſtuc voltis, fiat* (29).’

(29) Terent. Adelph. act. v. ſcen. 8. ver. 21.

After his marriage, having received the uſual compliments from the ſame friend, he returned an anſwer, in which we have his extraordinary notion of that ſtate. ‘ Were I (ſays he) to talk of marriage, and forced to ſpeak my mind plainly, and without the help of humour or raillery, I ſhould doubtleſs offend the moſt part of ſober married people, and the ladies chiefly: for I ſhould in reality think I did wonders, in extolling the happineſs of my new ſtate, and the merit of my wife in particular, by ſaying, *that I verily thought myſelf as happy a man now as ever*. And is not that ſubject enough for joy! What would a man of ſenſe wiſh more? For my own part, if I find any ſincere joy, it is becauſe I promiſed myſelf no other than the ſatisfaction of my friends, who thought my family worth preſerving, and myſelf worth nurſing in an indifferent crazy ſtate, to which a wife (if a good one) is a great help. Such a one I have found, and if by her help or care I can regain a tolerable ſhare of health, you may be ſure it will be employed as you deſire, ſince my marriage itſelf was but a means to that end (30).’

(30) Letters to a ſtudent, Let. xiii.

[*L*] *He ſet out for Naples in July 1711.*] Some ſhort time before he ſet out, he retired to a houſe which he had at Reygate in Surry, whence he took his leave of the Earls of Oxford and Godolphin, in a letter to each of thoſe great ſtateſmen, the former of and the *Letter concerning deſign*, he employed the reſt of his time in ordering his writings for a more elegant edition. The ſeveral prints then interſperſed through the work were all invented by himſelf, and deſigned under his immediate inſpection. He was moreover at the pains of drawing up a moſt accurate ſet of inſtructions for the purpoſe, which are ſtill extant, in manuſcript. All the works intended by him to be made public he completed in three volumes, under the title of *Characteriſtics*, which were firſt publiſhed in 1711. The warm climate of Italy enabled him thus to put the finiſhing hand to that celebrated work; but it could do no more, his diſorder was irrecoverable, and he ſunk under it into the arms of death, at Naples, February 4, 1712-13 (*l*). Immediately after came out that complete and elegant edition of the Characteriſtics, which has been the ſtandard of all the numerous editions ſince. Beſides the Characteriſtics, which were all that his Lordſhip intended for the public view, we have mentioned two collections of his Letters, one to a ſtudent in the univerſity, publiſhed anonymous in 1716, octavo, and the other to Robert Moleſworth Eſq; publiſhed by Mr Toland in 1721; both which were reprinted in one volume octavo in 1750, anonymous and achorous. His Lordſhip's political character, both in church and ſtate, had been already mentioned from his own writings; and in theſe likewiſe are clearly ſeen the religious, moral, and philoſophical part of it; there we find him perpetually inculcating it for an indiſputable truth, that the τὸ καλὸν, the native charms and beauty of virtue, and deformity of vice, and the certain tendency of each to our reſpective happineſs or miſery here, are ſufficient of themſelves to enforce and influence the practice of the firſt, and the avoidance of the latter, without the aſſurance of future rewards or puniſhments; the mention of which, and other doctrines peculiar to revealed religion, are either ſilently or ſlightly paſſed over. Though he frequently covers his real ſentiments under the maſk of humour and raillery, yet we find him at times ſpeaking freely and without ſuch reſerve. It has been thought, that as he formed the plan of his philoſophy from the antient heathen moraliſts, ſo the idea which he had ſo formed of it is beſt underſtood by a paſſage in one of his letters, cited in the General Dictionary (*m*), where, ſpeaking of the

(*l*) Collins's Peerage.

(*m*) In remark [*K*].

of which had ſucceeded the latter in the ſupremacy of the miniſterial power. The contraſt between the polite coolneſs of one, and the affectionate warmth of the other, is worth notice. That to the Earl of Oxford runs thus:

'Reygate, March 29, 1711.

'My Lord,

'The honour you have done me in many kind 'inquiries after my health, and the favour you have 'ſhewn me lately, in forwarding the only means I 'have left for my recovery, by trying a warmer climate, obliges me, ere I leave England, to return 'your Lordſhip my moſt humble thanks and acknowledgments in this manner, ſince I am unable to do 'it in a better. I might perhaps, my Lord, do injuſtice to myſelf, having had no opportunity of late 'years to pay my particular reſpects to you, if I 'ſhould attempt any otherwiſe to compliment your 'Lordſhip on the late honours you have received, 'than by appealing to the early acquaintance and 'ſtrict correſpondence I had once the honour to 'maintain with you and your family, for which I 'had been bred almoſt from my infancy to have the 'higheſt regard. Your Lordſhip well knows my 'principles and behaviour from the firſt hour I engaged in any public concern, and with what zeal 'I ſpent ſome years of my life in ſupporting your intereſt, which I thought of greater moment to the 'public than my own or my family's could ever be. 'What the natural effects are of private friendſhip ſo 'founded, and what the conſequence of different 'opinions intervening, your Lordſhip, who is ſo good 'a judge of men and things, can better reſolve to 'yourſelf than I can poſſibly ſuggeſt; and being ſo 'knowing in friends (of whom your Lordſhip has 'acquired ſo many) you can recollect how theſe ties 'or obligations have been hitherto preſerved towards 'you, and whoſe friendſhips, affections, and principles, you may for the future beſt depend upon in 'all circumſtances and variations public and private. 'For my own part, I ſhall ſay only, that I very ſincerely wiſh you all happineſs, and can with no man 'living congratulate more heartily on what I account 'real honour and proſperity. Your conduct of the 'public will be the juſt earneſt and inſurance of your 'greatneſs and power; and I ſhall then chiefly congratulate with your Lordſhip on your merited honours and advancement, when by the happy effects 'it appears evidently in the ſervice of what cauſe, and 'for the advantage of what intereſt they were acquired and employed. Had I been to wiſh by what 'hands the public ſhould have been ſerved, the honour of the firſt part (your Lordſhip well knows) 'had fallen to you long ſince. If others, from whom 'I leaſt hoped, have done greatly, and as became 'them, I hope, if poſſible, you will ſtill exceed all 'they have performed, and accompliſh the great 'work ſo glorioſly begun and carried on for the 'reſcue of liberty, and the deliverance of Europe and 'mankind. And in this preſumption I cannot but 'remain with the ſame zeal and ſincerity as ever,

'My Lord, &c.'

The letter to the Lord Godolphin is in theſe terms:

'Reygate, May 27, 1711.

'My Lord,

'Being about to attempt a journey to Italy, to try 'what a warmer climate, if I am able to reach it, 'may do towards the reſtoring me a little breath and 'life, it is impoſſible for me to ſtir hence, till I have 'acquitted myſelf of my reſpects the beſt I can to 'your Lordſhip, to whom alone, had I but ſtrength 'enough to make my compliments, and pay a day's 'attendance in town, I ſhould think myſelf ſufficiently happy in my weak ſtate of health. I am 'indeed, my Lord, little able to render ſervices of 'any kind; nor do I pretend to offer myſelf in ſuch 'a capacity to any one, except your Lordſhip only. 'But could I flatter myſelf, that ere I parted hence, 'or while I paſſed through France, or ſtaid in Italy, 'I could any-where, in the leaſt trifle, or in the 'higheſt concern, render any manner of ſervice to 'your Lordſhip, I ſhould be proud of ſuch a commiſſion. Sure I am in what relates to your honour and 'name, if that can receive ever any advantage from 'ſuch a hand as mine, your public as well as private 'merit will not paſs unremembered into whatever 'region or climate I am transferred. No one has a 'more thorough knowledge in that kind than myſelf, nor no one there is, who on this account has 'a juſter right to profeſs himſelf, as I ſhall ever do, 'with higheſt obligations and moſt conſtant zeal,

'My Lord,

'Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful,

'and moſt obedient

'humble ſervant,

'Shaftsbury (31).'

(31) Earl of Shaftſbury's Letters, &c. edit. 1750, at the end.

antient philoſophic ſects, he rejects the Academic and Sceptic branches, and dividing it into two parts only, derived reſpectively from Socrates and Democritus: *Theſe*, ſays he, *firſt maintained that ſociety, right and wrong, were founded in nature, and that nature had a meaning, and was herſelf, that is to ſay, in her wits, well governed and adminiſtred by one ſimple and perfect intelligence.* This rule to *follow nature* is evidently the ground and foundation of his ſyſtem of virtue, framed from the antient Greek philoſophers. Could it then have been imagined that his Lordſhip did not perfectly underſtand the moſt eſſential part of this principle, which was comprehended too therein by his own Greek philoſophers, I mean the ſupreme authority of reflection upon our actions, i. e. conſcience, which governs all the other parts of man's natural conſtitution? Yet he has been indefenſibly convicted of this eſſential defect by the learned Dr Joſeph Butler, the late pious Biſhop of Durham (n). However, he is allowed to have been a complete maſter of the true Platonic ſtyle. The elegance and politeneſs of the *Characteriſtics* always has been, and is ſtill, the univerſal admiration of all parties: this is the charm which captivates and blinds.

If to his ſhare ſome dangerous errors fall,
Look on his ſtyle, and you'll forget them all.

His Lordſhip was ſucceeded in the honour and eſtate by his ſon and heir, Anthony Aſhley Cooper, the preſent Earl of Shaftſbury, who, March 12, 1724-5, married the Lady Suſan Noel, ſiſter to Baptiſt Earl of Gainſborough; after whoſe death without iſſue, in 1758, he entered into a ſecond match with the Lady Mary, the ſecond daughter of Jacob Lord Viſcount Folkſtone. His Lordſhip is Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of the county of Dorſet and the town of Pool, Recorder of Shaftſbury, and Fellow of the Royal Society (o).

(n) See his article in this Supplement, under remark [C].

(o) Collins's Peerage.

D.

DENNIS [John], a critic of ſome merit, but more vanity, had his birth in 1657, at London, whence he was ſent at a proper age by his father, a ſadler, and an eminent citizen, to a grammar-ſchool at Harrow-on-the-hill, and thence removed to Caius college Cambridge, in 1675; where having proceeded A. B. he made the grand tour of France and Italy; and at his return home, having ſome fortune left him by an uncle, he ſet up for a wit and a fine gentleman, and was admitted into the company of ſome of the moſt eminent perſonages for birth, wit, and learning (*a*), as the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Halifax and Pembroke, Walter Moyle Eſq; Dryden, Wycherley, Congreve, Southern, Garth, who really had an opinion of his talents; but he forfeited their friendſhip by the many abſurd and ridiculous eſcapes into which his predominant paſſions of pride, envy, jealouſy, and ſuſpicion hurried him [*A*]. He commenced author in 1690, if not earlier [*B*], and continued publiſhing poems and pamphlets all his life, in which he was continually making attacks upon ſomebody or other, and thereby became embroiled in quarrels, wherein he had generally the worſt on't. However, he wrote two poems on the battle of Hochſtet, commonly called Ramilies, and Blenheim, in 1704; for the firſt of which he had a preſent of 100l. from the Duke of Marlborough, who ſoon after obtained him a ſinecure in the cuſtoms of about 120l. per annum. The ſame year came out his favourite tragedy *Liberty aſſerted*, deſigned as a ſatire upon the French nation, which his vanity prompted him to imagine would never be forgiven [*C*]. In 1709 he publiſhed a tragedy, called *Appius and Virginia*, which met with no ſucceſs [*D*]. After this, his life became perfectly militant; he was for ever whirling his critical quarter-ſtaff, though for ever foiled in the combat; but his pride was ſuperior to all rebuffs, and his envy not to be diſmayed. Under the influence of that dæmon, in 1712, he wrote againſt Mr Pope's Eſſay on criticiſm, and againſt Mr Addiſon's Cato; for which he underwent a delicate laſhing, by a pamphlet, intituled, *The narrative of Dr Robert Norris, concerning the ſtrange and deplorable frenzy of Mr John Dennis* (*b*); and laid the foundation of that quarrel which gave him a place in the Dunciad, under the name of *Appius*. Yet he kept on driving his pen in the ſame ill-ſtarred road till his death, which happened in 1733, and in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age.

(*a*) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, under Dennis's article.

(*b*) It is inſerted in Swift's Miſcellanies.

[*A*] *He forfeited their friendſhip by his ridiculous conduct.*] Upon his firſt introduction to the E. of Halifax, he got intoxicated with ſome very fine wines, which he had not been uſed to; theſe made him ſo very impatient of contradiction, that, riſing on a ſudden, he ruſhed out of the room, and overturned the ſideboard of plate and glaſſes as he went. Next morning ſeeing Mr Moyle, who was one of the company, he told him he had quite forgot every thing that had happened, for he was much in liquor, and deſired to know in what manner he went away. *Why*, ſaid Moyle, *you went away like the Devil, and took one corner of the houſe with you.*

[*B*] *He commenced author about* 1690.] In 1692 he wrote a *Pindaric ode on K. William, occaſioned by the victory at the battle of Aghrim*; and 1695 a Pindaric poem, called *The court of death*, dedicated to the memory of Q. Mary. Upon the demiſe of K. William, he publiſhed another poem, called *The monument*. After which he wrote ſome pieces in proſe, among which, in 1702, was *Prieſtcraft dangerous to religion and the government*, in anſwer to a piece of the famed Dr Sacheverell, intituled, *The political union*, the deſign of which was to ſhew that the church was neceſſary to ſupport the ſtate.

[*C*] *He imagined were never to be forgiven by the French.*] He really perſuaded himſelf, that the King of France would never make peace with England, unleſs the author of *Liberty aſſerted* were delivered up to him; and upon this full perſuaſion of his own importance, he is ſaid to have waited on his patron the Duke of Marlborough, when the congreſs was held at Utrecht for a treaty of peace, to deſire that no ſuch article might be ſtipulated, as his being given up: the Duke told him, that he was ſorry he could not ſerve him, for he really had no intereſt with any of the miniſters at that time; but ſaid, that he fancied his caſe was not ſo deſperate as he imagined: that he had, indeed, made no ſuch proviſion for himſelf, yet could not help thinking that he had done the French almoſt as much damage as even Mr Dennis had done. We have alſo the following ſtory relating to his conceit: That in a viſit at a gentleman's houſe on the coaſt of Suſſex, he took a walk near the beach of the ſea, from whence he eſpied a ſhip ſailing, as he imagined, towards him; whereupon he preſently ſuſpected himſelf betrayed, and made the beſt of his way to London, without taking any leave of his hoſt, whom he proclaimed a traitor, who had decoyed him down to his houſe, that he might give him up to the French, and that he had certainly been carried off, if he had not eſcaped as he did.

[*D*] *Met with no ſucceſs.*] On this occaſion it was obſerved, that Dennis was the fitteſt man in the world to inſtruct a dramatic writer; for he laid down rules for writing good plays, and ſhewed what were bad by his own. P

DESAGULIERS [John Theophilus], an eminent experimental philoſopher, was the ſon of the Reverend Mr John Deſaguliers, who being a French Proteſtant, was obliged to quit his native country, by the perſecution which followed upon Lewis the Fourteenth's revoking the edict of Nantz in 1685 (*a*). Mr Deſaguliers took refuge in England, bringing our author along with him, who was then an infant of only two years of age, being born at Rochelle in France, March 12, 1683 (*b*). After reading the claſſics under his father, he was ſent to Chriſtchurch college Oxford; where having taken the degree of A. B. he entered into deacon's orders in 1710 (*c*), and upon Dr John Kiel's leaving the univerſity (*d*), he ſucceeded him in reading courſes of experimental philoſophy that year, which he performed at Hart-hall, whither he had removed from Chriſtchurch (*e*). In 1712 he entered into a marriage with Miſs Joanna Pudſey, daughter of William Pudſey

Eſquire

(*a*) This edict was revoked on the 22d of Oct. that year. Dict. Portat. Vol. II. p. 74. 2d edit. 1755.

(*b*) Communicated by Colonel Deſaguliers, our author's ſon.

(*c*) From the ſame information.

(*d*) Dr Kiel went abroad with the Palatines in 1709. See his article.

(*e*) Our author's preface to his Courſe of experimental philoſophy.

Eſquire (f), and May the 3d the ſame year took the degree of A. M (g). In 1713 he removed to the metropolis (h), and ſettling in Channel-row Weſtminſter, he continued his courſes of experimental philoſophy ſeveral years (i). On the 29th of July 1714 he was elected into the Royal Society (k), of which he became a very uſeful member (l), and particularly reſpected by the preſident Sir Iſaac Newton, who gave him many in-[illegible]ions and aſſiſtances (m). About this time the Duke of Chandois, who had before taken [illegible] Kiel under his patronage, became a patron alſo to our philoſopher, made him his chaplain, and preſented him to the church of Edgeware, near his own magnificent ſeat at Canons (n). On the 16th of March 1718, he accumulated the degree of batchelor and doctor of civil law at Oxford (o); and about the ſame time was preferred, by the means of the Earl of Sunderland [A], then at the head of the miniſtry under King George I. to a living in Norfolk, which he afterwards exchanged for one in Eſſex, at the preſentation of King George II. before whom, as well as the reſt of the Royal Family, he had the honour of reading his lectures; and his Royal Highneſs Frederic Prince of Wales made him afterwards his chaplain (p). In the latter part of his life he removed to lodgings over the great piazza in Covent-garden (q), where he carried on his lectures with great ſucceſs, till his death, which happened in 1749, having publiſhed A courſe of experimental philoſophy in 1734, in two volumes quarto (r). The Doctor was the firſt that introduced the reading of lectures in experimental philoſophy at the metropolis (s), and made ſeveral improvements in mechanics, which juſtly intitle him to a place in theſe memoirs. He was frequently conſulted by the Houſe of Commons (t), particularly upon the deſign of building the new bridge over the Thames at Weſtminſter, in the execution of which, Mr Charles Labelye, who had been many years his aſſiſtant, was appointed a ſupervifor. He was a member of ſeveral foreign academies, and correſponding member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris (u). He likewiſe obtained from many competitors the prize propoſed by the French King, for the beſt account of Electricity (x). The Doctor's perſonal figure made no promiſing appearance: he was thick and ſhort, rather below the middle ſize, not well-ſhaped; his features irregular, and very near-ſighted. In the former part of his life he lived very abſtemiouſly, but latterly was cenſured for an indulgence in eating to exceſs, both in the quantity and quality of his diet. He left two ſons; the elder of which, Alexander, was bred to the church, and had a living in Norfolk, where he died, in 1751 (y). His youngeſt ſon Thomas is ſtill living, and being trained up in the artillery, is now Colonel of a brigade in that royal regiment [B], and Equerry to his preſent Majeſty King George III. In 1735, our author publiſhed, in octavo, the ſecond edition of Dr Gregory's *Elements of catoprics and dioptrics*, tranſlated into Engliſh by Dr Brown, to which he added an appendix, containing an account of reflecting teleſcopes, &c.

[A] *By the means of the Earl of Sunderland.*] His Majeſty, before whom he performed a courſe of his lectures at Hampton-court in 1717, intended him the valuable living of Much-Munden in Hertfordſhire (1), but that was obtained for another perſon, by the Earl of Sunderland, who prevailed with a friend to preſent him to this living in Norfolk, the revenue of which amounted only to 70 l. per annum (2).

[B] *Colonel of a brigade in the royal regiment of the artillery.*] Dr Simpſon by miſtake had told me, that the Colonel was a Brigadier in that regiment. But on my acquainting him with that information, he very ingenuouſly returned the following account of the miſtake: 'That on the expedition to Belleiſle, his 'Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to appoint him a 'Brigadier in the army for that expedition, and Com-'manding Officer of the Royal Artillery; but as that 'rank was only for the time of that ſervice, he re-'turned back to his Colonel's rank, on leaving that 'iſland.' It is well known how well he behaved in that expedition, and that the iſland was conquered from the French chiefly by his ſkill and indefatigable diligence, conſtantly and intrepidly exerted at the imminent peril of his life; for which he juſtly merited the place of Equerry to his Majeſty.

P

DILLON [WENTWORTH], Earl of Roſcommon. The imperfect ſketch before given (a) of this very learned and ingenious nobleman, well deſerves to be completed here. He was born (b) in Ireland, whilſt the government of that kingdom was under the firſt Earl of Strafford, to whom the Counteſs of Roſcommon (deſcended from the Boyntons of Brampſton, in the county of York), was nearly related, and when he was baptized, his Lordſhip gave him the name of his own family. In that kingdom he paſſed the firſt years of his infancy; but his father having been converted by Archbiſhop Uſher from the communion of the church of Rome, the Earl of Strafford apprehending that his family would be expoſed to the moſt furious effects of a religious revenge, at the beginning of the Iriſh rebellion ſent for his godſon into England, and placed him at his own ſeat in Yorkſhire, under the tuition of Dr Hall (afterwards Biſhop of Norwich) by whom he was inſtructed in Latin, and without learning the common rules of grammar, which he could never remember, attained to write in that language with intire elegance and propriety, and with ſo much eaſe, that he choſe to correſpond in it with thoſe friends who had learning ſufficient to ſupport the commerce. When the clouds began to gather over England, and the Earl of Strafford was ſingled out for a prey to popular fury, our young nobleman, by the advice of Archbiſhop Uſher, was ſent to finiſh his education at Caen in Normandy, under the celebrated Samuel Bochart [A]. After ſome years he travelled to Rome, where

[A] *Bochart.*] He was of the Reformed religion, and one of the moſt learned men of that age. He was born in 1599, at Rouen, of a noble family. He was maſter of Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Coptic, and ſeveral other languages, as appears by his *Phaleg and Canaan*, and his *Hierozoicon*. He was a member of the academy, where he died May 16, 1667, as he was pronouncing the ſpeech (1).

he

(f) Communicated by his ſon [illegible] Deſaguliers.

(g) From the univerſity regiſt.

(h) Our author, in his preface before-mentioned.

([illegible]) Idem.

([illegible]) Dr Birch, fro[illegible] the books of th[illegible] ſociety.

(l) This appears from the great number of papers printed in their Tranſactions, eſpecially in optics, meteorology, and mechanics.

(m) His [illegible]per upon optics, N° 348, was drawn up at the requeſt of Sir Iſaac, in defence of his theory of light and colours, againſt Mr Mariotte, member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris.

(n) Col. Deſaguliers, as before.

(o) Catalogue of Oxford degrees. Col. Deſaguliers tells me he was alſo D. D.

(p) Col. Deſaguliers.

(q) Channel-row was ordered to be taken down, to make way for the new bridge at Weſtminſter.

(r) He likewiſe publiſhed an Engliſh tranſlation from the Latin of Mr S'Graveſande's Elements of natural philoſophy, in 2 vols. 4to. N. B. *Deſaguliers's ſyſtem of experimental philoſophy*, which came out in 1719, 4to. is declared to be ſpurious by himſelf. See his preface to his Courſe, &c.

(s) Hawkſbee and Whiſton begun to read ſuch lectures there ſoon after. Whiſt. Mem. p. 201.

(t) He erected a ventilator, at their requeſt, in a room over that houſe.

(u) Col. Deſaguliers.

(x) See his pamphlet printed on that occaſion.

(y) Col. Deſaguliers.

(1) See ſome account of this living under the article of Dr Lightfoot, who was parſon of it many years.

(2) Communicated by Dr Simpſon, Rector of St George's in the Eaſt, who was ſome time an aſſiſtant to our author in his lectures, and related to him by marriage.

(a) In Vol. VI. part i. p. 3680, under remark [G].

(b) About the year 1632 probably. See the article of Wentworth Earl of Strafford, Vol. VI. part ii.

(1) L'Advocat's Dict. Portatif. p. 156. edit. 1755, 8vo.

he grew familiar with the moſt valuable remains of antiquity, applying himſelf particularly to the knowledge of medals, which he gained to perfection; and he ſpoke Italian with ſo much grace, that he was frequently miſtaken there for a native. Soon after the Reſtoration he returned to England, where he was graciouſly received by Charles II. and made Captain of the band of Penſioners. In the gaieties of that age he was tempted to indulge a violent paſſion for gaming, by which he frequently hazarded his life in duels, and exceeded the bounds of a moderate fortune. A diſpute with the Lord Privy Seal, about part of his eſtate, obliging him to reviſit his native country, he reſigned his poſt in the Engliſh court, and ſoon after his arrival at Dublin, the Duke of Ormond appointed him Captain of the Guards [*B*]. His beloved Horace obſerves, that the diſeaſes of the mind are ſeldom cured by change of air (*c*), the truth of which was confirmed by his Lordſhip's example, for he was there as much as ever diſtempered with the ſame fatal affection for play, which engaged him in one adventure that well deſerves to be related [*C*]. The pleaſures of the Engliſh court, and the friendſhips he had there contracted, were powerful motives for his return to London. Soon after he came thither, he was made Maſter of the Horſe to the Ducheſs of York, and married the Lady Frances, eldeſt daughter of the Earl of Burlington, and widow of Colonel Courtney. He began now to diſtinguiſh himſelf by his poetry, and about this time, in imitation of thoſe learned and polite aſſemblies with which he had been acquainted abroad (particularly one at Caen, in which his tutor Bochart died ſuddenly, while he was delivering the oration (*d*), he projected a deſign and began to form a ſociety, in conjunction with his friend Dryden, for reforming and fixing the ſtandard of the Engliſh language, a deſign of which it is much more eaſy to form an agreeable idea, than any rational hopes ever to ſee it brought to perfection among us. This project at laſt was intirely defeated by the religious commotions that daily increaſed in King James the Second's court at that time; upon which occaſion, our Earl took a reſolution to paſs the remainder of his life at Rome, telling his friends, It would be beſt to ſit next the chimney, when the chamber ſmoked. Amidſt theſe reflections he was ſeized with the gout, and being very impatient of pain, he permitted a bold French pretender to phyſic to apply a repelling medicine, in order to give him preſent relief, which drove the diſtemper into his bowels, and ſo put an end to his life. He died January 17, 1684, at his houſe near St James's Weſtminſter; and as he was expiring, cried out, with the utmoſt fervour of devotion, *My God, my Father, and my Friend, do not forſake me at my end.* His corpſe was interred with great funeral pomp in Weſtminſter abbey (*e*) [*D*].

(*c*) *Cœlum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.*

(*d*) See remark [*A*].

(*e*) Waller's works by Fenton, in the obſervations, p. 85. & ſeq edit. 1729, 4to, whence this memoir is chiefly taken.

[*B*] *Soon after his arrival at Dublin,* &c.] Mrs Katharine Philips, in a letter to Sir Charles Cotterel, dated at Dublin, October 19, 1662, ſtyles him a very ingenious perſon, of excellent natural parts, and certainly the moſt hopeful young nobleman in Ireland.

[*C*] *An adventure which deſerves to be related.*] In returning home from a gaming-table, he was attacked by three ruffians in the dark; but he defended himſelf with ſo much reſolution, that he diſpatched one of them, while a gentleman happening to come up diſarmed another, whereupon the third ſecured himſelf by flight. The gentleman, his generous aſſiſtant, proved to be a diſbanded officer, a deſcendant of a good family, and of a fair reputation, but, by what we call the partiality of fortune, to avoid cenſuring the iniquity of the times, wanted even a plain ſuit of cloaths to appear decently at the caſtle. His Lordſhip upon this occaſion preſented him to the Duke of Ormond, and obtained his Grace's leave to give him his poſt of Captain of the Guards; which for about three years the gentleman enjoyed, and upon his death, the Duke returned our nobleman his commiſſion.

[*D*] *In Weſtminſter abbey.*] But his friends ſeem to have thought his own writings a more durable monument than any they could erect to his memory; and in them we view the image of a mind naturally ſerious and ſolid, richly furniſhed and adorned with all the ornaments of art and ſcience, and thoſe ornaments unaffectedly diſpoſed in the moſt elegant and regular order. His imagination might, perhaps, have been more fruitful and ſprightly, if his judgment had been leſs ſevere; but that ſeverity (delivered in a maſculine, clear, ſuccinct ſtyle) contributed to make him ſo eminent in the didactical manner, that no man with juſtice can affirm, he was ever equalled by our own nation, without confeſſing at the ſame time that he is inferior to none. In ſome other kinds of writing his genius ſeems to have wanted fire to attain the point of perfection; but who can attain it. To conclude, he was not only a learned but good man, as Mr Pope (z) has teſtified in theſe polite lines:

Roſcommon, not more learn'd than good,
With manners generous as his noble blood;
To him the wit of Greece and Rome was known,
And every other merit but his own.

P.

(z) In his Eſſay on criticiſm.

DUCK [STEPHEN], a very extraordinary perſon, who from a threſher became a poet, and was afterwards advanced to the cure of a pariſh. He was born about the beginning of this century, and had originally no other teaching than to read and write Engliſh, and a little arithmetic; which laſt, being taken from ſchool about the age of fourteen, and engaged in the loweſt employments of a country life for ſome years, he almoſt forgot. However, he read ſometimes, and thought oftener; he had a longing after knowledge, and reflecting on his want of education, he began to be uneaſy, and at length reſolved to try his own ſtrength, and, if poſſible, to recover his arithmetic. He was then twenty-four years of age, and being married and at ſervice, he had little time to ſpare, had no books, nor money to get any: but he was reſolved to go through with it, and in that ſpirit uſed to work more than other day-labourers, by which means he got a ſmall addition to his pay. This overplus being at his own diſpoſal, he bought firſt a book of vulgar arithmetic, then one of decimal, and a third of meaſuring land; all which, by degrees, he made himſelf a tolerable maſter of, in thoſe hours he could ſteal from ſleep after the labours of the day. He had, it ſeems, one dear friend, who joined with him in this literary purſuit, and with whom he uſed to talk and read, when they could ſteal a little time for it. This friend had been two or three years in ſervice at London, where, having an inclination to books as well

This article is taken from Spence's life of the author, prefixed to his poems.

as Duck, he had purchaſed ſome, and bringing them down with him into the country, gave Stephen the uſe of his little library, which in time was increaſed to two or three dozen of books [*A*]. With theſe helps, Stephen grew ſomething of a poet, and ſomething of a philoſopher. He had from his infancy a caſt in his mind towards poetry, as appeared from ſeveral little attempts of that kind. But what gave him a higher taſte of it than he had been uſed to was Milton's *Paradiſe loſt*: this he read over twice or thrice with a dictionary, before he could underſtand the language of it thoroughly; and this, with a ſort of Engliſh grammar he had, is ſaid to have been of the greateſt uſe to him. His fore-mentioned friend helped him alſo to the *Spectators*, which, as he himſelf owned, improved his underſtanding more than any thing. The copies of verſes ſcattered in thoſe papers, helped on his natural bent that way, and prompted him to try if he could not do ſomething like them [*B*]. Theſe attempts brought him into the notice of ſome neighbouring clergymen, who, upon examining him, found him to have a great deal of merit, made him ſome preſents, and encouraged him to go on. At length ſome of his eſſays falling into the hands of a Lady of quality, who attended on the late Queen Caroline, he became known to her Majeſty, who took him under her protection, and ſettled on him a yearly penſion of 30 l. or ſuch an one at leaſt as was ſufficient to maintain him independently on labour [*C*]. He was afterwards admitted into holy orders, and preferred to the living of Byfleet in Surrey, where he continued to make poems and ſongs, and was much followed by the people as a preacher many years. But falling at length into a low-ſpirited melancholy way, he grew lunatic, and in a fit of that diſorder threw himſelf from a bridge, near Reading in Berkſhire, into the *Thames*, and was drowned, in May or June 1756.

[*A*] *Their library increaſed to two or three dozen of books.*] Perhaps, ſays his hiſtorian, you would be willing to know what books their little library conſiſted of. I need not mention thoſe of arithmetic again, nor his Bible. Milton, the Spectators, and Seneca, were his firſt favourites; Telemachus, with another piece by the ſame hand, and Addiſon's Defence of Chriſtianity, his next. They had an Engliſh hiſtory, and a ſort of Engliſh grammar; an Ovid, of long ſtanding with them, and a Byſhe's Art of Poetry, of later acquiſition. Seneca's Morals made the name of L'Eſtrange dear to them, and, as I imagine, might occaſion their getting his Joſephus in folio, which was the largeſt purchaſe in their whole collection. They had one volume of Shakeſpeare, with ſeven of his plays in it. Beſides theſe, Stephen had read three or four other plays, ſome of Epictetus, Waller, Dryden, Virgil, Prior, Hudibras, Tom Brown, and the London Spy.

[*B*] *Do ſomething like them.*] He ſometimes turned his own thoughts into verſe, while he was at work, and at laſt began to venture thoſe thoughts a little upon paper. The thing took air, and Stephen, who had before the name of a ſcholar among the country people, was ſaid now to be able to write verſes too. This was mentioned accidentally, about 1729, before a gentleman of Oxford, who ſent for Stephen, and, after ſome talk together, deſired him to write him a letter in verſe. He did ſo; and that letter is the epiſtle which ſtands the laſt in his poems, though it be the firſt whole copy of verſes that ever he wrote.

[*C*] This he very gratefully acknowledged in the dedication of his Poems to the Queen (1): 'Your 'Majeſty (ſays he) has, indeed, the ſame right to 'them, as you have to the fruit of a tree, which you 'have tranſplanted out of a barren ſoil into a fertile 'and beautiful garden. It was your generoſity which 'brought me out of obſcurity, and ſtill condeſcends 'to protect me: like the Supreme Being, who continually ſupports the meaneſt creature, which his 'goodneſs has produced.'

Dr Swift, probably through pique at the Queen's generoſity to Duck, while he thought himſelf and his own friends neglected, whoſe abilities were infinitely ſuperior, could not forbear expreſſing his diſdain, in the following *quibbling epigram*, as he calls it, *on Stephen Duck, the threſher and favourite poet*:

The threſher Duck could o'er the Q—— prevail.
The proverb ſays, No fence againſt a flail.
From threſhing corn, he turns to threſh his brains,
For which her M——y allows him grains.
Tho' 'tis confeſs'd, that thoſe who ever ſaw
His poems, think them all not worth a ſtraw.
Thrice happy Duck, employ'd in threſhing ſtubble,
Thy toil is leſſen'd, and thy profit's double.

(1) He publiſhed them in 1736, elegantly in 4to. being encouraged thereto by a large ſubſcription of the nobility and gentry.

E.

EACHARD [Laurence], an eminent Engliſh hiſtorian and divine, was the ſon of a clergyman, who by the death of an elder brother became poſſeſſed of a good eſtate in Suffolk, in which county this ſon was born, at Boſſam near Beccles, about 1671, and after a proper education at ſchool, was ſent to Chriſt's college Cambridge, where he proceeded A. B. in 1691, and A. M. in 1695; and afterwards entering into holy orders, was preſented to the livings of Welton and Elkington in Lincolnſhire, where he ſpent above twenty years of his life, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by writing ſeveral books [A]. In the mean time, he was collated to a prebend of the church of Lincoln, and in Auguſt 1712, was inſtalled archdeacon of Stowe. About the year 1722, King George I. preſented him to the livings of Rendleſham, Sudborn, and Alford, in Suffolk, at which places he lived about eight years in a continued ill ſtate of health; and being adviſed to go to Scarborough for the waters, he got as far as Lincoln, but was unable to proceed any further; and going there to take the air, he died in his chariot, Auguſt 16, 1730, and was interred in the chancel of St Mary Magdalen's church in that city, but without any monument or memorial. He was twice married, but had no children by either match. He was a member of the Society of Antiquaries in London. He was a great lover of muſic, and performed very well upon the harpſichord (a).

(a) It was remarkable that he never tranſgreſſed in the point of time, notwithſtanding a ridiculous habit of perpetually ſcratching his backſide in his performance. Communicated by Dr Conyers Middleton, from whom I had the ſubſtance of this memoir.

[A] *He wrote ſeveral books.*] The firſt volume of his *Hiſtory of England*, as far as to the end of the reign of King James the Firſt, was publiſhed in 1706, folio, and again in 1718, with the addition of two more volumes, continuing the hiſtory down to the Revolution. In this work having occaſionally mentioned Dr John Eachard, he tells us (1), that he was a near relation of that divine, ſo near that he could not give a juſt character of him, without being ſuſpected of partiality. We have the following account of that learned and very witty theologue: That he was deſcended of a good family in Suffolk, and born about the year 1635. He was ſent from ſchool to Catherine-hall in Cambridge, where he proceeded A. B. in 1656, and A. M. in 1660; and upon the death of Dr Lightfoot in 1675, was choſen maſter of his college, and created D. D. the following year. He continued in his maſterſhip till his death, which happened about the year 1696. In 1670, he publiſhed, without his name, *The grounds and occaſions of the contempt of the clergy and religion inquired into, in a letter to R. L.* which being attacked by ſeveral writers, he publiſhed the year after *Some obſervations upon the anſwer to an inquiry into the grounds and occaſions of the contempt of the clergy, with ſome additions, in a ſecond letter to R. L. by the ſame author.* This, however, was a reply to one only of his antagoniſts; the reſt he anſwered in *Some letters*, ſubjoined to a book which he publiſhed in 1672, intituled, *Mr Hobbes's ſtate of nature conſidered, in a dialogue between Philautus and Timothy.* This piece, which he dedicated to Archbiſhop Sheldon, was ſo well received, that the year after he publiſhed another againſt Hobbes, dedicated alſo to the ſame Archbiſhop, with the title of *Some opinions of Mr Hobbes conſidered, in a ſecond dialogue between Philautus and Timothy, by the ſame author.* Mr Hobbes prudently declined entering the liſts with this antagoniſt, who whatever ſuperiority of parts and judgment may be allowed to Mr Hobbes, yet Dr Eachard had ſo infinitely the advantage over him in point of wit and raillery, that he was ſure to carry the laugh againſt him.

(1) Under the year 1675.

Mr Laurence Eachard's hiſtory was attacked by Dr Edmund Calamy (2), as alſo by Mr Oldmixon (3). And the ſtory of the contract between Oliver Cromwell and the Devil has been often rediculed, particularly by Dr Conyers Middleton (4), who, however, at the ſame time informs us, that Mr Eachard told him the ſtory was ſo ſtrongly atteſted, that he thought himſelf obliged, by the advice of ſome learned friends, to inſert it. The ſame author (5) takes notice of a miſtake of Eachard, concerning the beginning of the reign of King Edward IV. Since which, there has been publiſhed a poem upon the hiſtories of Laurence Eachard and Gilbert Burnet, containing no unapt contraſt between the two authors, in theſe lines:

(2) In a letter to the author, dated Oct. 20, 1718.

(3) In his critical hiſt. of Eng. and in his hiſt. of Eng. during the reigns of the royal houſe of Stuart.

(4) Middleton's works, Vol. I. note 1. p. 178.

(5) In Vol. III. p. 252.

Gil's hiſtory appears to me
Political anatomy;
A caſe of ſkeletons well done,
And malefactors every one:
His ſharp and ſtrong inciſion pen
Hiſtorically cuts up men,
And does with lucid ſkill impart
Their inward ails of head and heart.
Laurence proceeds another way,
And well dreſs'd figures does diſplay:
His characters are all in fleſh,
Their hands are fair, their faces freſh;
And from his ſweetning art derive
A better ſcent than when alive:
He wax-works made to pleaſe the ſons,
Whoſe fathers were Gil's ſkeletons (6).

(6) Dodſley's collection of poems, Vol. I.

Our author's other works are, 1. *A general eccleſiaſtical hiſtory* (7), &c. which has paſſed three ſeveral editions in different ſizes. 2. *A hiſtory of the revolution and eſtabliſhment of England in* 1681, &c. Lond. 1725. 8vo. 3. An Engliſh tranſlation of Plautus and Terence. 4. *The Gazetteer's, or News-man's interpreter.* And 5. *Maxims extracted from Archbiſhop Tillotſon's works.* P

(7) It is recommended by Dr Prideaux, as the beſt of its kind in the Engliſh tongue. Prideaux's connections, &c. Vol. III. p. 658.

EMLYN [Thomas], an eminent Preſbyterian divine, memorable for his ſufferings in that cauſe, was deſcended from a ſubſtantial and reputable family, and born at Stamford in Lincolnſhire, May 27, 1663. He had his firſt education in a private ſchool for four years, whence he was ſent, in 1678, to an academy in Northamptonſhire (*a*), where he continued four years (*b*) more, till Auguſt 1682, when he removed to Mr Doolittle's academy near London, and in December following made his firſt eſſay as a preacher, in that gentleman's meeting-houſe near Cripplegate. In 1683, he was made domeſtic chaplain to the Counteſs of Donegal, an Iriſh lady (*c*), then reſiding in Lincoln's-inn fields (*d*); and the next year attended her Ladyſhip to Belfaſt in that kingdom, where ſhe was ſoon after married to Sir William Franklin; who being poſſeſſed of a good eſtate in the weſt of England, offered the chaplain a conſiderable living there, if he would conform to the eſtabliſhed church, which he declined (*e*), and continued in his ſtation till 1688, when, the diſturbances in Ireland occaſioning his patron's family to break up, he returned to London, and ſhortly after was made miniſter of a Diſſenting congregation at Loweſtoff in Suffolk (*f*), which he held about eighteen months [*A*]. He was in this ſtation, when, upon reading Dr Sherlock's piece upon the Trinity, he firſt began to entertain ſome ſcruples concerning the received doctrine in that point of faith. When affairs began to be ſettled in Ireland, Mr Emlyn accepted the offer which had been made to him before [*B*] by Mr Boyſe, of being his fellow paſtor of a congregation in Wood-ſtreet, Dublin, where he arrived in May 1691; and three years after entered into matrimony with Mrs Eſther Bury, a widow lady, with a good jointure, in whom he was very happy, till 1701, when ſhe died, leaving him two children; and the next year began his troubles. Dr Duncan Cummins, a phyſician in Dublin, ſuſpecting him of heterodox notions about the Trinity, put Mr Boyſe firſt upon the inquiry, and went afterwards with him to Mr Emlyn's houſe, where our Unitarian freely confeſſed his belief, that *God the Father of Jeſus Chriſt is alone the Supreme Being, and ſuperior in excellency and authority to his Son, who derives all from him*; proteſting, however, that he had no deſign to cauſe ſtrife among them, and offered to leave the congregation peaceably. But Mr Boyſe, not willing to take ſuch a weighty matter on himſelf, brought it before the meeting of the Dublin miniſters. In conſequence of which, our heretic was immediately prohibited from preaching, and in a few days obliged to withdraw into England. Upon his arrival at London, he publiſhed a ſhort account of his caſe; and after about ten weeks abſence, returned to his family, which he had left at

(*a*) Though his parents frequented the eſtabliſhed church, yet being inclined to the Puritan way, they choſe to breed up their ſon to the miniſtry of the Nonconformiſts.

(*b*) He went in [illegible] to Cambridge, and was admitted of Emanuel college, but for reaſons unknown returned to the academy.

(*c*) She had a large eſtate in the north of Ireland.

(*d*) While there, he ſaw the execution of Lord W. Ruſſel, which confirmed his averſion to all arbitrary meaſures.

(*e*) Not approving the terms of Conformity, though he had not then thoſe ſcruples about the Trinity which he entertained afterwards.

(*f*) By the intereſt of Sir Robert Rich, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, who had invited him to his houſe near Beccles in that county.

[*A*] *He continued at Loweſtoff about eighteen months.*] Here he contracted a cloſe and intimate acquaintance with one Manning, a Nonconformiſt miniſter in that neighbourhood; and as both were of inquiſitive tempers, they frequently conferred upon the higheſt myſteries of religion, and Dr Sherlock's book upon the Trinity became a ſtumbling block to both. Manning even became a Socinian, and ſtrove hard to bring his friend into thoſe opinions; but Emlyn could never be made to doubt either of the pre-exiſtence of our Saviour, as the *Logos*, or that God created the material world by him.

[*B*] *The offer was made to him before.*] While he was in Sir Thomas Franklin's family, he took a journey to Dublin, and there preached once to a congregation, of which Mr Daniel Williams and Mr Boyſe were then paſtors, in ſo acceptable a manner, as gave occaſion afterwards of their inviting him thither. Mr Williams had, ſome time before our author's return to London in 1688, quitted his cure in Dublin; upon which Mr Boyſe made a motion to him to be his ſucceſſor; but this he then declined, and came directly to England. As this Williams made a principal figure among the Nonconformiſts, we ſhall give a ſuccinct account of him. He was born at Wrexham in Wales, about 1643, and applying to his ſtudies with ſuch diligence from five years of age that at nineteen he was regularly admitted a preacher; but the times in England being not favourable to the Diſſenters, he accepted an offer to be chaplain to the Counteſs of Meath in Ireland, and afterwards was called to the paſtoral office in Wood-ſtreet, where he continued twenty years, and married a pious lady, of an honourable family and conſiderable eſtate. In the latter end of King James the Second's reign, he was driven from Ireland by ſome threats of the Papiſts, and coming to London, was very inſtrumental in prevailing upon the Diſſenters not to addreſs the King upon his act of diſpenſing with the penal laws. After the Revolution, he was not only conſulted ſometimes about the Iriſh affairs, but was often regarded at court upon the behalf of ſeveral Iriſh refugees, who were capable of doing ſervice to the government. And at the latter end of 1688, he ſucceeded to a congregation in Hand-alley Biſhopſgate-ſtreet. And in 1691, he ſucceeded Mr Baxter in the Merchants lecture at Pinners-hall. In 1700, he had a diploma for the degree of *D. D.* ſent him from the univerſities of Edinburgh and Glaſgow. And in 1701, his firſt wife being dead, he married a ſecond, a widow of conſiderable fortune (1). In the reign of Queen Anne he was active, to the utmoſt of his power, to defeat the bill againſt *Occaſional Conformity*, as alſo that of impoſing, in 1704, the *Sacramental Teſt* upon the Diſſenters in Ireland. He recommended the forwarding of the union with Scotland, 1707, to his friends there; and encouraged the drawing up of a ſcheme, but without ſucceſs, to breed up ſuch of the Diſſenters in England as were intended for the miniſtry in one of the Scotch univerſities. In the latter end of the Queen's reign he entertained great fears about the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and talked freely upon that ſubject to the Earl of Oxford, with whom he had been long acquainted. And upon the peaceful acceſſion of King George I. 1714, he preſented in September, at the head of the Diſſenting miniſters of the ſeveral denominations in and about the city of London, a congratulatory addreſs on the peaceableneſs thereof. After a ſhort confinement by an aſthmatic diſorder, he died, in January 1715-16. His corpſe was interred in a new vault of his own in the burying-ground near Bunhill fields, where he lies under a ſtone inſcribed with a long and laboured flattering character in Latin, by Mr Ward, rhetoric profeſſor at Greſham, which may be ſeen in *Some account of his life*, &c. prefixed to a collection of his practical diſcourſes, publiſhed in 1738, in two volumes octavo. He died poſſeſſed of an ample eſtate, which, having no children (after a ſettlement to his wife, and legacies to ſome relations and friends) he conſigned to ſuch a variety of charities, as will not eaſily be met with in the deſigns of any one man; but for the particulars, we muſt refer to his laſt will, a copy of which is inſerted in the account of his life. Thus much was thought not improper to ſay of Mr Williams, who was a fellow ſufferer, though in a leſſer degree, with Mr Emlyn, from the perſecution of his brethren in the miniſtry, who charged him with maintaining opinions inconſiſtent with the doctrine of Chriſt's ſatisfaction (2), this drew him into a diſpute with them for ſeveral years, in which he publiſhed, 1. *Goſpel truth ſtated and vindicated*, 1691, 8vo. 2. *A defence of Goſpel truth*, 1693, 4to. 3. *An anſwer to the report*, 1698, 8vo. 4. *An end to diſcord*, 1699, 8vo. In this controverſy he was defended by Mr Nelſon (3) and Dr Stillingfleet (4). He likewiſe publiſhed *A letter to the author of a diſcourſe on freethinking*, 1713, 8vo. As alſo the ſame year *Some queries relating to the bill for preventing the growth of ſchiſm*, a half ſheet, &c. in folio. We have likewiſe of his *The vanity of childhood and youth*, 1691, 8vo. and *Man made righteous by Chriſt's obedience*, 1694, 8vo. together with two ſermons on *the miniſterial office*, preached at the ordination of Dr Benjamin Groſvenor and Dr Samuel Wright, 1708, 8vo.

(1) Her father left an ample eſtate at Tours in France for the ſake of his religion. Account of Mr Williams's life, &c. p. xi—xviii.

(2) Mr Williams believed the eternal generation of Chriſt as the Son of God, and of one eſſence with the Father. His anſwer to Mr H's letter, p. 7.

(3) In his life of Dr George Bill, p. 259—276. edit. 1713.

(4) His doctrine of Chriſt's ſatisfaction, part ii,

Dublin. There finding the prodigious odium his opinions, and conſequently himſelf, lay under, he reſolved to ſhew what evidence he had for them from the Scriptures; and with that view, he wrote *An humble inquiry into the Scripture account of Jeſus Chriſt, or a ſhort argument concerning his Deity and Glory, according to the Goſpel*; intending for England as ſoon as it was printed. But this coming to the knowledge of ſome zealous Diſſenters, they reſolved to have him proſecuted; and one of them immediately obtained a ſpecial warrant from the Lord Chief Juſtice to ſeize him and his books, and went with the keeper of Newgate to execute it upon him. The Chief Juſtice refuſed at firſt to take bail, but at length accepted of a recognizance from two ſufficient perſons of 800 l. for his appearance. Upon his trial he was found guilty, and committed to the common gaol till the 10th of June; when being brought to the court to receive judgment, the Queen's counſel moved, that he might retract; which Mr Emlyn abſolutely refuſing, the Lord Chief Juſtice paſſed this ſentence upon him: To ſuffer a year's impriſonment; to pay 1000 l. fine to the Queen, to lie in priſon till it was paid; and to find ſecurity for his good behaviour during life: telling him, that the pillory was the puniſhment due, but becauſe he was a man of letters, it was not inflicted. After which, he was led to be expoſed round the four courts, with a paper on his breaſt. After ſentence, he was committed to the ſheriffs of Dublin, and was a cloſe priſoner for ſomething more than three months in the under-ſheriff's houſe, when, upon complaint, he was haſtily hurried away to the common gaol, where he lay among the priſoners in a cloſe room, filled with ſix beds, for five or ſix weeks; and then by an *habeas corpus* was, upon his petition, removed to the Marſhalſea for his health [*C*]; but at laſt, through his frequent ſollicitations for a reducement of the fine, which he was not able to pay, he got it diminiſhed to 70 l. and this, together with 20 l. claimed by the Primate, as the Queen's almoner, was paid. Thus after an impriſonment from the 14th of June 1703 to the 21ſt of July 1705, and upon giving ſecurity for his good behaviour during life, he obtained his diſcharge. Soon after this he returned to London, where a few friends gathered a ſmall congregation, to whom he preached once every Sunday; which liberty gave great offence to ſeveral clergymen of the eſtabliſhed church, and Mr Francis Higgins having firſt complained of it in a ſermon, delated him to Archbiſhop Teniſon. His Grace was not unacquainted either with Mr Emlyn's having a congregation in London, or with the proceedings againſt him at Dublin, but on account of his character was not inclined to moleſt him, Mr Higgins not pretending that he made the controverted points the ſubject of his ſermons. However, this congregation was diſſolved by the death of the principal perſons who ſupported it, and their preacher retired into ſilence and obſcurity. Yet though he lived in retirement, he was honoured with the eſteem and friendſhip of eminent and learned men; and was particularly intimate with Dr Samuel Clarke, as appears from the memoirs which he wrote of his life. He was of a very lively and chearful temper, and enjoyed a large ſhare of health in all reſpects, except the gout, which, however, did not prevent the prolonging of his life beyond the common ſtandard, for he did not die till he had completed his ſeventy-eighth year. His death happened July 30, 1741. He was a man of ſtrong parts and clear way of thinking, of great learning, and abounding in all moral and religious graces. He wrote ſeveral tracts beſides thoſe already mentioned, which, with his ſermons on practical ſubjects, were collected and printed in 1754, in three volumes octavo, to which were prefixed *Memoirs of the life and writings*, by his ſon Solom Emlyn [*D*], to whom we are obliged for the particulars of this article.

[*C*] *He was removed to the Marſhalſea.*] During his confinement, all his acquaintance were eſtranged from him, and all offices of friendſhip and civility ceaſed: ' But (ſays he) of all men the Diſſenting miniſters of ' Dublin were the moſt deſtitute of kindneſs. Not ' one of them, excepting Mr Boyſe, vouchſafed me ' ſo much as that ſmall office of humanity in viſiting ' me when in priſon; nor had they ſo much pity on ' the ſoul of their erring brother, as they thought ' him, as to ſeek to turn him from the error of his ' ways (5).'

[*D*] *Solom Emlyn.*] This gentleman was bred to the law, in which he became an eminent counſellor, and was employed to publiſh the Lord Chief Juſtice Hales's *Pleas of the crown* (6), which he did, with notes and a preface. He died in 1756. P

(5) Narrative ſubjoined to the memoirs of his life.

(6) By Sir Joſeph Jekyl, who had the MS. which he had put into the hands of Mr Harding, clerk of the Houſe of Commons, with a promiſe to publiſh it; but he kept it many years under that pretence, without making the leaſt progreſs therein.

EVREMOND [Charles de St Denis, Lord of St] a celebrated French wit, who lived long and died in England, was deſcended from one of the beſt families in Normandy, and born at St Denis le Guaſt, April 1, 1613. Being a younger ſon, he was deſigned for the gown, and at nine years of age was ſent to Paris for a proper education thereto, and put to ſchool in the college of Clermont, whence after four years he was removed to the univerſity of Caen, where he continued only one year, and returning to Paris, he proſecuted his academical ſtudies another year in the college of Harcourt. After which, he applied himſelf to the law; but he kept to that ſtudy only for one year, when his inclination leading him to the military life [*A*], he entered into the army; and before he had completed his ſixteenth year, was made an enſign; in which rank having ſerved two or three campaigns, he was preferred to a lieutenancy, and after the ſiege of Landrecy, obtained a company of foot. He was at the ſiege of Arras in 1640, and the next year was raiſed to a poſt in the horſe, which gave him freſh opportunities of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by his

[*A*] *His inclination led him to arms.*] He diſtinguiſhed himſelf no leſs by his academical exerciſes than by his ſtudies, and excelled particularly in fencing, inſomuch, that *St Evremond's paſs* became famous among thoſe ſkilled in that ſcience.

bravery, and at the ſame time he being no leſs ſignalized by his wit and politeneſs [*B*], theſe accompliſhments recommended him to all the great men of his time. The Duke of Enguien made him lieutenant of his guards, for the ſake of his converſation. He was in this poſt when he made the campaign of Fribourg in 1644, as alſo the next year, when he received a dangerous wound in the knee, at the battle of Nortlingen [*C*]. But in 1648 he loſt this poſt, by making too free with his commander, who was then become Prince of Condé. Being thus diſengaged, he made a viſit the following year to his relations in Normandy, where the Duke of Longueville (*a*), governor of that province, offered him the command of his artillery, which he refuſed, not without ſome diſdain [*D*]; and, in 1650, followed the court to Havre de Grace, in the retinue of the Duke of Candale; and upon the breaking out of the civil war in 1652, the King made him a Mareſchal de camp, or Major-general, and gave him next day a penſion of 3000 livres per annum. He ſerved afterwards under the Duke of Candale in the war of Guienne; but, upon the reduction of that province, was committed to the Baſtile, for paſſing ſome jeſts againſt Cardinal Mazarine [*E*], who was, however, reconciled to him. In 1654, he ſerved in Flanders [*F*]; during which ſervice, entering into a duel with the Marquis de Forc, in 1657, he was obliged to fly for it, till his friends obtained his pardon. He ſerved in Flanders till the ſuſpenſion of arms was agreed on between France and Spain, in 1659; and afterwards attended Cardinal Mazarine in the buſineſs of concluding a peace with Don Louis de Haro, his brother premier of Spain. After the ſigning of which, he ſent a particular account of it in a letter to the Marquis de Crequi, afterwards Marſhal of France, ſhewing, that the Cardinal had ſacrificed the honour and welfare of France to his own private intereſt, and treated him in a very ſatirical manner. This letter falling, after the Cardinal's death, into the hands of Fellier and Colbert, who were that miniſter's creatures, was repreſented as a crime againſt the ſtate, and Evremond was obliged to fly to Holland, where he arrived in 1661. He had taken a tour into England the year before, with the Count of Soiſſons, who had been ſent by the French monarch to compliment King Charles II. upon his reſtoration, and had made many friends there; he therefore ſoon paſſed the water to England, where he was received with great cordiality, and admitted into the friendſhip of the Duke of Buckingham, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. He continued here till 1665, when being ſeized by a diſorder, which weakened him much, and threw him into a ſort of melancholy, he went by advice to Holland (*b*), and from thence to Flanders (*c*), took a round through Spaw and Bruſſels, and returning by Liege *(d)* to the Hague, he thought to paſs the remainder of his days there; but upon a ſpecial invitation from King Charles (*e*), he croſſed the ſea once more, and his Majeſty gave him a penſion of 300 l. a year. However, he could not forget his native country, and made ſeveral attempts for leave to return, but in vain *(f)*. Loſing his penſion upon the death of King Charles, in 1685, he made freſh application to procure his return to France, but with the ſame ill ſucceſs. In 1686, King James II. offered to create a new place for him, with the title of Secretary to the cabinet, whoſe province ſhould be to write the King's private letters to foreign Princes; but St Evremond did not think fit to accept the office. At length the Revolution proved favourable to him: he had received many kindneſſes from the Prince of Orange in Holland, who, when he came to be King of England, gave him very ſubſtantial marks of his favour. He often took him into his parties of pleaſure, and loved to converſe with him; loved to hear him talk of the great captains he had ſeen in France, and of the military tranſactions in which he had been engaged. Thus he had the happineſs to pleaſe two monarchs of very different tempers, the merry and moroſe, and reſolved to end his days peaceably in England; inſomuch, that though he received letters from the Count of Grammont, acquainting him with the grand monarch's declaration that he might return, and ſhould be well received in France, his anſwer was, that the infirmities almoſt inſeparable from old age would not permit him to undertake ſuch a journey, and to leave a country where he lived very agreeably. And he lived to ſee Queen Anne on the throne; but in

(*a*) This nobleman had declared againſt Mazarine.

(*b*) Where he viſited Heinſius, Voſſius, and Spinoza, all then at the Hague.

(*c*) He ſpent ſome time at Breda, where the peace was negotiating between England.

(d) Here he became acquainted with Sluſius the famous mathematician, and celebrated for his knowledge in the law.

(*e*) The letter was delivered by the then ambaſſador there Sir William Temple from the Earl of Arlington.

(f) After the peace of Nimeguen in 1679, he addreſſed an epiſtle in verſe to the French king, in which he indirectly aſked leave to return home, but it proved ineffectual.

[*B*] *By his wit.*] In 1643, after the campaign of Rocroy, he made a kind of ſatire againſt the French academy, which was publiſhed in 1650, with this title, *The comedy of the academicians for reforming the French tongue.*

[*C*] *He was wounded at the battle of Nortlingen.*] After the taking of Furnes in 1646, the Duke of Enguien ſent him with the news to court; and at the ſame time opening to him his deſign of beſieging Dunkirk, charged him to propoſe it to Cardinal Mazarine, and to ſettle with him all that was neceſſary for the execution of ſo great an undertaking. St Evremond was ſo dextrous in the management of this affair, that he procured the miniſter's conſent to all that the Duke deſired.

[*D*] *He refuſed it, not without diſdain.*] This he tells us himſelf, in a ſatirical piece, intituled, *The Duke of* Longueville'*s retreat to his governmnt of Normandy*; a piece with which the Cardinal Mazarine was ſo extremely pleaſed, that, in his laſt ſickneſs, he ſeveral times engaged our author to read it to him.

[*E*] *Committed to the Baſtile for paſſing ſome jeſts upon Mazarine.*] Theſe jeſts, which were paſſed on the Cardinal in a company where St Evremond was one, and in which he had no greater ſhare than the reſt, were the pretence for his confinement; but the true reaſon was, a ſuſpicion of his having given the Duke of Candale ſome advice which the Cardinal did not like, and by that means drew upon himſelf the Cardinal's reſentment. However, when the criminal ſent to return thanks for his diſcharge, the Cardinal told him very obligingly, that he was perſuaded of his innocence, but that a man in his ſituation was obliged to hearken to ſo many reports, that it was very difficult for him to diſtinguiſh truth from falſhood, and not to do injuſtice ſometimes to an honeſt man.

[*F*] *He ſerved in Flanders.*] During this campaign, being one day at dinner with the Marquis d'Hoquincourt, he was a witneſs to a converſation of that General with Father Canaye, a Jeſuit, then director of the hoſpital to the army; which he found ſo entertaining, that he took minutes of it ſome time after, and it is now in his works.

September 1703 he was ſeized with a ſtrangury, which carried him off on the 9th of that month, yet not before he had paſſed almoſt ſix months of his ninety-firſt year. He was interred in Weſtminſter abbey, where there is a monument, with a Latin euloge to his memory, erected by his friends. As to his perſon, he had blue, lively and ſparkling eyes, a large forehead, thick eye-brows, a handſome mouth, and a ſneering ſmile; upon the whole, the air of his countenance was ingenious. Twenty years before his death, ſtarted between his eye-brows a wen, which afterwards grew to a conſiderable bigneſs, but was no ways troubleſome. In manners he was civil and engaging, his humour ever gay and merry, but ſtrongly ſatirical. He always ſpoke of his diſgrace with the firmneſs and reſolution of a gentleman; and whatever ſtrong deſire he might have to ſee his country again, he never aſked it in a mean and cringing manner. Though he did not pretend to rigid morals, yet he had all the qualities of a man of honour, was juſt, generous, grateful, replete with goodneſs and humanity. As to religion, he always profeſſed the Romiſh, in which he was born; though, at the bottom, he was certainly a libertine, or freethinker. Mr Bayle tells us *(g)*, that an eccleſiaſtic being ſent to aſſiſt him in preparing for death in his laſt illneſs, and aſking him if he would be reconciled, 'With all my heart (ſays he) 'I would fain be reconciled to my ſtomach, which no more performs its uſual functions.' The ſame author ſays he had ſeen ſome verſes which Evremond wrote fifteen days before his death, wherein his only regret was to be reduced to boiled meats, and being no longer able to digeſt partridges and pheaſants [*G*]. But whatever might be his ſentiments of religion, he never drolled upon it himſelf, nor could bear ſuch drollery in others.

(g) In one of his letters.

[*G*] *No longer able to digeſt partridges and pheaſants.*] In 1696, he took occaſion to draw his own character, which is full of pleaſantry and humour, and may be ſeen in his works, the beſt edition of which is of Amſterdam 1726, in five volumes 12mo. together with two volumes more in the ſame ſize, intituled, *A curious collection of the beſt pieces attributed to* St Evremond, *and of ſeveral pieces by other hands,* to all which is prefixed, *an account of his life,* by Mr Des Maizeaux, whence is taken the preſent memoir.

F.

FAIRFAX [Thomas Lord]. ☞ The additions promiſed to be made here to this article, as it ſtands in the preceding work (*a*), have been ſince unluckily rendered abortive by an unforeſeen accident; which is the more regretted, as thoſe additions would have diſcovered a part of the General's character hitherto very little known; namely, that of a Poet. To paſs over his tetraſtic before-mentioned (*b*), upon the horſe which King Charles II. rode upon at his coronation; The Pſalms of David, The Song of Solomon, The Song of Moſes, were done into Engliſh metre by his Lordſhip. There are alſo in manuſcript ſeveral original poems of his compoſition, enough in the whole to make a handſome volume in print. His Lordſhip's eldeſt daughter Mary, conſort to the Duke of Buckingham, was a learned Lady, and wrote ſome things upon muſic, and was very well ſkilled not only in the practice but in the theory of that art.

(*a*) In Vol. III. p. 1875 to 1885 incluſive.

(*b*) Under the Duke of Buckingham's article, Vol. VI. part i. p. 4054. remark [*I*], note (20).

FEATLY, or Fairclough [Daniel], as he is ſometimes called, an Engliſh Puritanical divine, who made a figure in his time, was the ſon of John Featly, ſome time cook to the preſident of Magdalen college Oxford, and born at Charlton upon Otmore in that county, in March 1582. He was choſen very young a choriſter of the college, and being, in 1690, put to the grammar ſchool adjoining thereto, he was admitted ſcholar of Corpus-Chriſti in 1594; took the degree of A. B. February 13, 1601, and was made probationer-fellow in 1602 (*a*). He proceeded A. M. April 17, 1605 (*b*), and applying himſelf to divinity, was a ſevere ſtudent, reading the fathers, councils, and ſchoolmen, and became deeply learned in every thing relating to them. As ſoon as his age would permit, he entered into holy orders; and his admirable way of preaching, his ſkill in diſputation, with his other accompliſhments, recommended him to the notice of Sir Thomas Edmonds, who, upon his appointment by King James I. to go in the character of leager-ambaſſador into France, made choice of Featly for his chaplain. He did great honour to the Engliſh nation and the Proteſtant religion, by diſputing ſucceſsfully againſt the moſt learned Papiſts in that country (*c*), where he reſided three years. Upon his return to England, he repaired to his college, and went out B. D. July 8, 1613 (*d*), and ſoon after became Rector of Northall in Cornwall; but before he was ſettled there, being chaplain to Archbiſhop Abbot, he was preferred by his Grace to the rectory of Lambeth. He proceeded D. D. July 12 (*e*), 1617 [*A*], and was made a Brother in the Savoy hoſpital by the Archbiſhop of Spalato. His patron alſo, Archbiſhop Abbot, gave him about the ſame time the Rectory of All-hallows Bread-ſtreet, London; which he changed ſoon after, on a preſentation by the ſame patron to the Rectory of Acton in Middleſex, who likewiſe before his death obtained for him the proctorſhip of Chelſea college. In the mean time, having entered into matrimony, he reſigned his chaplainſhip to the Archbiſhop, and retired, in 1625, with his ſpouſe to a houſe of her's at Kennington, near Lambeth. Here he continued his ſtudies, and, in 1626, publiſhed his *Ancilla pietas*, or the Handmaid to private devotion, which being particularly well received (*f*), to it was afterwards added, *The practice of extraordinary devotion* [*B*]. From this year 1626 to the beginning of the civil war, he employed his pen chiefly in writing controverſial pieces, and exerting his faculty in diſputes againſt the Papiſts and Fanatics. In 1642, after the battle of Brentford, ſome of the Parliament ſoldiers taking up their quarters at Acton, made there a ſearch for him, as a Papiſt, or one that had a Pope in his belly; and not finding him, they deſtroyed his houſe, ſtables, granaries, barns, &c. they even went afterwards to Lambeth upon the ſame queſt, but having timely notice, he happily eſcaped. In 1643, he was appointed a member of the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter, ſat there for a while (*g*), and was

(*a*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. col. 161.

(*b*) Ibid. col. 168.

(*c*) The titles of *acutiſſimus* and *acerrimus* were given him even by his antagoniſts.

(*d*) By the name of *Faireclough*. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 194.

(*e*) Id. col. 206.

(*f*) Eight editions were printed off before 1676.

(*g*) See Abp Uſher's article, in remark [*OO*].

[*A*] *He took the degree of D. D.*] In his diſputation for this degree, he puzzled Prideaux the Regius Profeſſor ſo much, that a quarrel enſued, which was carried ſo high, that the two combatants from words proceeded to blows, ſo that the Archbiſhop was in a manner forced to compoſe it for his chaplain's ſake. The Archbiſhop of Spalato, Antonio de Dominis, being alſo preſent at the diſputation, was ſo much pleaſed with our author's arguments, that he forthwith gave him a Brother's place in the Savoy hoſpital, near London, of which that Archbiſhop was then the Maſter (1).

[*B*] *Ancilla pietatis, and Practice of extraordinary devotion.*] In one of theſe pieces he ridiculed the ſtory of St George, the tutelar ſaint of England, as a mere figment, for which, Mr Wood ſays (2), he was forced to cry *peccavi*, and fall upon his knees before Laud Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

(1) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 77.

(2) Id. ibid.

a witneſs afterwards againſt Archbiſhop Laud (*b*), at his trial [*C*]. He was, however, a great oppoſer of the Covenant, and wrote a letter to Archbiſhop Uſher, who was then at Oxford, containing his reaſons for excepting againſt it [*D*]. But this letter proved his ruin; for being intercepted, and carried firſt to the cloſe committee, and thence to the Houſe of Commons, he was judged to be a ſpy and betrayer of the Parliament's cauſe, was accordingly apprehended, and committed priſoner to the Lord Petre's houſe in Alderſgate-ſtreet, September this year, being ſtript of both his rectories [*E*]. He continued in this priſon till March 1644, when being dropſical, and reduced to a low and weak ſtate, he was removed for his health's ſake to Chelſea college, of which he was ſtill provoſt (*i*), where ſpending a ſhort time in devout exerciſes, he expired, April 17, 1645, and was interred, according to his will, in the chancel of Lambeth church, where ſoon after was erected a decent monument, with an inſcription to his memory. Mr Wood repreſents him as one of the moſt reſolute and victorious champions of the reformed Proteſtant religion in his time, a moſt ſmart ſcourge of the church of Rome, a compendium of the learned tongues, and of all the liberal arts and ſciences; and though, continues he, of ſmall ſtature, yet he had a great ſoul, and learning of all kinds compacted in him (*k*). He was the author of near forty books, a liſt of which is given by Mr Wood [*F*].

(*b*) A pamphlet, of ten pages, now lies before me, which was printed at Lond. 1641, 4to. intituled, *A copy of the proceedings of ſome worthy and learned divines appointed by the Lords to meet at the Biſhop of Lincoln's* [Williams] *in Weſtminſter, touching innovations in the doctrine and diſcipline of the church of England, together with conſiderations upon the Common Prayer Book.* The divines were Abp of Armagh, Bp of Lincoln, Dr Brownrig, Dr Prideaux, Dr Featly, Dr Ward, and Dr Hacket.

(*i*) He was the laſt provoſt of that college.

(*k*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 76 to 80 incluſive. From the information of the author's nephew John Featly.

[*C*] *He was a witneſs againſt Archbiſhop Laud.*] Dr Heylin having obſerved that on this occaſion he had diſcovered more Calviniſm than he was ever ſuppoſed to have, does not ſtick to declare that he was always a Calviniſt in his heart, though he never ſhewed it openly till then (3).

[*D*] *Letter to Uſher againſt the Covenant.*] In 1644, he publiſhed his *Sacra Nemeſis*; *The Levite's ſcourge, or Mercurius Britannicus & Civicus diſplayed*; to which was added divers remarkable diſputes and reſolves in the Aſſembly of Divines, called *Epiſcopacy aſſerted, Truth rightly ſtated*, &c. together with Dr Featly's learned ſpeech in the ſaid aſſembly (4).

[*E*] *Stript of both his rectories.*] Acton was beſtowed on Philip Nye, an Independent; and Lambeth was conferred on John White of Dorcheſter, called by Mr Wood the old inſtrument of ſedition, who afterwards got an order to obtain and keep our author's library of books, till ſuch time as he could get his own back, which had been ſeized on at Dorcheſter by the command of Prince Rupert (5).

[*F*] *A liſt of his books.*] They are chiefly of the polemic kind, the occaſions of which are now out of remembrance. Among the reſt, however, are *The life and death of John Jewel Biſhop of Saliſbury*, which is an abridgment of that prelate's life written by Laurence Humphry D. D. drawn up by our author, while he was a ſtudent in Corpus-Chriſti college, anno 1609, at the command of Dr Bancroft Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which being by him concluded and ſent to Lambeth, was printed, and prefixed to the ſaid Jewel's works, before he had time to reviſe it. Moſt if not all of it was printed in Engliſh, in a book, intituled, *Abel redivivus*, collected and written by Thomas Fuller, London 1651, 4to. As is alſo our author's *Hiſtory of the life and death of Dr John Rainolds, Preſident of Corpus-Chriſti college.* It was delivered in a Latin oration, from a pew ſet in that college quadrangle, when the ſaid Rainolds was to be interred in the chapel there. To which hiſtory, add his *Life and death of Robert Abbot D. D. ſome time Biſhop of Saliſbury*, written alſo in Latin, and remitted in Engliſh into *Abel redivivus*. Our author likewiſe wrote A defence of Sir Humphry Lynde's *Via tuta*, who, Mr Wood tells us (6), was a moſt learned knight in his time, a zealous Puritan, and a grand enemy to ſuch as were called Arminians. He was born in London, but deſcended from a family of his name in Dorſetſhire, bred firſt at Weſtminſter ſchool, and thence elected a ſtudent of Chriſtchurch in 1596, aged ſeventeen, and took the degree of A. B. July 7, 1600 (7); but then ſucceeding to a fair eſtate, left the univerſity; and being eſteemed a knowing perſon, was a juſtice of peace, knighted by King James the Firſt, October 29, 1613, and ſeveral times a member of Parliament. He was a perſon of great knowledge and integrity, and a ſevere enemy to the pontificians, as well in his common diſcourſe as in his writings, which are, 1. *An account of Bertram*, with obſervations concerning the cenſures upon his tract *De corpore & ſanguine Chriſti*, 1623, and again in 1686, by Matthew Brian L L. D. In this year 1623, he undertook the charge of printing Dr Thomas James's collection of particular paſſages of many late writers caſtrated by the Roman knife. They were ſent, to prepare them for the preſs, to Dr Featly, at whoſe inſtance, and ſeveral other divines, the expence was undertaken. 2. *Antient characters of the viſible church*, 1625. 3. *Via tuta*, 1628. 4. *Via devia*, 1630, and again in 1632. 5. *A caſe for a pair of ſpectacles*, refuſed to be licenſed by Archbiſhop Laud's chaplain, but afterwards publiſhed by Dr Featly, with a ſupplement by him in defence of Sir Humphry, 1638, 4to. Sir Humphry died June 8, 1636, and was buried in Cobham church in Surry (not in Kent) the 14th, when his funeral ſermon was preached by Dr Featly (8).

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(3) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 77.

(4) Id. ibid.

(5) Id. ibid.

(6) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 603.

(7) Wood's Faſti, col. 158.

(8) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 604.

Moſt of the particulars of this memoir were communicated to me in ſeveral converſations with the author.

FENTON [ELIJAH], a learned Engliſh poet, much beloved by Mr Pope, was deſcended from an antient family * in good repute in Staffordſhire, and was born at Shelton, near Newcaſtle in that county, in the latter end of King Charles the Second's reign. His father, who was poſſeſſed of a competent eſtate, deſigned this ſon, the youngeſt of twelve children (*a*), for the church; and in that view, after a ſuitable education at ſchool, ſent him to Jeſus college in Cambridge, where he continued proſecuting his ſtudies with remarkable diligence, and a diſtinguiſhed piety for ſome years; but his conſcience not permitting him to comply with the lately eſtabliſhed government, he became thereby unfortunately diſqualified for entering into the prieſthood, to which the grave and pious turn of his temper was particularly adapted. Under this incapacity, he left the college, without taking a degree; and was ſhortly after recommended to Charles Earl of Orrery, who made him his ſecretary, and took him in his retinue to Flanders, where he continued in that employ till his Lordſhip's return home in 1705; when being diſmiſſed (*b*), he gladly accepted the offer of the free-ſchool at Sevenoak [*A*] in Kent, which, after a long time, he brought

* His mother, it is ſaid, was deſcended in a direct line from one Mare, an officer in the army of William the Conqueror.

(*a*) The eldeſt ſon was bred to the law, and ſettling in the buſineſs of an attorney at Newcaſtle, raiſed the paternal eſtate to 1000 l. per ann. Our author always kept up a friendly correſpondence with him.

(*b*) His Lordſhip paid him juſtly the ſalary, but took no further notice of him.

[*A*] *He accepted the free-ſchool at Sevenoak.*] This ſchool, with the adjoining hoſpital, was firſt founded by William Sevenoak, who, from a foundling in the town whence he borrowed his name, became Lord Mayor of London, in 1418 (1). The ſchool was brought into good repute by Mr Thomas Farnaby, a perſon of no ordinary fame in his time, and being a remarkable loyaliſt to King Charles I. for whoſe cauſe he ſuffered death, might not improbably render the place more acceptable to his though not immediate

(1) Travels through England, &c. and Maitland's ſurvey of London.

brought into a very flouriſhing ſtate. This ſituation was particularly agreeable, as its ſmall diſtance from the capital permitted him, with the aſſiſtance of an uſher to take care of the ſcholars in his abſence, to make a weekly viſit to his friends and brother poets there. Thus he paſſed his days with intire ſatisfaction till 1710, when he was prevailed on to quit the drudgery, as it was called, of a ſchool, by the earneſt ſollicitations and warm promiſes of Lord Bolingbroke (c). Mr Fenton was no ways formed either by nature or inclination for a court, and he now attended it with gay cloaths and an aching heart, aggravated by a load of debts, continually accumulating, till his Lordſhip's fall; which happened before he had made any proviſion for this dependent, who muſt have ſunk irrecoverably under the ſtroke, had he not, during his attendance, been mindful to employ every leiſure hour which his court drudgery would allow in cultivating his literary talents. This proved a reſource. The Earl of Oxford, who had conſtantly treated him with reſpect, ſtill looked on him with a favourable eye, and encouraged him to collect his poems into a volume, and publiſh them: accordingly the collection came out in 1717, with a dedication in verſe to his Lordſhip's grand-daughter Lady Margaret Cavendiſh Harley, then an infant. Mr Craggs, who was made Secretary of State this year, telling Mr Pope that he ſhould be glad of a proper perſon to read the Claſſics to him, in which he ſaid his education had been ſomewhat deficient, that friend recommended Mr Fenton, and the recommendation was approved by the Secretary [B], who for the purpoſe took our author into his houſe, and treated him as a friend and companion, with all that ſweetneſs which was natural to him. In this agreeable way he lived for ſome time with that moſt amiable ſtateſman, who would have certainly provided for him intirely to his mind, had he not been ſuddenly ſnatched away by the ſmall-pox, in the prime of his age (d), in February 1720 [C]. In this unexpected exigence,

(c) Upon Mr Steele's reſignation of the commiſſioner's place in the ſtamp-office, Mr Fenton applied for it to his Lordſhip, who put him off, telling him, that the place was beneath his merit, and that he intended him a better thing.

(d) Viz. in his 35th year.

diate ſucceſſor, who muſt no doubt be pleaſed with the account of him by Mr Wood; who tells us, that Thomas Farnaby, an eminent grammarian and ſchoolmaſter, was deſcended from an Italian family (2), and the ſon of Thomas Farnaby, carpenter, of London, where our author was born, about 1575. After a ſuitable foundation in grammar learning, he was entered, in 1590, a ſervitor of Merton college Oxford; but continued there a ſhort time only; for being ſeduced by ſome Popiſh emiſſaries to abandon his religion and country, he was conveyed to Spain, and educated in a college of Jeſuits. However, growing weary at length of their ſevere diſcipline, he found means to leave them; and being in ſome eſteem with Captain Hawkins, he went with him and Drake in their laſt voyage, in 1595. He afterwards ſerved as a ſoldier in the Low Countries; but quitting that ſervice after ſome time, he reſolved to return home, and landing in Cornwall, took up for a ſupport the employ of teaching children to read (3). However, from that beginning he ſettled at length at Martock in Somerſetſhire, and ſet up a grammar-ſchool, in which the good ſucceſs he met with being a ſufficient proof of his talents that way, prompted him to remove to London, where, his fame going before him, he became maſter of ſuch a ſchool as enabled him to maintain a handſome figure (4). His merit was taken notice of by the two univerſities, and being firſt made Maſter of Arts at Cambridge, he was afterwards incorporated at Oxford, in 1616. He continued in London till about the year 1636, when bad health, and ſome other inconveniences, put him upon removing to Sevenoak in Kent, where he purſued his occupation ſo much to advantage, that, beſides the eſtate which he had before purchaſed at Oxford in that neighbourhood, before his ſettling there he purchaſed another afterwards at Horſham in Suſſex. He had always teſtified a firm loyalty to the King, and upon the firſt appearance of the public diſturbances in 1641, he openly declared his diſlike of the Parliament's proceedings (5), and, in 1643, was ſent to Newgate by them, on ſuſpicion of having favoured the riſing of the country about Tunbridge for his Majeſty. From Newgate he was put on board a ſhip, in the deſign of tranſporting him to America; but that motion, after a debate in the Houſe of Commons, being rejected, he was removed to Ely-houſe in Holborn, where he remained till about a year before his death, which happened on the 12th of June 1647. He was buried in the chancel of the church at Sevenoak, where a ſhort but comprehenſive inſcription in Latin was fixed over his grave (6) ſome time after. He was twice married, and had children by both his wives. The firſt was a gentleman's daughter in Cornwall, by whom he had a ſon, who was a captain in King Charles the Firſt's army, and inherited his father's eſtate in Suſſex, where he lived in good eſteem, and died about 1673. His ſecond wife was the daughter of Dr John Howſon Biſhop of Durham, by whom he had ſeveral children; one named Francis, who inherited his father's eſtate at Kippington, in the pariſh of Sevenoak, and from whom Mr Wood received theſe memoirs of his life; to which is added a liſt of his works, conſiſting of Notes upon Juvenal and Perſius, Seneca's Tragedies, Martial's Epigrams; Lucan's Pharſalia; and alſo *Index rhetoricus*; *Florilegium epigrammatum Græcorum*; Notes upon Virgil; *Syſtema grammaticum*, by King Charles's command; Notes upon Ovid's Metamorphoſes; *Phraſeologia Anglo-Latina*; *Tabulæ Græcæ linguæ ſyntaxis*; and laſtly, ſome notes upon Terence; which death prevented him from finiſhing, but they were completed by Dr Meric Caſaubon, who publiſhed the whole in 1651. He is particularly commended by Mr Bayle (7), who obſerves, that our author's notes upon moſt of the Latin poets have been of very great uſe to young beginners, being ſhort, learned, and deſigned chiefly to clear up the text. Many other writers have ſpoken alſo with great approbation of him. Upon the whole then, he certainly may be allowed to have been at leaſt a very uſeful man in his generation.

(2) His great grandfather was an Italian muſician, and had a ſon, our author's grandfather, who was ſome time mayor of Truro in Cornwall. Athen. Oxon.

(3) Mr Wood's words are, That his diſtreſſes made him ſtoop ſo low, as to be an Abecedarian, and ſeveral were taught their horn-books by him. Ibid

(4) He had at one time above 300 ſcholars, and ſeveral noblemen's and gentlemen's children were put under his care. Ibid.

(5) When the proteſtation was urged that year, he ſaid, *It was better to have one king than five hundred.* Id. ib.

(6) It runs thus: *P. M. viri ornatiſſimi Thomæ Farnabii armigeri, cauſæ olim regiæ reique publicæ, ſed literariæ, vindicis acerrimi.*

(7) In his Dictionary, under our author's article, improved by Dr Birch, in the Gen. Dict.

[B] *The recommendation was approved*] Upon this occaſion he received the following letter from Mr Pope:

'May 5, 1711.

'I had not omitted anſwering yours of the 18th of 'laſt month, had not a deſire to give you ſome cer'tain and ſatisfactory account which way and at 'what time you might take your journey. I am 'now commiſſioned to tell you, that Mr Craggs will 'expect you on the riſing of the Parliament, which 'will be as ſoon as he can receive you in the manner 'he would receive the belles lettres; that is, in tran'quillity and full leiſure. I dare ſay your way of 'life (which, in my taſte, will be the beſt in the 'world, and with one of the beſt men in the world) 'muſt prove highly to your contentment; and I muſt 'add, it will be ſtill the more a joy to me, as I ſhall 'reap the peculiar advantage from the good I ſhall 'have done in bringing you together, by ſeeing you 'in my neighbourhood: Mr Craggs has taken a houſe 'cloſe by mine, where he propoſes to come in three 'weeks. In the mean time, I heartily invite you to 'live with me, where a frugal and philoſophic diet 'for a time may give you a higher reliſh of that ele'gant way of life you will enter into after. I deſire 'to know by the firſt poſt, how ſoon I may hope for 'you.

'I am ſcandalized at your complaint, that your 'time lies heavy on your hands, when the muſes 'have put ſo many good materials into your head 'to employ them (8).'

(8) Let. cxv. in Pope's Letters.

[C] *Mr Craggs died in 1720.*] He was interred in Weſtminſter abbey, where a ſumptuous monument, well exigence, our author had recourſe to ſome papers which he had formerly witten, containing the plan and ſome rudiments of a tragedy. Theſe proved now of ſingular uſe to him; he reſolved to exert all his powers in completing the deſign, in which he made a large progreſs; when finding himſelf too little acquainted with the ſtage, he applied to his friend T. Southerne, who aſſiſted him in that neceſſary part, and on the occaſion took him into his houſe, where he continued till his play was brought upon the ſtage, in 1723, and printed that year, with the title of *Mariamne*, and being warmly patronized by Lord Gower (*e*), put into his pocket not much leſs than 1000 l. This ſucceſs was particularly acceptable, in giving him the pleaſure to free himſelf from the thraldom of the above-mentioned debt, which had hitherto clouded his brighteſt days. He was, indeed, of a philoſophic turn, but his philoſophy was tempered very differently from that of Hudibras: for notwithſtanding the outward man, his body was never under the reſtraint of a priſon:

(*e*) Father to the preſent Earl Gower, whoſe ſeat at Trentham lies near Newcaſtle.

Yet th' inward man, his honeſt mind
Had ne'er till now been unconfin'd.

However, though this ſum purchaſed that invaluable bleſſing the freedom of his mind, yet it proved, large as it was, but little larger than his debts; which being obſerved by Mr Pope, that conſtant friend procured for him an invitation from Lady Trumball, relict of Sir William Trumball (*f*), to educate her ſon. This brought him to Eaſt Hampſtead Park, her Ladyſhip's reſidence, near Oakham; where having fitted his charge for the univerſity, he attended him as a private preceptor to Trinity-hall in Cambridge. During this attendance, he was occaſionally viſited by Mr Broome, with whom, as he had been a fellow-labourer in tranſlating the Greek notes of Euſtathius upon Homer's Iliad, for the ſervice of Mr Pope, ſo now they were jointly engaged in tranſlating the Odyſſey, in which they had made a conſiderable progreſs; but the attempt proved abortive, in the manner already related (*g*). At the ſame time, Mr Fenton's behaviour was ſo intirely to the ſatisfaction of Lady Trumball, that ſhe retained him in her houſe after the death of her ſon, and made him a kind of ſteward or overſeer in the management of her affairs. Nothing could be more to his heart's content than was this ſituation, placing him in the full poſſeſſion of that ſweet tranquillity which had always been his moſt ardent wiſh and higheſt ambition; nor did it deprive him of the pleaſure of diverting ſome leiſure hours in the company and converſation of his friends and brother poets in London, whither he made occaſional excurſions in that view. It was in one of thoſe meetings, that a propoſal was made to him of drawing up ſuch a ſet of notes as would ſtamp a current credit to an elegant expenſive edition of Waller's works, he not unwillingly undertook the taſk, and the book came out in 1729, 4to. This was his laſt performance in the literary way, the next year being the laſt of his life. In his latter days he had frequent fits of the gout, under one of which he died, at Eaſt Hamſtead Park, 13th of July 1730, and lies interred in that pariſh-church, under a ſtone, inſcribed with an admirable epitaph, written by Mr Pope [*D*]. Beſides the edition of Waller, our author, while with Lady Trumball, publiſhed a neat edition of Milton's Paradiſe loſt, with a few ſhort but uſeful notes, in 8vo. to which is prefixed, an account of the author's life [*E*]; which has been reprinted ſeveral times ſince his deceaſe, and is preferred to the edition of Dr Newton, by many who think the merit of thoſe notes hardly equal to the expence of the purchaſe.

(*f*) This gentleman was firſt fautor to Mr Pope's muſe. See that poet's article in this work.

(*g*) In Mr Pope's article, in remark [*U*].

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well executed, was erected by his three ſurviving ſiſters, exhibiting his ſtatue at full length and proportion, under which are theſe lines, written by Mr Pope:

Stateſman, yet friend to truth! of ſoul ſincere,
In action faithful, and in honour clear;
Who broke no promiſe, ſerv'd no private end,
Who gain'd no titles, and who loſt no friend;
Ennobled by himſelf, by all approv'd,
Prais'd, wept, and honour'd by the muſe he lov'd.

[*D*] *An epitaph by Mr Pope.*] It is in my opinion by far the beſt of that celebrated poet's performances in the lapidary way, as follows:

This modeſt ſtone, what few vain marbles can,
May truly ſay, Here lies an honeſt man,
A poet, bleſs'd beyond a poet's fate,
Whom Heav'n kept ſacred from the proud and great:
Foe to loud praiſe, and friend to learned eaſe,
Content with ſcience in the vale of peace.
Calmly he look'd on either life; and here
Saw nothing to regret, or there to fear.
From nature's temperate feaſt roſe ſatisfy'd,
Thank'd Heaven that he had liv'd, and that *he dy'd*.

[*E*] *An account of Milton's life.*] I ſhall take this opportunity of relating a circumſtance concerning Milton, which was unknown to me at the time of drawing up his article, inſerted in this work: That prince of Engliſh poets, we are told, was actually whipped by Dr Thomas Bainbrigge, maſter of Chriſt college, while he was at Cambridge; which, it is obſerved, explains more fully a paſſage in one of Milton's Elegies:

Nec duri libet uſque minas perferre magiſtri,
Cæteraque ingenio non ſubeunda meo (9).
Lib. I. El. i. ver. 15.

(9) Warton's life of Dr Bathurſt, p. 153. note (‡), edit. 1761, 8vo.

FIDDES [Richard], an eminent Engliſh divine, and an ingenious and polite writer, was born of reputable parents at Hunmanby, near Scarborough in Yorkſhire, about the year 1670; in the neighbourhood of which place receiving the uſual inſtruction in claſſical learning, he was ſent out to Corpus-Chriſti college; but ſoon removed thence to Univerſity college Oxford, where he took the degree of A. B. (*a*) having diſtinguiſhed himſelf by

(*a*) From the univerſity regiſter.

his excellent talents, and gained many friends by his happy temper and polite manners. However, he did not continue at the univerſity, but returning to his relations in Yorkſhire in 1693,* he entered the ſame year into a marriage with a gentlewoman of a good family and fortune. In 1694, he was ordained prieſt by Dr Sharp Archbiſhop of York, and preſented not long after to the rectory of Halſham in that county. He reſided upon this living ſeveral years, in a regular diſcharge of his duty, and was particularly admired for his excellent talents as a preacher (*b*). But Halſham being ſituated in a marſh, proved the occaſion of much ill health to his family, and eſpecially to our rector himſelf, who at length had the misfortune, by a ſtroke of the palſy, to be deprived of his ſpeech, ſo as never to be able to utter words very articulately afterwards; at preſent being by weakneſs diſabled to perform his duty, his dioceſan diſpenſed with his reſidence, and he removed to Wickham; whence, after a few months, he went to London, in the view of providing an additional ſupport to himſelf and family, which increaſed apace. He came to the metropolis in 1712, and ſiding with the party then uppermoſt, he was taken into the arms of Dean Swift (*c*), who conceived a great eſteem for him, and introduced him to the Earl of Oxford, then at the head of the miniſtry, who made him one of his chaplains, and procured him the place of chaplain to the garriſon at Hull in Yorkſhire from the Queen. He was alſo honoured by his univerſity with a diploma for the degree of B.D. Feb. 1, 1713 (*d*). Theſe beginnings were hopeful earneſts of future favours; but they were all blaſted by the diſplacing of his patron, and the demiſe of her Majeſty in 1714 (*e*); and by the change which followed in the public adminiſtration, he even loſt his pittance at Hull. Thus reduced, and his expences increaſing with the increaſe of his family, he had recourſe to his pen, the firſt-fruits of which were addreſſed, as a grateful offering, to his firſt friend Dean Swift [*A*], in *A prefatory epiſtle concerning ſome remarks to be publiſhed on Homer's Iliad, occaſioned by Mr Pope's propoſals for a new Engliſh verſion of that poem*, publiſhed in 1714, 8vo. Having thus, as far as he was able, ſatisfied the demands of honour, in ſuch a way as was politely adapted to the turn and temper of his benefactor's genius, he turned himſelf to his proper buſineſs as a divine, and publiſhed in 1715 a collection of ſermons, intituled, *Practical diſcourſes on ſeveral ſubjects*, in 3 vols. 8vo. the ſucceſs of which encouraged him to undertake, by ſubſcription, a moſt important work, the firſt part whereof appeared in 1718, in folio, under the title of *Theologia ſpeculativa; or, the firſt part of a body of divinity, under that title, wherein are explained the principles of natural and revealed religion*. This part meeting with a favourable reception from the public, he completed his deſign by the ſecond part, which came out in 1720, intituled, *Theologia practica* [*B*], *wherein are explained the duties of natural and revealed religion* (*f*). The ſame year he alſo publiſhed in folio, by ſubſcription, *Fifty two practical diſcourſes on ſeveral ſubjects*, ſix of which were never before publiſhed. In the mean time, his diſtinguiſhed merit was rewarded by the honour of receiving the degree of D. D. July 8, 1718, by diploma from his univerſity (*g*), who had been alſo extremely kind to him in the ſubſcriptions to his works. In return to their favour, he undertook to write a more particular account than had been yet given of their renowned benefactor Cardinal Wolſey, the firſt founder of Chriſtchurch college in that univerſity. This piece, intituled, *The life of Cardinal Wolſey*, coming out in 1724, folio, with a very large liſt of ſubſcribers (*h*), gave ſingular offence to an occaſional writer in the London Journal, by whom our author being attacked with great ſeverity, and even charged with being a Papiſt, he thereupon publiſhed, in 1725, *An anſwer to Britannicus, compiler of the London Journal* [*C*]. The Doctor ſurvived this paper but a ſhort time, being removed from the troubles of

(*b*) He preached a ſermon to the criminals in York caſtle, July 4, 1708, principally on occaſion of the murder of Major Thomas Foulks, edit. York 1708, 8vo. dedicated to Mr Finch Dean, and his brother Edward, Prebendary of York.

(*c*) See remark [*A*].

(*d*) Catalogue of Oxford degrees.

(*e*) He preached a ſermon at Becford in Holderneſs on the death of her late moſt Excellent Majeſty, edit. Lond. 1715, dedicated to Dr Sherlock Vicechancellor of Cambridge, and Maſter of the Temple.

(*f*) They were dedicated to Sir William Dawes Archbp of York.

(*g*) Catalogue of Oxford degrees.

(*h*) This encouraged him to undertake the lives of Sir Thomas More and Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter; but he loſt his manuſcript, after he had made a conſiderable progreſs in the deſign.

[*A*] *A diſcourſe addreſſed to Dr Swift.*] He took this firſt opportunity of making grateful acknowledgment of his obligations to that friend's kindneſs, ' of which (ſays he) I have received the moſt ingenious, ſenſible, and ſeaſonable proofs; in particular, by your recommending me to that noble Mæcenas of the age, who diſpenſes his favours with a ' magnificence,' &c.

[*B*] *His body of divinity.*] Mr Stackhouſe, whoſe buſineſs it was to evince the neceſſity of writing a new body of divinity, having given our author his due praiſe as a polite writer, and pitied his caſe in being obliged to write for bread, proceeds thus: '' But while we lament his misfortune in this ' reſpect, we cannot but at the ſame time condole with his reader, who, in the latter part more ' eſpecially, will, to his great joy, meet with an ' abundance of excellent words, but, to his great ' ſurprize and diſcontent, will meet with words ' only (1).'' In the firſt part of this work, our author embraces Father Malebranche's method of ſolving the difficulties incident to his ſubject.

[*C*] *An anſwer to Britannicus.*] This anſwer conſiſts of two letters; in the firſt of which, he endeavours to obviate the charge of Popery; in the ſecond, he ſhews the impartiality with which he went upon the life of Wolſey: ' As to your charge of Popery ' (ſays he) it may not be improper to declare, that I ' don't think myſelf affected by any thing you have ' ſaid or can ſay to my prejudice, if by Popery you ' mean the true primitive doctrine of the church of ' England. But if you intend that every man is a ' Papiſt, or Popiſhly affected, who aſſerts any of the ' following propoſitions; viz. That God is the author of peace, and not of confuſion; that the ' Chriſtian church is a regular and viſible ſociety, ' founded by the Son of God; that there is a continual ſucceſſion of paſtors in it, who derive their ' power from Chriſt, which no human authority can ' either confer, or alter the original method of conveying; that ſuch paſtors have certain unalienable, ' inherent, and therefore independent rights, which ' the civil magiſtrate as ſuch cannot exerciſe, and of ' which the civil magiſtrate here in England has diſclaimed all right of exerciſing; if this is your notion of Popery, the wit of man cannot contrive any ' method to introduce Popery ſo effectual as by propagating this notion.' In the ſecond letter, as to his partiality for Cardinal Wolſey, ' Though (ſays ' our author) he had ſome great and generous qualities, I was, when I wrote his life, far from deſigning a perfect character; I charge him with ſeveral ' faults, but was willing, conſidering ſome popular ' unjuſt prejudices, under which he had ſo long ſuffered, to obviate them as far as they might be obviated upon juſt and reaſonable grounds: and after ' all the noiſe that has been made concerning my partiality to him, I have not yet been charged upon ' ſufficient evidence with one falſe fact, or with any ' falſe inference from any true fact or facts relating to

(1) Stackhouſe, in the preface to his Body of divinity.

of this life the ſame year. He was buried in the church-yard of Fulham, near the remains of Biſhop Compton, to whom he had been much obliged. As to his character; in his perſon he was tall, his complexion ſanguine, with a piercing black eye, and ſomething venerable in his aſpect. As to his parts and accompliſhments, it has been obſerved that he was an ingenious, not a very learned man; that he had ſo happy a memory as to retain every thing he read, and never made uſe of notes in preaching; he was far from being a nervous writer, abounding in matter, on the contrary, he was rather wordy; more ſo than probably he would have been, had his neceſſities allowed him time to contract his thoughts into a leſſer compaſs. It is ridiculous to ſuppoſe that he was not ſincere in his profeſſion of Chriſtianity, and ſtill more ridiculous, if poſſible, to ſuppoſe that he had any affection for Popery; though in point of politics, he always continued ſteady to his firſt friends [*D*]. His application to ſtudy was ſo intenſe, that he would frequently paſs whole nights in writing, which, with ſome traverſes of fortune, is ſuppoſed to have haſtened his death. Upon the whole, ſays this writer, he was reckoned a good kind of man; but wanting ſomewhat in point of prudence, and by no means a manager of his money, ſo that he left behind him a widow and ſix children, with a ſcanty proviſion. His eldeſt daughter Mary was married in his life-time to Mr Bearcroft, then of Merton college Oxford. He publiſhed ſome other pieces not yet mentioned, an account of which may be ſeen below [*E*].

‘ him. However, had I really been under ſome favourable prejudices in compiling the life of ſo great ‘ a prelate and miniſter of ſtate, who employed all ‘ his eccleſiaſtical revenues not in a ſacrilegious application of them to private uſes, and all the revenues ariſing from his civil employments not to aggrandize his own family, but in acts of public munificence, eſpecially towards the advancement of ‘ learning, which glorious deſign both the univerſities ‘ have ſo often and ſo juſtly celebrated; though in ‘ this reſpect I had not, indeed, written Cardinal ‘ Wolſey's life according to the ſtrict rules of hiſtorical juſtice, yet an error, which for the ſake of ſome ‘ beneficent actions had induced me to cover a multitude of faults, would certainly have been more ‘ pardonable, than the method according to which I ‘ perceive his life would have been written under ‘ your direction, with all bitterneſs, and wrath, and ‘ anger, and clamour, and evil ſpeaking.’

[*D*] *He was always ſteady to his firſt friends.*] He gave a very conſpicuous proof of this ſteadineſs, in reſpect to Biſhop Atterbury, while under proſecution. He declares, that a very learned prelate generouſly offered to let him compile the life of Cardinal Wolſey in his houſe: ‘ I ſhould (ſays he) under ſuch a direction, not only have had the benefit of many curious and deep reſearches into eccleſiaſtical antiquity, but of the beſt and moſt uſeful inſtructions, ‘ both in reſpect to the matter and the conduct of my ‘ work. I ſhall not (continues he) incur any cenſure ‘ for paying a debt of gratitude to a learned prelate, ‘ under his preſent circumſtances, or for celebrating ‘ thoſe great talents wherein, as a perſon of capacity ‘ and letters, his moſt inveterate enemies (2) muſt allow him to excell. It is ignoble and unjuſt, becauſe ‘ men are charged with high crimes, either to refuſe ‘ them thoſe grateful acknowledgments which are due ‘ to their beneficial actions, or to deny their extraordinary and diſtinguiſhed abilities on other accounts (3).’ But in the hope of incurring no cenſure for this euloge, he was, it ſeems, miſtaken, inſomuch, that even his aſhes were not ſuffered to reſt quietly in his grave. Dr Knight, a little after his death, attacked him in the ſevereſt manner. This adverſary ſhews his temper at ſetting out; he obſerves that our author ſpeaks unfavourably of Eraſmus, *probably*, ſays he, becauſe Eraſmus had by his writings favoured the Reformation. If Dr Fiddes's life of the Cardinal is deſervedly called Wolſey's apology, by the ſame rule Dr Knight's life of Eraſmus may be called an apology for Eraſmus. ‘ Dr Fiddes (ſays he) (4) cenſures the Reformation, ‘ and to give it the more home ſtroke, goes to the ‘ very root, and does all he can to evince the unjuſtifiable grounds it proceeded upon, ridicules the inſtruments of it, and inſinuates, that there was a ‘ change made for the worſe; and therefore palliates ‘ ſome of the moſt abſurd doctrines of the church of ‘ Rome, which were happily thrown off at the Reformation.’ He afterwards goes much further, aſſerting, among other particulars, ‘ that our author had ‘ moſt partially, and indeed moſt ſcandalouſly, reflected upon the opening of the Reformation, as ‘ laying on the groſſeſt colours they had to deform ‘ thoſe of Popery.’ He then proceeds to give what he calls the true riſe and occaſion of writing *The life of Cardinal Wolſey*, which he declares to have been undertaken at the ſollicitation of the late Biſhop Atterbury, on occaſion of the diſpute in which he was then engaged with Archbiſhop Wake. He even ſticks not to aſſert, ‘ that Biſhop Atterbury ſupplied ‘ our author with his own collections, directed him ‘ to the ſtock of others, procured him the whole party ‘ for ſubſcribers, entertained him at his houſe in Weſtminſter, ſuggeſted matter and method, turned him ‘ to authorities and conjectures, and laid the whole ‘ plan for forming ſuch a life, as might blacken the ‘ Reformation, caſt lighter colours upon Popery, and ‘ even make a way for a Popiſh pretender.’ To all which aſperſions, no other anſwer needs be given than this very true one, that our author was well known to be then incapable of giving any anſwer at all.

[*E*] *An account of the reſt of his treatiſes.*] Theſe are, 1. *Remarks upon the ſtate anatomy of Great Britain*, &c. Lond. 1717, 8vo, in anſwer to a piece of John Toland, under the name of *Patricola*. 2. *A defence of the Duke of Bucks's epitaph* (5), Lond. 1721, 8vo. In the conſtruction of that remarkable epitaph, it is obſervable that our author gave a more favourable turn than was approved by his friend Dr Atterbury. 3. *A general treatiſe of morality, formed upon the principles of natural reaſon only; with a preface in anſwer to two eſſays lately publiſhed in* The fable of the bees, *and ſome incidental remarks upon* An inquiry concerning virtue, *by the Right Honourable* Anthony *Earl of* Shaftſbury, Lond. 1724, 8vo. In the courſe of this preface (which makes as much as one-fourth part of the book) he defends ſome opinions of the author of the *Characteriſtics*, in oppoſition to the author of the *Search into the nature of ſociety*; and concludes with a vindication of his kinſman Dr *Radcliff*, from the aſperſions caſt upon him on account of his very large benefactions to Oxford. In the title page he ſtyles himſelf Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer; and in the dedication to the Earl of Pembroke, he acknowledges the obligation of a very deſirable favour lately received from that nobleman. The treatiſe itſelf is founded upon the principles of Father Malebranche, who is highly extolled by him. Beſides theſe, our author publiſhed, 4. *A preparative to the Lord's Supper.* P

(2) Bp Burnet, ſpeaking of the controverſy in 1707 about the rights of the Convocation, having charged Dr Atterbury with inſolence, ſays, he had very good parts, great learning, and was an excellent preacher, and had many extraordinary things in him. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own time, Vol. II. p. 249.

(3) Fiddes's introduction to his life of Cardinal Wolſey, p. 12, 13.

(4) In his life of Eraſmus, publiſhed in 1726.

(5) See the Duke's article, in remark [*I*].

FIRMIN [Thomas], a perſon well deſerving a place in this collection, on account of his memorable benefactions and charities, which, though an invincible Socinian, gained him in his time the univerſal eſteem of all perſuaſions. He was born June 1632, at Ipſwich in Suffolk, where his parents, Henry and Prudence Firmin, lived in good reputation, with a competent fortune; but being Puritanically inclined, though without ſeparating from the eſtabliſhed church, gave their ſon no other education than to qualify him for a trade; and accordingly, at a proper age, put him out to an apprenticeſhip in London: where

The ſubſtance of this article is taken from the life of the author, edit. Lond. 1698, 8vo.

where his maſter (*a*), being an Arminian, attended the ſermons of the then famous and much admired preacher John Goodwin, in Coleman-ſtreet, and taking his apprentice along with him to that congregation, young Firmin exchanged, as we are told, the harſh opinions of Calvin, in which he had been educated, for thoſe, in his opinion, more reaſonable ones of Arminius and the Remonſtrants (*b*), which, indeed, were ſuited more to his very benevolent nature; which ſoon began to be taken notice of by his maſter's cuſtomers, who were ſo won by his moſt pleaſing and reſpectful addreſs (*c*), that they choſe to deal with the apprentice rather than the maſter [*A*]. As ſoon as he was made free, he began to trade for himſelf; his amiable qualities ſoon obtained him a large acquaintance among foreigners, as well as Engliſh, eſpecially the clergy, ſome of whom were frequent gueſts at his table. This was of great ſervice to him afterwards in his deſigns, both in relation to the poor and the public; and though ſomewhat expenſive to his at preſent ſlender abilities, his firſt ſtock amounting only to 100 l. yet he improved it ſo much, that he obtained a citizen's daughter in marriage, with a fortune of 500 l. in 1660 [*B*]. He had ſome time before fallen into an intimacy with Mr John Biddle, who confirmed him in his Arminian tenets, and carried him much farther; that memorable Unitarian made him a convert to his own principles (*d*), and from this period he became a confirmed Socinian [*C*]. Mr Firmin's diverſion in this part of his life was gardening (*e*); for which purpoſe, he cultivated a piece of ground at Hoxton, not a mile from London, where he raiſed flowers, and in time attained no ſmall ſkill in the culture of them, as alſo of herbs, greens, and fruit-trees of all ſorts; but in his way he uſed often to viſit the poor and ſick, which was one of the leſſons of Mr Biddle, during whoſe impriſonment at Scilly, our trader was ſettled in Lombard-ſtreet, where firſt Mr Jacomb, then Dr Outram, being miniſters, he maintained with thoſe two excellent preachers and learned men a reſpectful and kind friendſhip, which was anſwered as affectionately and cordially on their parts. Now alſo he grew into an intimacy with Dr Whichcot, Dr Worthington, Dr Wilkins, and Mr (afterwards Dr) Tillotſon [*D*]. In 1664, he entered into a ſecond marriage with the daughter of a juſtice of peace in Eſſex, who, beſides all the qualifications of a good wife, brought him a conſiderable fortune, and he had ſeveral children by her. Nevertheleſs, his benevolent ſpirit did not ſlacken, but he went about doing good as uſual. The plague in 1665, and the fire in 1666, furniſhed him with variety of objects. In the former, he retired, as well as others, into the country; but left a kinſman in his houſe, with orders to relieve ſome poor weekly, and to give out ſome ſtuff to employ them in ſuch commodities as before. In the fire, he loſt his houſe in Lombard-ſtreet, and thereupon took a houſe and warehouſe in Leadenhall-ſtreet; but in a few years he ſo improved his ſtock by trade, as to rebuild his houſe; and having thus provided for himſelf and family, he built a warehouſe by

(*a*) Wo[illegible]d, who occaſiona[illegible]y mentions [illegible]im, particular[illegible] under the ar[illegible]cle of Marchm[illegible]t Needh[illegible] with whom he had a controverſy, as well as with ſeveral others.

(*b*) At this time he learned to write ſhort-hand, and, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, took down the ſermons in thoſe notes.

(*c*) His nimbleneſs in ſhewing the goods procured him the name of *Spirit Firmin*. His Life.

(*d*) For an account of Biddle's principles, conſult his article in this work.

(*e*) See the character given of him by the Lady Clayton.

[*A*] *The cuſtomers choſe to deal with him rather than the maſter.*] In the courſe of this ſervice, he met, however, with one rub. The elder apprentice having interverted 5 l. of his maſter's money, laid it to the charge of Tom Firmin; but being ſhortly after ſeized with a diſorder that proved mortal, he confeſſed before his death, that he purloined and ſpent the money, which Tom Firmin was not the leaſt privy to (1).

[*B*] *He married.*] This wife brought him two children, but both died before him, and the mother ſurvived her marriage only a few years. Her ſpouſe was at Cambridge upon the buſineſs of his trade, and dreamed there that he ſaw his wife breathing her laſt, whereupon early in the morning he took horſe for London, and on the way met the meſſenger who had been ſent to give him notice of her deceaſe (2).

[*C*] *He was converted to Socinianiſm by Biddle.*] He had a great eſteem for that Unitarian's piety and learning, and is that friend mentioned in Biddle's life, who gave him his bed and board till he was ſent priſoner by Cromwell, then Protector, to the iſle of Scilly; and when there, Mr Firmin, with another friend, procured for him a yearly penſion of 100 crowns from the Protector, beſides what he obtained for him from friends, or gave himſelf (3).

[*D*] *He became acquainted with Tillotſon.*] When Tillotſon was called to Canterbury or elſewhere for buſineſs or health, he generally left it to Mr Firmin to provide preachers for his lecture at St Laurence, which office was performed ſo well by his friend, that there was never any complaint of the Dean's abſence: and this Mr Firmin could eaſily do, for now there was hardly a divine of note in London, or in the country that frequented London, that he was not acquainted with, which acquaintance helped him much to ſerve the intereſts of many hopeful young preachers and ſcholars, candidates for lectures, ſchools, cures, or rectories, for whom he would ſollicit with as much affection and diligence as other men do for their ſons or near relations, and this notwithſtanding his differing in religious principles. When Tillotſon printed his Sermons preached at St Laurence's againſt Socinianiſm, he ſent one of the firſt copies to Mr Firmin, who cauſed a reſpectful anſwer, intituled, *Conſiderations on the explications and defences of the doctrine of the Trinity*, to be drawn up and publiſhed, himſelf giving a copy of it to his Grace, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who having peruſed it, ſaid, *My Lord of Sarum* [Burnet] *ſhall humble your writers.* Nor did he afterwards expreſs the leaſt coldneſs on this account, but uſed Mr Firmin as before, though he continued immoveable in his Socinian principles. Queen Mary having heard much of Mr Firmin's uſefulneſs in all public deſigns, eſpecially thoſe of charity, and that he was heterodox in the articles concerning the Trinity, ſpoke to Tillotſon, earneſtly recommending him to ſet his friend right in thoſe weighty and neceſſary points. The Archbiſhop anſwered, that he had often endeavoured it, but Mr Firmin having ſo early and long imbibed the Socinian doctrine, was not now capable of a contrary impreſſion (4). The truth of which obſervation is confirmed by a piece publiſhed in 1697, the year of his death, intituled, *The agreement between the Unitarians and the Catholic Church*, which was written at the inſtance chiefly of Mr Firmin, in anſwer to Mr Edwards, the Biſhops of Worceſter, Sarum, and Chicheſter, as well as Monſ. Luzanry (5). He had before, viz. in 1689 and 1690, cauſed to be written *A brief hiſtory of the Unitarians*, and *Brief notes on the creed of Athanaſius*. He publiſhed alſo *Remarks upon Dr Sherlock's ſermon* Upon the danger of corrupting the faith by philoſophy. We are alſo aſſured by the writer of his life (6), that he was not leſs zealous for the doctrine of the Unity, after the publication of the ſcheme of agreement, than before; and that when the controverſy about the Trinity ran very high, he purpoſed, beſides the continuation of all his former efforts, to hold aſſemblies for divine worſhip, diſtinct from the aſſemblies of any other denomination of Chriſtians; but that he did not intend theſe aſſemblies by way of ſchiſm or ſeparation from the church, but only as *fraternities in the church*, who would undertake a more eſpecial care of that article.

(1) His Life, ubi ſupra, p. 8.

(2) He left her probably in a bad ſtate of health. Ibid. p. 11.

(3) Ibid. p. 10.

(4) Ibid. p. 14 to 17, incluſive.

(5) Ibid. p. 19.

(6) Ibid. p. 50.

the water-ſide for the laying up corn and coals, to be ſold to the poor, in ſcarce and dear times, at the moderate rates they had been purchaſed for. He went on with his trade in Lombard-ſtreet till 1676, when he is ſuppoſed to be worth 9000 l. and that year he erected his warehouſe in Little Britain [*E*], for the employment of the poor in the linen manufacture, in which he employed 1600 or 1700 ſpinners, beſides dreſſers of flax, weavers, and others. In 1681, he publiſhed a book, intituled, *Propoſals for the employment of the poor*. The deſign of this piece was to engage others to ſet the poor on work at a public charge, or at leaſt aſſiſt him and two or three friends in what he had now carried on for above five years, at the loſs of more than 1000 l. But finding that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London were not perſuaded by what he had offered in his book, and by diſcourſe with them and the wealthy citizens, he began to leſſen the ſpinning trade. In 1690, the deſign was taken up by the *Patentees of the linnen manufacture (f)*; but that undertaking did not anſwer expectation. Upon this diſappointment, Mr Firmin reſolved, at the perſuaſion of ſome friends, to make trial of the woollen manufacture; becauſe at this the poor might make better wages than at linnen work; he took a houſe in Artillery-lane for the purpoſe; but neither did this ſucceed. In the mean time, the charitable deſigns of work-houſes, were accompanied by other charities: he laboured with a particular zeal and activity in redeeming poor debtors out of priſon; and while he diſcharged great numbers of priſoners, he took care for the better and eaſier ſubſiſtence of others while in priſon; he alſo diſtributed, proportionably to their neceſſities, large ſums among the poor, at their houſes, in which he did not forget the poorer ſort of clergymen: he alſo aſſiſted Mr Gouge in printing 8000 copies of the *Bible and Liturgy* in the Welch tongue, and printed 10,000 copies of *The Scripture catechiſm (g)*, which he gave to his ſpinners and their children, and to thoſe of the hoſpital, engaging them to get it by heart. In 1680 and the following year, the French refugees furniſhed new work for Mr Firmin's charity and zeal; he obtained the London peſt-houſe, then empty, for their lodgings, and procured large ſums of money, beſides cloth, for their children at *Ware* in Hertfordſhire. In 1682, he ſet up a linnen manufacture for the French at Ipſwich, and contributed to their meeting-houſe there. He had a principal hand in the ſpecial collections now made every winter, about Chriſtmas, in churches, for the poor in and about London. During the laſt twenty years of his life he was one of the governors of Chriſtchurch hoſpital in London, to which, beſides what he gave out of his own ſtock, he procured many conſiderable donations, and was particularly helpful to Sir Robert Clayton, the eminent benefactor thereto (*h*). Theſe cares did not ſo wholly employ this active man, but that he was alſo a great commonwealth's man. He was a principal encourager and promoter of the pamphlets againſt the bad deſigns of King James's declaration. Every body knows the great numbers of Iriſh nobility, gentry, and others, who fled to England from the perſecution and proſcription of King James II. briefs and other means were ſet on foot for their relief; in all which Mr Firmin was ſo active, that he received a letter of thanks for his diligence and kindneſs, ſigned by the Archbiſhop of Tuam, and ſeven biſhops. He furthered the Revolution as much as lay in his power, and after King William's ſettlement on the throne, he was particularly diligent in encouraging the manufacture of the *Luſtring company*. He took great pains, in conjunction with one Mr *Renew*, and was at much expence, to prevent correſponding with France, and the importation of French ſilks and other commodities from thence. But he was not more a friend to the liberties of the nation, and to the new eſtabliſhment, than he was an enemy to licentiouſneſs: he was from the firſt a member of the *Society for the reformation of manners*, and contributed to this his advice, aſſiſtance, and ſollicitations, as much as his leiſure would permit. In 1693, upon Sir Robert Clayton's election for Preſident of St Thomas's hoſpital in Southwark, Mr Firmin was choſen one of the governors; and indeed there was ſcarce any public truſt or charity in which he either was not or might not have been concerned. By his manifold charitable employments he had much weakened his naturally ſtrong and firm conſtitution, having been ſometimes liable to jaundices, often afflicted with cholics, and ſcarce ever without a cough, his lungs had long been phthyſical; but the

(*f*) The patentees agreed to give Mr Firmin 100 l. a year to overſee and govern their manufacture, which, upon the ill ſucceſs of the undertaking, he never demanded.

(*g*) This piece is aſcribed to Dr Worthington, but the writer of Mr Firmin's life thinks it was written by Bp Fowler, who in compiling it followed the method of Dr Worthington. The catechiſm was preferred by Mr Firmin, becauſe it is wholly in the words of Scripture, without favouring any particular party or perſuaſion. His Life, p. 50, 51.

(*h*) Beſides aſſiſting Sir Robert, he ſet up a clock and dial at the top of the north end of the great hall, and built two brick houſes, one at the ſouth-weſt end, the other at the north-eaſt end of the then late Bowling-green-alley, and a new brick wall; he alſo repaired all the walls and levelled the grounds. All theſe were done at his own proper coſt and charge.

[*E*] *He ſet up his warehouſe in Little Britain.*] Dr Tillotſon, ſpeaking of this charity, in his ſermon at the funeral of Mr Gouge, anno 1681, obſerves, ‘that he ſet the poor of St Sepulchre's pariſh, where he was miniſter, to work, at his own charge. He bought flax and hemp for them to ſpin; when ſpun, he paid them for their work, and cauſed it to be wrought into cloth, which he ſold as he could, himſelf bearing the whole loſs. This was (continues he) a very wiſe and well choſen way of charity; and, in the good effect of it, a much greater charity than if he had given to thoſe very perſons freely and for nothing ſo much as he made them to earn by their work; becauſe, by this means, he reſcued them from two moſt dangerous temptations, idleneſs and poverty. This courſe (proceeds he) ſo happily deviſed and begun by Mr Gouge, gave, it may be, the firſt hint to that uſeful and worthy citizen Mr Thomas Firmin, of a much larger deſign, which has been managed by him ſome years in this city with that vigour and good ſucceſs, that many hundreds of poor children, and others who lived idle before, unprofitable both to themſelves and the public, now maintain themſelves, and are alſo ſome advantage to the community. By the aſſiſtance and charity of many excellent and well-diſpoſed perſons, Mr Firmin is enabled to bear the unavoidable loſs and charge of ſo vaſt an undertaking; and by his own forward inclination to charity, and unwearied diligence and activity, is fitted to ſuſtain and go through the incredible pains of it (7).’ Our author uſed to diſtribute charity among his work folks, eſpecially at Chriſtmas; he alſo laid in vaſt quantities of coals, and whoever of them brought in two pounds of yarn might take away a peck of coals, to carry which away, he gave them canvaſs bags; he alſo diſtributed among them ſhifting, to the amount, in two years, of 3000 ſhirts and ſhifts (8).

(7) Sermon on Mr Gouge, p. 62, 63, 64.

(8) His Life, p. 31, 32.

more immediate cauſe of his death was a fever, which ſeized his ſpirits, beginning with a chilneſs and ſhivering, followed by a heat. He was at the ſame time afflicted both in his lungs with a great ſhortneſs of breath, not having ſtrength to expectorate, and alſo with terrible pains in his bowels, through which, for many hours, nothing could be made to paſs. He had for many years been troubled with a large rupture. All theſe diſorders made his laſt illneſs very ſhort. He had wiſhed in his lifetime that he might not lie above two days on his laſt ſick-bed: God granted his deſire, he lay not ſo long by eight hours. He died December 20, 1697. Purſuant to his deſire often ſignified, he was interred in the cloyſters of Chriſtchurch hoſpital London, where there is a plain marble plate, with an inſcription, erected to his memory [F]. In his perſon he was of a lower ſtature, well proportioned; his complexion fair and bright; his eye and countenance lively; his aſpect manly, and promiſing ſomewhat extraordinary. You would readily take him for a man of good ſenſe, worth, and dignity; walking or ſitting he appeared more comely than ſtanding ſtill, for his mien and action gave a gracefulneſs to his perſon. The endowments, inclinations, and qualities of his mind may be beſt judged by the account we have given of his life. It appears he was quick of apprehenſion and diſpatch, and yet almoſt indefatigably induſtrious, properties that we very rarely meet in the ſame man. He was inquiſitive, and very ingenious, i. e. he had a thirſt of knowing much; his mercurial wit enabled him to acquire a large knowledge with little labour, but he was utterly againſt ſubtleties in religion. He could not diſſemble; on the contrary, you might eaſily perceive his love or anger, his liking or diſliking; perhaps in both theſe reſpects he was rather too open, but both are the effects of ſincerity, and an argument of an honeſt man. He never affected proudly the reſpects of others, whether above or below him. He was facetious enough, but without affecting it; for he valued (what indeed himſelf excelled in) judgment rather than wit. He was neither preſuming or over bold, nor yet timorous; a little prone to anger, but never exceſſive in it, either as to meaſure or time. His manner of converſing was agreeable, ſo that ſeldom any broke friendſhip with him. Being well aſſured himſelf of his own integrity, he would even unconcernedly hear that this or that man had ſpoken ill of him.

[F] *A monument erected to his memory*, &c.] Beſides that monument, another was ſet up by the Lady Clayton, with the concurrence of her huſband Sir Robert, at their garden at Marden in Surry, in a walk there, called *Mr Firmin's walk*, by reaſon of his contrivance and activity in it. This monument is a marble pillar about eight feet high, with an urn and flowers growing out of it, and this motto, *Floreſcit funere virtus.* There is alſo a marble table fixed on one ſide of the pillar, with this inſcription:

To perpetuate (as far as marble and
Love can do it) the memory of
Thomas Firmin, Citizen of *London.*

None ever paſſed the ſeveral periods of human life more irreproachably, or performed the common duties of ſociety with greater ſincerity and approbation. Though it appears by his public ſpirit, that he thought himſelf born rather for the benefit of others than his own private advantage, yet the ſatisfaction of doing good, and the univerſal eſteem of honeſt men, made him the happieſt perſon in the world. But his charity (which was not confined to any nation, ſect, or party) is moſt worthy imitation, at leaſt in ſome degree, O reader: He was as liberal of his own, as faithful in diſtributing the pious donations of others, whom he ſucceſsfully perſuaded to relieve the diſtreſſed, particularly the labouring poor; for of vagrant, idle, and inſolent beggars, he was no advocate nor encourager. His agreeable temper rendering him an extraordinary lover of gardens, he contrived this walk, which bears his name, and where his improving converſation and example are ſtill remembered. But ſince Heaven has better diſpoſed of him, this Pillar is erected to Charity and Friendſhip, by Sir Robert Clayton *and* Martha *his Lady, who firſt builded and planted in* Marden.

Born at Ipſwich *in* Suffolk,
Buried in Chriſtchurch *hoſpital* London.

FIELDING [Henry], a humorous and polite writer, was born at Sharpham-park, near Glaſtonbury in Somerſetſhire, April 22, 1707, the ſeat of his father, the Honourable Edmund Fielding, who ſerved in the wars under the Duke of Marlborough, and arrived to the rank of Lieutenant-general at the latter end of King George I. or the beginning of George II. (*a*). His eldeſt ſon Henry received the firſt rudiments of his education at home, under the care of the Rev. Mr Oliver; thence removed to Eaton ſchool, where he made a diſtinguiſhed progreſs in the Claſſics, for which he ever retained a ſtrong admiration; and became acquainted with Lord Lyttelton, Mr Fox, Mr Pitt, Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, the late Mr Wynnington, ſome of whom were very ſerviceable to him afterwards. From Eaton he was ſent, at ſeventeen years of age, to Leyden in Holland, to ſtudy the civil law under the famous Vitriarius (*b*). He ſtaid at that univerſity about two years, when the failure of remittances brought him to London, where, though under age, he found himſelf his own maſter; from which ſource flowed all the inconveniencies that attended him throughout the remainder of his life. The brilliancy of his wit, the vivacity of his humour, and his high reliſh of ſocial enjoyment, ſoon brought him into requeſt with the men of taſte and literature, and with the voluptuous of all ranks. His finances were not anſwerable to the frequent draughts made upon him by the extravagance which naturally followed [*A*]. This brought him into difficulties, but difficulties were

(*a*) He was a grandſon to the Earl of Danby, and nearly related to the Duke of Kingſton. Our author's mother was the daughter of Judge Gold, one of the Barons of the Exchequer.

(*b*) He was profeſſor of civil law there at this time, and publiſhed there *Inſtitiones juris naturæ & gentium*, in 1719, 8vo.

[*A*] *The extravagance which naturally followed.*] He was allowed, indeed, 200 l. a year by his father; but, as he himſelf uſed to ſay, any body might pay it that would. The fact was, General Fielding had by our author's mother, beſides himſelf, a ſon Edmund, who was an officer in the marine ſervice, and four were far from ſubduing him; on the contrary, his ſpirit roſe as they roſe, his imagination was fond of ſeizing every gay proſpect, and, in his worſt adverſities, filled him with hopes of a better ſituation. To obtain which, he now flattered himſelf that he ſhould find his reſources in his wit and invention. The theatre, he obſerved, was the beſt fund to venture thoſe talents in, and he commenced writer for the ſtage in 1727 (c), being then about twenty years of age. His firſt dramatic piece was called *Love in ſeveral maſques*, which being favourably received, his ſecond play *The Temple Beau* appeared the next year: he puſhed on, and within the compaſs of ten years he produced no leſs than eighteen theatrical performances [*B*], before he was thirty years of age (*d*). Mr Fielding had not been long a writer for the ſtage, when he married Miſs Craddock, a beauty from Saliſbury. About which time, a moderate eſtate by the death of his mother devolved to him at Stower in Dorſetſhire. To that place he retired with his wife, on whom he doated, with a reſolution to bid adieu to all the follies and intemperances of a town life. But unfortunately a kind of family pride here gained an aſcendant over him, and he began immediately to vie in ſplendor with the neighbouring country ſquires. With an eſtate not much above 200 l. per annum, and his wife's fortune which did not exceed 1500 l. he incumbered himſelf with a large retinue of ſervants, all clad in coſtly yellow liveries: for their maſter's honour, theſe people could not deſcend ſo low as to be careful in their apparel, but in a month or two were unfit to be ſeen, the ſquire's dignity required that they ſhould be new equipped; and his pleaſure conſiſting in ſociety and convival mirth, hoſpitality threw open his doors, and in leſs than three years, entertainments, hounds, and horſes, entirely devoured a little patrimony, which, had it been managed with oeconomy, might have ſecured to him a ſtate of independence for the reſt of his life. In this exigence he betook himſelf to the ſtudy of the law lucrative, and took chambers in the Temple, being then about thirty years of age. While he was a ſtudent there, his application was remarkably intenſe (*e*). After the cuſtomary time of probation, he was called to the bar: he attended with aſſiduity, both in term time and on the weſtern circuit, as long as his health permitted [*C*]; but this diligence was ſoon broken by the gout, and the profits by the law diminiſhing, he was obliged, for an immediate ſupport to himſelf and his family, to produce almoſt extempore a play, a farce, a pamphlet, or a news-paper. A large number of fugitive political tracts, which had their value when the incidents were actually paſſing on the ſcene of buſineſs, came from his pen. The periodical paper called *The Champion* owed its chief ſupport to his abilities. He now became ſenſible that his talents were turned chiefly to fabulous narration; and the morning, noon, and evening of his genius are conſpicuouſly apparent in his *Joſeph Andrews* [*D*], *Tom Jones*, and *Amelia*. Soon after the

publiſhing

(*c*) While he was at Leyden, he made ſome efforts towards a comedy, in the ſketch of *Don Quixote in England*, which he afterwards completed.

(*d*) Almoſt all his plays and farces, not above two or three having appeared ſince that time.

(*e*) He has been frequently known by his intimates to retire late at night from a tavern to his chambers, and there read and make extracts from the moſt abſtruſe authors, for ſeveral hours before he went to bed.

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four daughters, Catharine, Urſula, Sarah (1), and Beatrice; and marrying again after her death, had ſo large an increaſe of family (2), and that too ſo quick, that he could not ſpare any conſiderable diſburſements for the maintenance of his eldeſt ſon, who was ſenſible of it, and therefore, in whatever difficulties he might be involved, was never wanting in his filial piety.

[*B*] *Eighteen theatrical performances.*] His plays met with no good ſucceſs, the characters were imperfect half-lengths, and the wit coarſe and indelicate, inſomuch, that the quarry of his wit and humour in ſome of his pieces was higher game, particularly in reſpect of *The hiſtorical regiſter*, than in prudence he ſhould have choſen, and were principal motives for making that law which ſubjected all new pieces to the inſpection of a licenſer. To theſe cauſes of his failure in the drama may be added that ſovereign contempt he always entertained for the underſtandings of mankind. It was in vain to tell him that a particular ſcene was dangerous, on account of its coarſeneſs, or becauſe it retarded the general buſineſs with feeble efforts of wit; he doubted the diſcernment of his auditors, and ſo thought himſelf ſecured by their ſtupidity, if not by his own humour and vivacity. A very remarkable inſtance of this diſpoſition appeared, when the comedy of *The wedding-day* was put into rehearſal. An actor, who had a principal part in the piece, and, though young, was then by the advantage of happy requiſites an early favourite of the public, told Mr Fielding, he was apprehenſive that the audience would make free with him in a particular paſſage; adding, that a repulſe might ſo flurry his ſpirits, as to diſconcert him for the reſt of the night, and therefore begged that it might be omitted. *No, d—mn 'em*, replied the bard, *if the ſcene is not a good one, let them find it out*. Accordingly the play was brought on without alteration, and juſt as had been foreſeen, the houſe was provoked at the paſſage before objected to; and the performer, alarmed and uneaſy at the hiſſes he met with, retired into the green-room, where the author was ſolacing himſelf with a bottle of champaign. He had by this time drank pretty plentifully, and cocking his eye at the actor, while ſtreams of tobacco trickled down from the corner of his mouth. *What's the matter, Garrick?* ſays he, *what are they hiſſing now?* Why, the ſcene that I begged of you to retrench, I knew it would not do; and they have ſo frightened me, that I ſhall not be able to collect myſelf again the whole night. *Oh d—mn 'em*, replies the author, *they have found it out, have they?* If we add to this an obſervation of his own, that he left off writing for the ſtage when he ought to have begun, and together with this, conſider his extreme hurry and diſpatch, we ſhall be able fully to account for his not bearing a more diſtinguiſhed place in the rank of dramatic writers (3). Indeed, how could it be otherwiſe? when he had contracted to bring on a play or a farce, he would go home rather late from a tavern, and the next morning deliver a ſcene for the players, written upon the papers which had wrapped up the tobacco, in which he ſo much delighted.

[*C*] *He attended the weſtern circuit.*] The gentlemen of that circuit have the following tradition concerning him: that having attended the judges two or three years, without the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs, he publiſhed propoſals for a new law book; which being circulated round the country, the young barriſter was loaded at the enſuing aſſizes with briefs at every town on the circuit. But his practice thus ſuddenly increaſed, almoſt as ſuddenly declined (4). He is allowed, however, to have acquired a reſpectable ſhare of juriſprudence, and, in ſome particular branches, he is ſaid to have ariſen to a degree of eminence, more eſpecially in crown law, as may be judged from his leaving two volumes in folio upon that ſubject, which remain ſtill unpubliſhed in the hands of his brother Sir John Fielding, who deems it perfect in ſome parts.

[*D*] *Joſeph Andrews.*] It may not be improper here to mention, that the Reverend Mr Young, a learned and much eſteemed friend of our author, ſat for *Parſon Adams*. Mr Young was remarkable for his intimate acquaintance with the Greek authors,

and

(1) Author of the Hiſtory of David Simple, and ſome Letters, both after the manner of her brother, who wrote a criticiſm upon them, which is printed in the collection of his works.

(2) He had ſix ſons by his ſecond match, all dead except John, who, though blind, is at preſent in the commiſſion of the peace for Middleſex, Surry, Eſſex, and the liberties of Weſtminſter.

(3) His comedy of the Miſer, moſtly taken from Moliere, has maintained its ground upon the ſtage ever ſince it was firſt performed.

(4) Abridgment of his life prefixed to his works, inſerted in the Annual regiſter for 1762, 8vo.

publiſhing of Joſeph Andrews (*f*), Fielding's laſt comedy *The wedding-day* was exhibited on the ſtage, and was attended with an indifferent ſhare of ſucceſs (*g*). In the mean while, he ſaw his wife, whom he tenderly loved, daily languiſhing and wearing away before his eyes: the fortitude of mind with which he met all other calamities of life, deſerted him on this trying occaſion, and on her death, which happened about this time, brought on ſuch a vehemence of grief, that his friends began to think him in danger of loſing his reaſon. When the firſt emotions of his ſorrow were abated, he began again to ſtruggle with his fortune: he engaged in two periodical papers ſucceſſively, *The true patriot* and *The Jacobite journal*. He had now attained the age of forty-three, and being inceſſantly aſſaulted by reiterated attacks of the gout, he became incapable of purſuing the buſineſs of a barriſter any longer. In that incapacity he accepted the office of an acting magiſtrate in the commiſſion of the peace for Middleſex, with an annual penſion out of the public ſervice money. That he was not inattentive to the calls of his duty, is evident from the many tracts he publiſhed relating to ſeveral of the penal laws, and to the vices and malpractices which thoſe laws were intended to reſtrain (*h*). All the laborious duties of this office could not ſtill ſtifle his invention: he found leiſure to amuſe himſelf, and afterwards the world, with *The hiſtory of Tom Jones* [*E*]. This is indeed his maſter-piece, here the vigour of his mind appears in its full growth and perfection; from this period it ſunk, though by ſlow degrees, into a decline. *Amelia*, which ſucceeded Tom Jones in about four years, has indeed the marks of genius, but of a genius beginning to fall into decay. While he was planning and executing this piece, his conſtitution, now greatly impaired and enfeebled, was ſtill labouring under the attacks of the gout, which were of courſe ſeverer than ever; yet the activity of his mind was not to be ſubdued, one literary purſuit was no ſooner over, than freſh game aroſe (*i*). A periodical paper, under the title of *The Covent-garden journal, by Sir Alexander Drawcanſir, Knt. and cenſor-general of Great Britain*, was immediately ſet on foot: it came out twice a week, and conduced ſo much to the entertainment of the public, that it was felt with a general regret that the author's health did not permit him to continue it longer (*k*). In the beginning of 1753, having taken what is called the Duke of Portland's medicine near a year, which carried off the ſymptoms of a lingering imperfect gout, he was perſuaded by Mr Ranby, the King's premier ſerjeant-ſurgeon, to go immediately to Bath, the waters there being a ſovereign remedy for the jaundice, which was then his caſe. Accordingly he ſent to have lodgings taken there for a month; but, while he was preparing for the journey, the Duke of Newcaſtle, then ſecretary of ſtate, deſired him to form the beſt plan he could for putting an end to the murders and ſtreet-robberies, which were become ſo intolerable. He complied with the propoſal, and having drawn up ſuch a plan as was approved of, the ſum of 600 l. was paid out of the treaſury, in purſuance of his propoſal; a third part of which was no ſooner received by him, than he ſet about the buſineſs, and ſurprizingly performed his promiſe before Chriſtmas that year [*F*]. But the pains he had taken in the execution, had reduced him to ſuch a condition, as the Bath waters did not extend to; he therefore diſmiſſed his lodging there, reſigned his magiſtrate's office to his half brother, now Sir John Fielding, who had been his clerk ſome time, and retired into the country, with a jaundice, a dropſy, and an aſthma. But he returned to town in February, and became the patient of the famous Dr Ward, by whoſe advice he was tapped, and alſo took

(*f*) He borrowed the name of Andrews from the Hiſtory of [illegible]mela Andrews, publiſhed by Mr Richardſon a printer, which having [illegible] prodigious run, the ſame author printed likewiſe another piece of the like fabric, intituled, Clariſſa, and a third with the title of Sir Cha. Grandiſon, beſides other things.

(*g*) He declares that though this play was acted ſix nights, yet his profits from the houſe did not exceed 50 l. General preface to our author's miſcellanies.

(*h*) Particularly *A charge to the grand jury at Weſtminſter, June 29. 1749*; beſides the *Inquiry into the cauſe of the increaſe of robberies*; and *A propoſal for the maintenance of the poor*.

(*i*) He wrote, among other things, an account of Jonathan Wild, a farce alſo, and even a puppet-ſhow of his, were exhibited at the little houſe in the Hay-market.

(*k*) Abridgment of the account of his life prefix'd to his works, in the Annual regiſter for 1762.

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and had as paſſionate a veneration for *Æſchylus* as Parſon Adams; the overflowings of his benevolence were as ſtrong, and his fits of reverie as frequent, and occurred too upon the moſt intereſting occaſions. Of this laſt obſervation a ſingular inſtance is given by a gentleman who ſerved during the laſt war in Flanders, in the very ſame regiment to which Mr Young was chaplain. On a fine ſummer's evening he thought proper to indulge himſelf in his love of a ſolitary walk; and accordingly ſallied forth from his tent: the beauties of the hemiſphere and the landſkip round him paſſed warmly on his imagination; his heart overflowed with benevolence to all God's creatures, and gratitude to the ſupreme diſpenſer of that emanation of glory which covered the face of things. It is very poſſible that a paſſage in his dearly beloved *Æſchylus* occured to his memory on this occaſion, and buried his thought in a profound meditation. Whatever was the object of his reflections, certain it is, that ſomething did powerfully ſeize his imagination, ſo as to preclude all attention to things that lay immediately before him, and in that deep fit of abſence Mr Young proceeded on his walk, till he arrived very quietly and calmly in the enemy's camp, where he was with difficulty brought to a recollection of himſelf by the repetition of *Qui va la?* [Who goes there?] from the ſoldiers upon duty. The officer who commanded, finding that he had ſtrayed thither in the undeſigning ſimplicity of his heart, and ſeeing an innate goodneſs in his priſoner, which commanded his reſpect, very politely gave him leave to purſue his contemplations home again.

[*E*] *The hiſtory of Tom Jones.*] His genius ſhines out here in its meridian glory, when all his faculties were in perfect uniſon, and conſpired to produce a complete work, eminent in all the eſſentials of compoſition; fable, character, ſentiment, and elocution. In many parts of it we find him poſſeſſed of the ſofter graces of character, painting, and deſcription: many ſituations and ſentiments are touched with a delicate hand, and throughout the work he ſeems to feel as much delight in expreſſing the amiable part of human nature, as in his early days he had in exaggerating the ſtrong and harſh features of turpitude and deformity. There breathes an air of philanthropy throughout this work.

[*F*] *He performed his promiſe before Chriſtmas.*] Within a few days after he received the 200 l. the whole gang of cut-throats was intirely diſperſed, ſeven of them were in cuſtody, and of the reſt ſome were fled out of town, and others out of the kingdom; and though his health was reduced to the laſt extremity, he continued to act with vigour againſt theſe violences, by which means, during a great part of November, and all December, there was not ſo much as a murder nor a ſingle robbery committed. Thus he ſuppreſſed the evil for a time, and hinted the means of ſuppreſſing it for ever. The advantage alſo was very conſiderable to the government in point of expence: the 100 l. promiſed by proclamation for apprehending villains amounted to ſeveral 1000 l. within a year, beſides increaſing the evil and propagating the worſt kind of perjuries; whereas his plan had not put the government to more expence than 300 l. and had produced none of the ill conſequences above mentioned.

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the Doctor's medicines; theſe, however, having no effect, he doſed himſelf morning and evening with tar-water, which leſſened his complaint, and procured him an appetite; but the water of the dropſy, though ſomewhat abated, ſtill kept running, he was tapped therefore a ſecond time. In May he went to a country houſe which he had at Ealing in Kent, for the ſake of the air; but returning at the end of that month, he underwent the trochar a third time; after which, he took a journey to Liſbon, by the advice of his phyſicians. He ſet out for that city June 26, 1754, but made a ſhort ſtay there; and after his return, keeping up the gaiety of his ſpirit to the laſt, he wrote a very pleaſant account of his journey (*l*), which, however, he did not ſurvive above two months, ſinking under a complication of cruel diſtempers in Auguſt 1754. He left behind him (for he married a ſecond time) a widow and four children, three of which were living in 1762, and training up in a handſome courſe of education, under the care of their uncle, with the aid of a very generous donation given annually by Ralph Allen Eſq; of Prior-park (*m*), for that purpoſe. Thus was cloſed a courſe of diſappointment, diſtreſs, vexation, infirmity, and ſtudy, with which his life was chequered, and perhaps with ſtronger proportions than has been the lot of many. The writer of his life, who has drawn his character at large, obſerves, that he was in ſtature rather riſing above ſix feet; his frame of body large, and remarkably robuſt. His paſſions were tremblingly alive all over; impatient of diſappointment or ill-uſage, elate in proſperity, overflowing with gratitude at every inſtance of friendſhip or generoſity; ſteady in his private attachments; in his reſentments manly, but temperate. Open, unbounded, and ſocial in his temper, he knew no love of money, but puſhed his contempt of avarice into the oppoſite extreme of prodigality. Though diſpoſed to gallantry, he was remarkable for tenderneſs to his wife, and the ſtrongeſt affection for his children. Of ſickneſs and poverty he was ſingularly patient, and under the preſſure of thoſe evils he would quietly read *Cicero de conſolatione*; but if either of them threatened his wife, he was impetuous for her relief. A ſenſe of honour he had as lively and delicate as moſt men, but ſometimes his paſſions were too turbulent for it, or rather his neceſſities were too preſſing; in all caſes where delicacy was departed from, his friends knew how his own feelings reprimanded him. The intereſt of virtue and religion he never betrayed; the former is amiably enforced in his works; and for the defence of the latter, he had projected a laborious *Anſwer to the poſthumous philoſophy of Bolingbroke.* As a magiſtrate, he was alſo zealous for the order and welfare of the community which he ſerved. His works were publiſhed in 1762, in eight volumes 8vo. to the firſt of which is prefixed an account of his life and writings, whence the ſubſtance of this article is chiefly taken.

(*l*) The introduction to that account, written by himſelf.

(*m*) This very worthy gentleman is lately dead, and by his will has bequeathed to the widow and her three children 100 l. each.

FORBES [Patrick], Lord of Corſe, and Baron of Oneil, in the ſhire of Aberdeen in Scotland, and Biſhop of that dioceſe, was born in 1564, and educated both at the univerſities of Aberdeen and St Andrews; and by his learning and abilities became very inſtrumental in improving the affairs of the church of Scotland, which were in great confuſion. Popery, indeed, was at that time declining, and in a great meaſure aboliſhed, yet nothing conſiſtent or poſitive could be preſently eſtabliſhed in its room, the Reformers there generally running upon negatives againſt Popiſh doctrines. In the mean while, the churches in many places became ruinous, the endowments being either inſufficient or perverted to other uſes, whereby learning wanted due encouragement, there were but few good preachers, and even thoſe more remarkable for zeal than knowledge (*a*). In this unhappy ſtate of the church, the Lord of Corſe made it his buſineſs to encourage pious and able miniſters, and in ſeveral ſet conferences, as well as occaſional diſcourſes, inſtructed the people, eſpecially Papiſts, who would hear nothing from the pulpit. He was yet a layman, but became ſo conſpicuous, that he was often ſollicited to enter into the miniſtry, by many eminent perſons both in church and ſtate. He ſubmitted at length to their judgments, and was ordained a Preſbyter at the age of forty-eight years, and was admitted Miniſter of Keith, in the dioceſe of Murray, where he diſcharged his duty with ſuch applauſe till 1618, that, at the King's expreſs command [*A*], as well as the earneſt deſire of the clergy and laity of the dioceſe of Aberdeen, he accepted of that Biſhopric (*b*); and aſſiſted in the famous ſynod of Perth, held on the 26th of Auguſt following (*c*), which eſtabliſhed the five articles; viz. The Euchariſt to be received kneeling; that ſacrament to be adminiſtred to ſick or dying perſons; the private baptiſm of infants; the confirmation of children at a proper age; and the obſervation of the days of the birth, paſſion, reſurrection, and aſcenſion of our Lord, and the ſending down of the Holy Ghoſt. On theſe days, the miniſters were enjoined to preach upon ſome pertinent text, and to rebuke all ſuperſtitious obſervation and licentious profanation thereof (*d*). His behaviour as a Biſhop was very exemplary in all reſpects. His great care was not only to plant worthy men in his dioceſe, but to find proper methods how this might be continued to poſterity, by procuring ſufficient pro-

(*a*) Preface to *Inſtitutiones hiſtorico-theologicæ*, by Dr John Forbes, our author's ſon, edit. Amſt. 1645. folio.

(*b*) He was elected by a full chapter, Mar. 24 that year, and conſecrated May 17 following, at St Andrews, by the Archbiſhop, and enthroned in his cathedral the 26th of that month.

(*c*) It was opened by a ſermon of our author on Ezra vii. 23.

(*d*) Proceedings of the Perth aſſembly, by Dr Lindſay, and act of parl. 1621.

[*A*] *He accepted of the Biſhopric by the King's expreſs command.*] Dr Burnet ſays it was with great difficulty that King James made him accept that dignity, and that he refuſed it for ſeveral months, having propoſed to himſelf to live in a leſs conſpicuous ſtate. It was ſoon ſeen, continues the ſame writer, how much he deſerved to be a Biſhop, and that his refuſal was not counterfeit, but the real effect of humility. In all his behaviour he diſplayed the character of a truly Apoſtolic man. He viſited his dioceſe without pomp and noiſe, attended only by one ſervant, that he might the more eaſily be informed of what belonged to his care (1).

(1) Burnet's preface to Bedel's life.

viſions for their ſubſiſtence, wherein he was very ſucceſsful. As he recovered many of the revenues which, by the injuries of the times, had been loſt or neglected, ſo he ſpent much of his income on the poorer clergy, and uſed all proper methods with heretors and titulars of tiends, and others, to make conſiderable augmentations; and which he had no ſooner accompliſhed, but he diſſolved many real or ſuppoſed unions betwixt churches in very large and extenſive pariſhes, ſo that each of them might have the advantage of a proper paſtor. He was likewiſe very ſtrict in examining candidates for orders, the want of which proves often an irreparable detriment to the church. Some time after his promotion to this Biſhopric, he was appointed Chancellor of the univerſity of Aberdeen; which ſeat of learning he took care to improve, by repairing the fabric, augmenting the library, and reviving the profeſſors of divinity, canon law, and phyſic: he alſo procured the addition of another profeſſorſhip in divinity. He took ſo much care of the two colleges at Aberdeen, that they ſoon diſtinguiſhed themſelves, and became famous all over (*e*) Scotland [*B*]. Having held his Biſhopric about ſeventeen years, he was taken from it by his death, which happened on Eaſter-eve, March 28, 1635, and was interred in his cathedral (*f*) on the 9th of April following, Dr Baron preaching his funeral ſermon before a numerous auditory. He died with the ſtrongeſt ſentiments of devotion and reſignation, having two days before ſent for the clergy of Aberdeen to receive the communion with him. I ſhall give the reſt of his excellent character below [*C*]. He wrote a Commentary upon the Revelations, which was printed at London in 1613. His ſon, Dr John Forbes, is ſaid to be much more extenſively learned than his father, and was poſſeſſed of the divinity profeſſorſhip of his foundation at Aberdeen, when the Covenanters expelled him; upon which he fled to Holland, whence, after two years, he returned home, and ſpent the remainder of his life at Corſe, where he died, April 29, 1648. Beſides his Theological inſtitutions, which, if he had lived to finiſh the ſecond volume, would, perhaps, have been the moſt valuable treatiſe of divinity that had then appeared in the world (*g*), he publiſhed ſeveral other pieces [*D*]. An edition of his works was publiſhed at Amſterdam in 1703, in two volumes folio, to which is added his life, written by George Garden (*h*).

(*e*) Burnet's preface to Bedel's life.

(*f*) In 1635 was publiſhed at Aberdeen, in 4to. a piece, intituled, The Funeral of the Rt Rev. Father in God Patric Forbes, of Corſe, Biſhop of Aberdeen, ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ, *Reverendiſſimi in Chriſto Patris Patricii Forbeſii à Corſe, Epiſcopi Aberdænienſis, tumulus à multis omnium ordinum collachrymantibus, variegato opere exornatus.*

[illegible] So ſays Bp Burnet.

(*h*) An abridgment of which may be ſeen in the Hiſtoire des Ouvrages de Scavans for July 1703, p. 291, &c. Bayle, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *Famous all over Scotland.*] Biſhop Burnet (2) obſerves, that when that church was involved in troubles, it appeared, by the writings that came out againſt the Covenant, that none but the Doctors of thoſe colleges were able to defend the cauſe. Upon which paſſage, there is in the General Dictionary (3) the following remark, that ‘ there were many men of ‘ merit both able and willing to engage in the cauſe; ‘ but as the divines of Aberdeen were the only ſociety ‘ attacked at firſt in a ſcholar-like way, ſo they were ‘ the moſt proper perſons to anſwer. The other uni‘verſities, and many of the clergy, were attacked in ‘ a violent manner; and thoſe worthy divines Dr ‘ Robert Baron, John Forbes, Alexander Scrogy, ‘ James Sibbald, William Leſley, &c. were forced ‘ from their preferments. The two colleges above‘mentioned were continued in Epiſcopal hands after ‘ the Revolution, which eſtabliſhed Preſbytery; and ‘ to this day the people in that dioceſe are remark‘able for their adhering to theſe principles, and the ‘ encouragement which they give to that perſua‘ſion.’

[*C*] *The reſt of his character below.*] Biſhop Burnet relates (4) it in theſe terms: He ſcarce ever ſuffered any man of merit to aſk any thing at his hands, but anticipated them; while thoſe whoſe characters would not bear a ſevere ſcrutiny, never preſumed to ſollicit him. As his penetration and ſagacity were great, ſo likewiſe were his courage and integrity. He had a quick eye and ſprightly countenance, which proved an additional ornament to his expreſſions, which were grave and majeſtic, and of peculiar inſinuation and grace. His prudence was remarkable; for he greatly allayed, and almoſt conquered, not only the diſtempered judgments, but the perverſe and turbulent humours, of divers in his dioceſe. He was greatly reſpected by the laity, who often choſe him arbiter in ſettling their differences. In parliament he was elected one of the Lords of the articles, and his judgment there, and in the council, was conſidered as an oracle.

[*D*] *He wrote ſeveral other pieces.*] Among theſe there is a Latin treatiſe, wherein he ſhewed, againſt Gerard John Voſſius, that the doctrine of St Auguſtine concerning grace was conformable to the conſtant doctrine of the catholic church (5).

P

(2) Ubi ſupra.

(3) Under additions to this article in Vol. V.

(4) Ibid.

(5) He ſent this piece as a preſent, with a letter, to Voſſius, who wrote an anſwer. Both the letters are in the collection of Voſſius's letters, N° CDII and CDXIX, edit. Lond.

FORBES [William], a worthy Scotch prelate, and the firſt Biſhop of Edinburgh, a divine of diſtinguiſhed piety and learning, but remarkably averſe to publiſhing books, was born in that kingdon in 1585, at Aberdeen, in which univerſity he was educated, and at ſixteen years of age admitted A. M. and immediately after made profeſſor of logic, which chair he filled with great ſucceſs for four years (*a*). He went afterwards to the univerſities of Germany, to improve himſelf in divinity; and having ſpent four years in the ſtudy of divinity and the Hebrew language, wherein he made a great progreſs, he viſited the univerſity of Leyden, where he was much eſteemed. He had purpoſed to travel through France to Italy; but the ill ſtate of his health not permitting it, he contented himſelf with paſſing over to England, where the univerſity of Oxford offered him the Hebrew profeſſorſhip, which he was obliged to decline, by his phyſicians, who adviſed him to go to his native country. The magiſtrates of Aberdeen expreſſed a particular eſteem for him, and recovering his health, he accepted the cure of Alford in that dioceſe; but he quitted it not long after for a miniſter's place in his native city, which he diſcharged with diſtinguiſhed fidelity. Upon the reſtoration of the academical degrees to their antient courſe by King James, he was admitted D. D. and held an eccleſiaſtical aſſembly at St Andrews, to conſider of the affairs of the church of Scotland. The pains he took in the diſcharging of the duties of the miniſtry being obſerved to impair his health, he was favoured with a leſs laborious employ, in the principalſhip of the Mareſchal college, and was declared afterwards Dean of the faculty of divinity, and then Rector of the univerſity (*b*). He became afterwards Paſtor at Edinburgh againſt his will (*c*); and though he was received there with all poſſible marks

(*a*) He made it his buſineſs to defend Ariſtotle's logic againſt the Ramiſts. Elenchus vitæ Gul. Forbeſii, edit. 1658, 8vo. from which this memoir is chiefly extracted.

(*b*) This poſt is immediately under that of the chancellor.

(*c*) Having waved the offer of it as long as he could, the ſupreme council and the provincial ſynod obliged him to accept it.

of friendſhip, yet the people's minds ere long changed [*A*]; upon which he withdrew from that flock, and returned to Aberdeen, where he was paſſionately wiſhed for. Upon the coronation of King Charles I. at Edinburgh, in 1633, our divine, by his Majeſty's particular command, preached the ſermon; which he performed with ſo much eloquence and learning, as won the admiration of the whole audience, and was made Biſhop of that ſee by his Majeſty, upon his founding an epiſcopal church there (*d*). He was conſecrated with the uſual ceremonies, and applied himſelf wholly to the functions of his dignity: but was ſoon deprived of it by his death, which happened on the 1ſt of April 1634, having enjoyed his biſhopric only three months. Biſhop Burnet giving him the character of a great and ſublime divine, obſerves, that he preached with ſo much zeal and ardour, that frequently forgetting the meaſure of time, he continued his ſermons for two or three hours. This toil greatly diminiſhed his ſtrength, together with his faſting, and aſcetic way of life, which he carried to ſuch a height, that he took no more nouriſhment than was juſt ſufficient to retard his death. He publiſhed nothing, and compoſed very little (*e*), beſides a tract tending to pacify controverſies in religion [*B*]. He had filled all the margins of the four volumes of Bellarmin with excellent notes, which he would have publiſhed, if death had not prevented him.

The name of Forbes often occurs in the Scottiſh annals [*C*].

(*d*[illegible] Upon this occa[illegible] the King ſaid he had met with ſo excellent a clergyman, that he deſerved to have a new epiſcopal ſee erected for him. Burnet's life of Bedel, in the preface.

(*e*) His advice to one who uſed a great deal of paper was, *Lege plura & ſcribe pauciora.* Elenchus vitæ Gul. Forbeſii.

[*A*] *The minds of the people changed.*] This change aroſe from the diverſity of opinions concerning Epiſcopacy. Our paſtor maintained the ſuperiority of biſhops to prieſts; that this primacy was not a human inſtitution, but founded in the Word of God, the practice of the Apoſtles, and the cuſtom of the primitive church. His auditors rejected this doctrine, aſſerted the equality of miniſters with Calvin, and accuſed their preacher of Popery. Whereupon, ſeeing his labours to be no better than ſeed ſown upon barren ground, he reſolved to reſign his charge, and the rather, becauſe his thin and emaciated conſtitution could very ill bear the ſmoke of Edinburgh (1).

[*B*] *A tract to pacify religious controverſies.*] This piece was written in Latin, and printed in 1658 (2), with this title, *Conſiderationes modeſtæ & pacificæ controverſiarum de juſtificatione, purgatorio, invocatione ſanctorum, & Chriſto mediatore, Euchariſtia.* The writer of his life (3) gives this encomium of it: '*This poſthumous work* (ſays he) *which now appears in public,* '*is a ſignal ſpecimen and proof of a pacific temper and a* '*moderate mind, wherein, like a ſecond Caſſander and catho*'*lic moderator, he endeavours to compoſe, or at leaſt to mi*'*tigate, the rigid and auſtere opinions in certain points of* '*religious controverſy, both of the Reformed and of the* '*Popiſh party. How greatly he regarded moderation ap*'*pears from that uſual ſaying of his,* If there had been 'more Caſſanders and Wicelius's, there would have 'been no occaſion for a Luther or a Calvin (4).' But Biſhop Burnet (5) having remarked that the few books he publiſhed are a ſufficient proof of his great and extenſive learning, proceeds to declare, that 'his ardent 'deſire after peace and unity among Chriſtians made 'him too favourable to a great many corruptions in 'the church of Rome. Thus (continues he) an un'limited charity engages great men to entertain im'prudent opinions; however, when the principle or 'motive they act upon is truly good, they ought to 'be excuſed, or at leaſt cenſured with moderation.'

[*C*] *The name of Forbes often occurs in the Scottiſh annals.*] One Forbes, a great Puritan, was driven out of his country in the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, and took refuge in Holland, where he warmly declared himſelf againſt the Arminians (6). And of late appeared Duncan Forbes of Culloden, a perſon of eminence, who was very active againſt the laſt rebellion of his countrymen, raiſed and carried on to a great heght, in 1745. At length he was made Lord Preſident of the Court of Seſſion in Scodland, under which title was publiſhed his works, containing the following pieces, printed in his lifetime: 1. *Thoughts on religion, natural and revealed* (7). 2. *A letter to a Biſhop, concerning ſome important diſcoveries in philoſophy and religion.* 3. *Reflections on the ſources of incredulity in regard to religion.*

(1) Elenchus vitæ Gul. Forbeſii, as above.

(2) In 8vo. at London, and was reprinted at Helmſtad in 1704.

(3) The life is prefixed to this book.

(4) Idem.

(5) In his preface to the life of Bedel.

(6) See Grevinchovius, in the preface to his book againſt Aneſius.

(7) In this piece he defends Mr Hutchinſon's doctrine of the Cherubim, for an account of which ſee his article.

G.

GERBIER [Sir Balthazar D'Ouvilly], The ſhort ſketch given incidentally in the Duke of Buckingham's article of this remarkable genius, will doubtleſs excite a curioſity in our readers to wiſh for ſome further account of a painter, who not excelling in his profeſſion (*a*), the particulars of his life were little known till lately brought to light by a very ingenious and ardent inquirer after ſuch curioſities as enrich the Britiſh annals. From this gentleman we learn that Gerbier's firſt ſtep to preferment was raiſed by his pencilling the decalogue in the Dutch church at London (*b*). Notwithſtanding his ſuppoſed quarrel beforementioned with his patron the Duke of Buckingham (*c*), it is certain that immediately after the acceſſion of King Charles the Firſt, he was employed in Flanders to negociate privately a treaty with Spain [*A*]; the very treaty in which Reubens was commiſſioned on the part of the Infanta, and for which end that great painter came to England (*d*). Gerbier kept his ground after the death of the Duke of Buckingham. He was knighted in 1628 at Hampton Court, and if we may believe himſelf, was promiſed by his Majeſty the office of Surveyor General of the works after the death of Inigo Jones. In 1637 he ſeems to be employed in ſome other private tranſactions of ſtate, negotiating with the Duke of Orleans, the King's brother-in-law, who was diſcontented with the court [*B*]. On July 13th 1641, having obtained a bill of naturalization, he took the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy (*e*), and was ſent in the character of the King's Agent at Bruſſels (*f*). From this time Mr Walpole could find no mention of him till the King's death (*g*). However, whether miſcarrying or neglected by the uſurper [*C*], he bought at the ſale of the King's goods as many as amounted in value to the ſum of 250l. In 1648, he appears not only in the character of an author, but founder of an academy [*D*]. In 1649 he publiſhed *The Firſt Lecture of Geography read at Sir Balthazar's academy at Bednal Green*, by which it appears that at leaſt his inſtitution was opened during the uſurpation. Having received a commiſſion to go to America to ſettle and make inquiries, he went to Cuſana [Cayenne] with his family, and ſettled at Surinam; but a Governor there from the Dutch had orders to ſeize upon him and all his papers, and bring him back to Holland: Theſe orders were executed in a very violent manner, by breaking into his houſe, killing one of his children, endangering the lives of the reſt of his family, ſo that he narrowly eſcaped himſelf with his life, having a piſtol charged at his breaſt if he offered any reſiſtance. He was brought to Holland. He complained, but got no redreſs; the ſtates denied that they had given any ſuch orders (*h*).

This article is taken from an account of the author, in Mr Horace Walpole's anecdotes on painting.

(*a*) He painted ſmall figures in diſtemper.

(*b*) Sanderſon's Graphice, p. 15.

(*c*) See his article.

(*d*) De Piles under Gerbier.

(*e*) Journals of the Houſe of Commons for that year.

(*f*) There is a print of him half length, by Pontius after Vandyke, in which he is ſtiled Bruxellas Prolegatus.

(*g*) At the ſame time he ſays he did not doubt but a man of ſo ſupple and intriguing a nature, ſo univerſal an undertaker, did not lie ſtill in times of ſuch a dark and buſy complexion.

(*h*) This perhaps was one amongſt the many provocations, which meeting his inclination to France, led Charles II. into his impolitic, though otherwiſe not unjuſtifiable war with Holland, a people, as Mr Walpole obſerves, too apt, even in their diſtreſſed ſtate, to hazard barbarous and brutal infractions of treaties againſt humanity, when a glimpſe of commercial intereſt invites it.

[*A*] *A treaty with Spain.*] Among the Conway papers there appears a very curious and long letter wrote by Gerbier himſelf on this occaſion, which not only ſhews the part our painter had in ſo important a buſineſs, but is more particular than any thing perhaps in print on that tranſaction. Mr. Walpole hath inſerted a tranſcript of this letter in his appendix, as being too long for the body of his work, and for the ſame reaſon I ſhall refer thither to ſuch as cannot be ſatisfied without peruſing it; concluding that others will deem it ſufficient to know that it is drawn up in the French language, as it was ordinarily written at thoſe times, and conſiſts in giving a private detail of ſome punctilios inſiſted on by the courts of England and Spain, in regard to the honour of each, in ſettling the place of interview between their reſpective agents for negotiating the buſineſs of the Spaniſh match, eſpecially between Gerbier and Reubens: it is dated from the Hague Aug. 6th 1617, and addreſſed to the Earl of Holland.

[*B*] *The Duke of Orleans was diſcontented with the court.*] In Sidney's papers (1) there is a letter from the Earl of Leiceſter to Secretary Windebank, Nov. 24th, with this paſſage, 'I received a letter from Gerbier to 'Monſieur D. D. (the French King's brother);' and in one of our author's dedications mentioned hereafter, he puts this Lord in mind of his having been in a public employment when his Lordſhip was at Paris.

(1) Vol. ii. p. 528.

[*C*] *Whether miſcarrying or neglected by the uſurper.*] *Vertue* ſays he was much hated and perſecuted by the antimonarchical party, being always loyal and faithful to the King and his Son, which, ſays Mr. Walpole, may explain and ſoften what is before ſaid of his teſtimony being odious to many (2).

(2) See the Duke of Buckingham's article.

[*D*] He publiſhed that year a thin 4to. intituled, *The Interpreter of the Academy for Foreign Languages, and all noble Sciences and Exerciſes: to all fathers of families and lovers of virtue. The firſt part by Sir Balthazar Gerbier, Knt. London, in French and Engliſh*, with a print of his head in an oval, and this motto, *Hereux qui en Dieu ſe confie.* Mr Walpole declares it to be a moſt trifling ſuperficial rhapſody, and deſerving that ſarcaſm beſtowed on it by Butler, as an incompetent attempt. In his fictitious will of Philip Earl of Pembroke, that Lord is made to ſay, all my other ſpeeches, of what colour ſoever, I give to the academy, to help Sir Balthazar's art of well ſpeaking. Our author's academy was probably imitated from one eſtabliſhed by Charles I. in the 11th year of his reign, and called *Muſæum Minervæ.* (3.) None but who could prove themſelves gentlemen were admitted for education there, to be inſtructed in arts and ſciences, foreign languages, mathematicks, painting, hiſtory, riding, fortifications and the ſciences of defence.

(3) The patent is ſtill extant in the Rolls.

However,

However, it was juſt before the reſtoration; and knowing the obligations he had to England, they apprehended he might give the King notice of the advantages which might be gained by a ſettlement there. Whatever his deſign was, there came out at Rotterdam in 1660, *Sir Balthazar Gerbier's manifeſtations of greater profits to be done in the hot than the cold parts of America.* Gerbier probably returned to England with King Charles II. for the triumphal arches erected for his reception are ſaid to have been deſigned by our architect. He publiſhed a book on fortification, and at London in 1662, a ſmall diſcourſe on magnificent buildings, dedicated to the King; in which he treats of ſolidity, convenience, and ornament, and glances at ſome errors of Inigo Jones in the banquetting houſe [*E*]. Gerbier's laſt piece in writing was a ſmall manual, intitled, *Counſel and Advice to all Builders*, &c. London 1663. A full half of this little tract is waſted in dedications, of which there are not fewer than forty [*F*], which he excuſes by the example of Antonio Perez: They are addreſſed to the Queen Mother, the Duke of York, and moſt of the nobility and courtiers; among theſe was that of the Earl of Leiceſter, containing the paſſage mentioned below in remark [*B*]: the laſt is to his own diſciple Capt. William Wind. Hempſted Marſhal, the ſeat of Lord Craven, ſince deſtroyed by fire, was the laſt production of Gerbier, he gave the deſign for it, and died there while it was building (*i*), and was buried in the chancel of the church. An account of ſome MSS of his is inſerted below [*G*].

(*i*) The houſe was finiſhed under the direction of Capt. Wind abovementioned, the foundation was laid in 1662.

[*E*] *The banquetting houſe.*] In this piece he likewiſe mentions a large houſe built by himſelf near the Water-gate at York ſtairs *, 39 feet ſquare, and ſays that King Charles I. being in it in 1628, at ſome repreſentations of ſcenery, commended it, and expreſſed as much ſatisfaction with it, as with the banquetting houſe. Moreover in this piece too, he propoſes to the Lords and Commons the levelling the ſtreets from Fleet-bridge to Cheapſide, and erect a ſumptuous gate at Temple-bar, of which he had preſented a draught to his Majeſty. Before this book is a different print of him, with a ribbon and a medal, inſcribed C. R. 1653, which was given him apparently when he was appointed, as he ſays he was, maſter of the ceremonies to King Charles (4).

[*F*] *Forty dedications.*] There is a heap of a kind of various knowledge even in theſe dedications, and ſome curious things, as well as in the book itſelf, particularly the prices for work, and of all materials for building at that time. In one place he ridicules the heads of lions which creep through the pilaſters on the houſes in Great Queen-ſtreet, built by Web, the ſcholar of Inigo Jones (5).

(*) The gate itſelf was deſigned by Inigo Jones.

(4) His portrait in one piece with Sir Cha. Cotterell and Dobſon, painted by the latter, is at Northumberland houſe. Gerbier has been miſtaken in that picture for Inigo Jones.

(5) The fronts of thoſe houſes have been moſtly pulled down, and rebuilt ſince without the pilaſters and lions heads.

[*G*] *An account of his MSS.*] In the library of Pepys, at Magdalen College Cambridge, there is a miſcellaneous collection in French, of Robes, Manteaux, Couronnes, Armes, &c. d'Empereurs, Rois, Princes, Ducs, et Comptes anciennes et modernes, blazonez et enluminez par Balthazar Gerbier. Among the Harleian MSS. No. 3384, there is one, intituled, Sir Balthazar Gerbier, his admonitions and diſputes with his three daughters retired into an Engliſh nunnery at Paris in 1646. To which we ſhall add, *La famille de Balthazar Gerbier Chevalier*, a capital picture of Vandyke's, for which was bid 500l. by the late Lord Burlington at a ſale, and bought by Mr Scawen at a greater price (6), and was purchaſed at laſt by the Prince of Wales, upon a commiſſion to Holland, and brought to Leiceſter houſe. Mr Vertue diſcovered it to be the family of Gerbier, by the arms on a flower pot the ſame with thoſe in two different prints of Gerbier, alluſive to his name, *viz.* a chevron between three garbes or ſheafs; and on a narrow examination, Vertue deſcried the words *La famille de Gerbier*, written on the picture by Vandyke's own hand.

(6) It was expoſed to ſale by Scawen and bought in, and has ſince been purchaſed by Mr Sampſon Gideon.

GIBSON [EDMUND], ſucceſſively Bp of Lincoln and London, a prelate of diſtinguiſhed learning and vigilance, particularly famed for his knowledge in the Engliſh eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, was born in 1669 at Bampton in Weſtmoreland (*a*), and had the firſt branch of his education at the free grammar ſchool in that town (*b*), whence he was ſent to Queen's college Oxford, and entered a ſcholar of the houſe Aug. 4th 1686, at the age of 17 (*c*). The ſtudy of the northern languages being then much in vogue at this univerſity, through the influence and example of Dr Hickes, a great maſter therein (*d*), Mr Gibſon came early into the liſt of that maſter's diſciples, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by publiſhing in 1691 at Oxford in 4to. a new edition of *William Drummond's polemo-middiana, and James V. of Scotland's cantilena ruſtica*, with notes, which diſcovered a conſiderable knowledge in thoſe languages, and interſperſed with ſtrokes of wit ſuggeſted by his ſubject. He took his firſt degree in arts June 25th [*A*] the ſame year (§), and the following year he publiſhed at Oxford, likewiſe in 4to. *Chronicon Saxonicum*, in the original language, with a Latin tranſlation by himſelf (*e*). Beſides which, before the expiration of the year, came out from the ſame preſs in 4to. *Librorum manuſcriptorum in duabus inſignibus bibliothecis, altera Teniſoniana Londini, altera Dugdaliana Oxonii catalogus* (†), with a dedication to Dr Teniſon, then Biſhop of Lincoln; and it proved the foundation of his ſubſequent fortune under that prelate. In 1693 he publiſhed a more correct edition than had before appeared, of *Quintilian de arte oratoria*, in 4to. In 1694, Feb. 21ſt, he commenced A. M. (*f*) and that year he printed at Oxford, a new edition of *Somner's treatiſe of the Roman ports and forts in Kent*, firſt publiſhed by Mr James Brome, which was followed the ſame year by *Somner's Julii Cæſaris portus Iccius illuſtratus*, with a new diſſertation by our editor in defence of the author, in 8vo. On the 8th of May 1695 or 96, he was ordained Deacon (and no doubt Prieſt not long after, but I have not been able to find the time or place) in Magdalen college chapel [*B*] (*g*), probably by Dr Hough, who was then Biſhop of Oxford, and preſident of that college;

(*a*) Mr Wood ſays he was the ſon of Mr Edw. Gibſon, of Knipe in that county. Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 984.

(*b*) Communicated by G. Gibſon, Eſq; our author's ſon.

(*c*) Wood as before, who ſays he was entered a poor ſerving child, but the ſcholars of that houſe are ſo denominated.

(*d*) See his article.

(§) In a letter wrote about this time to Mr afterwards Dr Joſeph Smith, and Provoſt of Queen's college, he ſays he was not determined whether to chuſe the law or divinity for his profeſſion.

(*e*) He undertook this by the advice of Dr Mill, principal of Edmund hall, Oxford, and the learned editor of the Greek teſtament, in fol.

(†) This was undertaken at the recommendation of Dr Lancaſter, the Provoſt of Queen's college.

(*f*) Catalogue of the Oxford degrees.

(*g*) Communicated by Dr J. Smith of Oxford.

[*A*] *He proceeded A. B.*] About this time Dr Timothy Halton, then Provoſt of Queen's College, being a canon of St Davids, took him thither with him, to tranſcribe an account of the MSS and records of that dioceſe, which was his firſt introduction to the ſtudy of antiquities. Brown Willis, Eſq; ſaw this MS. when he viſited that church (1).

(1) Communicated by Joſeph Smith, Eſq; LL.D. of Oxford.

[*B*] *He was ordained Deacon.*] He ſeems to have been admitted about this time a fellow of his college. In a letter to Mr Smith above-mentioned, dated Sept. 3, 1697, he ſays he foreſaw he would be preſſed to vote for a member, and conſidering how ill it would become an abſent fellow (he was then at Lambeth) to load the foundacollege; and the ſame year came out from that preſs, an Engliſh tranſlation of *Camden*'s *Britannia* (h), in folio [C], with a dedication to Lord Somers, who favoured the deſign (i). May 9, 1696, he was admitted library-keeper at Lambeth [D] to Dr Teniſon, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and taken into his grace's family (k). In 1697 he was appointed morning preacher at Lambeth church by Dr. Hooper (l), and the ſame year came out *Catalogi librorum manuſcriptorum, in Anglia et Hibernia, in unum collecti Oxonii*, in 2 tomes, folio; to which was prefixed by our author, *Vita Thomæ Bodleii equitis aurati*, together with *Hiſtoria bibliothecæ Bodleianæ*. In 1698 he publiſhed *Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ, being the poſthumous works of Sir Henry Spelman, relating to the laws and antiquities of England, together with the life of the author*, Oxford, in folio. This piece was dedicated to Archbiſhop Teniſon, who made him his domeſtic chaplain on the 8th of Nov. this year (m). It was alſo apparently by the Archbiſhop's means that he obtained about this time the place of lecturer at St *Martins in the Fields* (n), where his grace had been many years vicar; and April 1ſt 1700, preſented him to the Rectory of Stiſted in Eſſex, a peculiar of the Archbiſhop (§). Mr Gibſon had not been long in the chaplainſhip, when there fell out an occurrence which gave him an opportunity of being very ſerviceable to his patron. A particular detail has been already given in the courſe of this work (o) of the attack that was made upon the Archbiſhop's rights, as Preſident of the convocation, and of the many pieces our chaplain publiſhed in defence of thoſe rights [E]. It was during this controverſy, that the degree of D. D. was conferred upon him by the Archbiſhop at Lambeth, June 16th 1702 [F]; nor had the boilings of this invidious quarrel ſubſided, when our champion

foundation, &c. In another original letter of his (which now lies before me) to Mr Smith, then one of thoſe fellows, dated Lambeth May the 4th 1703, he writes thus, 'I think it is very reaſonable that the fellows 'ſhould have the advantage of abſenting themſelves 'by turns; and therefore do gratefully acknowledge 'the favour of Mr Provoſt in diſpenſing with my 'abſence ſoe freely and readily in regard to my cir'cumſtances which made it unavoidable.' It is probable that not long after the date of this letter, his fellowſhip was, upon account of his abſence, declared vacant by the Provoſt. 'Whatever Mr Provoſt 'does, ſays he, I am ſure is always intended for the 'good of the college, and, according to all my ob'ſervations, always anſwered the intention; and there'fore I ſhall never ſuſpect or think otherwiſe of any 'future orders or reſolutions that he may judge con'venient.' But though his abſence might be the declared cauſe of his rejection from the fellowſhip, yet the real motive to it ſeems to have ariſen from a reſentment of the ſociety for his having taken his degree of D. D. at Lambeth the year before (*). This letter of March 4, 1703, was apparently occaſioned by an information he had received from Mr. Smith, that he had loſt the favour of the ſociety by that ſtep. 'Whatever intermiſſions, ſays he, there may be in 'our letters, I hope we ſhall always agree in believ'ing of each other, that it is owing either to too 'much, or to noe buſineſs, and never ſuſpect, with'out very good proof, that a decay or diminution of 'our old friendſhip is at the bottom.'

It was thought the more neceſſary to endeavour to clear up this matter, as Mr George Gibſon, our author's ſon, informs me that he apprehends his father was never fellow of Queen's college.

[C] *An Engliſh tranſlation of Camden's Britannia.*] This work had been tranſlated into Engliſh by Dr Holland, but with many inaccuracies and interpolations. Our author's firſt edition was gradually rendered more perfect by a great number of additional obſervations, which he either made himſelf, or received from his learned correſpondents, in an interval of 27 years, all which he communicated to the public in two volumes folio, London 1722.

[D] *Librarian to the Archbiſhop at Lambeth.*] He offered afterwards to reſign this place in favour of his fellow collegian at Queen's, Mr Joſeph Smith, as appears from an original letter of his which now lies before me to that gentleman, dated at Lambeth Dec. 13th 1701, in which he writes——'I well remember 'when we talked together about your affairs, that I 'wiſhed you could make ſuch an intereſt to my Lord 'Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as might bring you to 'be library-keeper in my room, adding that upon ſuch 'a conſideration, I could very heartily quit it when'ever his grace, by previous recommendation, could 'be prepared to think of you for a ſucceſſor; and I 'ſolemnly declare, that though 'tis to me a ſine-cure 'of 50l. *per Ann.* and other advantages, and a place 'that I am ſure of during my ſtay in this family, yet 'upon a fair proſpect of your coming into it, I could 'moſt willingly reſign it.' In another letter dated Dec. 6th, he acquaints this friend that the place would probably be given by his grace to one of his own college at Cambridge, who was then his gentleman (†).

[E] *The many pieces he publiſhed in defence of thoſe rights.*] It will not be amiſs to give a more perfect liſt of them here as follows: 1. A ſhort ſtate of ſome preſent queſtions in convocation, London 1700. 2. A letter to a friend in the country, concerning the proceedings in convocation, in the years 1700 and 1701. 3. The right of the Archbiſhop to continue or prorogue the whole convocation, London 1701, 4to. 4. A ſummary of the arguments in favour of the ſaid right. 5. Synodus Anglicana, or the conſtitution and proceedings of an Engliſh convocation, ſhewn from the acts and regiſters thereof to be agreeable to the principles of an epiſcopal church: with an appendix of three regiſters of the upper houſe, and two intire journals of the lower houſe, London 1702. 6. A parallel between a Preſbyterian aſſembly, and the new model of an Engliſh provincial ſynod, London 1702, 4to. 7. Reflections upon a paper, intitled, *The expedient propoſed*, Ibid. 8. The ſchedule of prorogation reviewed, Ibid. 9. The pretended independence of the lower houſe upon the upper houſe a groundleſs notion, London 1703, 4to. 10. The marks of a defenceleſs cauſe in the proceedings and writings of the lower houſe of convocation, Ibid. 11. An account of the proceedings in convocation, in a cauſe of contumacy, upon the prolocutor's going into the country without the leave of the Archbiſhop, commenced April 10th 1707.

[F] *The degree of D. D. was conferred upon him by the Archbiſhop.*] His friend Mr Smith having acquainted him with ſome complaints at Oxford of this proceeding, he ſent an apology for it in a letter, dated Lambeth, Dec. 7th 1702, in theſe terms:

'Dear Sir,

'There needed no excuſe for what you ſent me in 'your laſt letter, which I am ſatisfied was meant 'kindly by you, and was by me I aſſure you ſoe in'terpreted. The Archbiſhops of Canterbury have 'by act of parliament a right to confer degrees of 'all ſorts; though out of reſpect to the two univer'ſities they have ever uſed it very ſparingly; but as 'it is natural for them now and then to confer that 'favour upon a domeſtick chaplain, ſoe I do not 'ſee the accepting it can fairly be conſtrued a de'ſertion of the univerſity or college in which he has 'had his education. It had been always my reſo'lution, in caſe I ever took a degree, to apply to the 'univerſity for that favour in the ordinary method; 'but after I ſaw the oppoſitions to Dr Kennet, and 'the late affront offered to my Lord of Carliſle (†); 'and knew withall that in Oxford I lay under the 'ſuſpicion of having a ſhare in the cauſe, which 'drew this ſtorm upon them, I thought (and ſoe did 'my champion in the cauſe was preferred to the rectory of Lambeth, upon the promotion of Dr Hooper to the Biſhopric of St Aſaph, Oct. 31ſt 1703 ‡; and the ſame year May 1ſt, he was made Precentor of the church of Chicheſter, into which he was inſtalled June 2d following §. In July he was likewiſe made Reſidentiary of that church, and afterwards became maſter of the hoſpital of St Mary, with licence to hold his Precentorſhip, Reſidentiaryſhip, and the Rectory of Lambeth (*p*). On the 6th of June 1710, he was promoted to the Archdeaconry of Surry (*q*): in performing the duties of which dignity he was ſo diligent as to make not only general but parochial viſitations, not uſual either in this or other archdeaconries (*). In 1713 he ſurprized the world with that prodigious, laborious work, well known by the title of *Codex juris Anglicani*; *or, the ſtatutes, conſtitutions, canons, rubricks, and articles, of the church of England, methodically digeſted under their proper heads: with a commentary hiſtorical and juridical; and with an introductory diſcourſe concerning the preſent ſtate of the power, diſcipline, and laws of the church of England: likewiſe with an appendix of inſtruments antient and modern*, in folio [*G*]. It has been

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(h) In this tranſlation he was aſſiſted by ſome friends.

(i) His Lordſhip ſoon after offered him a living of 200l. per ann. in the iſle of Thanet, which he declined upon an apprehenſion, as 'tis ſaid, of its being in a bad air; he was in an ill ſtate of health at this time, and went to Tunbridge-wells for the uſe of that water. Dr Joſeph Smith of Oxford.

(k) Our author's letter, the original of which lies before me, dated May 4, 1703, to Dr Smith, wherein he declares he had been, on the 9th, ſeven years in Lambeth houſe.

(l) Then Rector of that church, and Dean of Canterbury.

(m) From the regiſter of thoſe chaplains, communicated by the preſent Abp. Dr Secker's ſecretary.

(n) The date of his appointment to this place could not be obtained, the regiſter of thoſe lecturers being loſt.

§ Newcourt's Repertorium, vol. ii. p. 562. edit. 1710, fol.

(o) In the article of Biſhop Atterbury.

(*) See the remark [F].

(†) It was accordingly given to his gentleman Mr (afterwards Dr) Benj. Ibbot, in 1707. Maſters's Hiſt. of Corpus-Chriſti College Camb. p. 318.

(†) Biſhop Nicholſon.

‘my beſt friends) that there was noe hopes of favour for me from that quarter, and was therefore willing to cloſe with a ſhorter and nearer way. If it be an objection that my doing it at this juncture looks like a reſentment of the hard uſage my Lord of Carliſle has met with, I am not at all diſpleaſed that ſuch a conſtruction is put upon it, becauſe I have a very hearty honour for his Lordſhip, and ſhould reckon it noe compliment to be thought eaſy, under ſoe public an affront offered to his perſon and character. And ſince it was in effect become neceſſary for me to depend wholly upon his grace's kindneſs in this matter, noe opportunity of receiving it could ever be more favourable, than while it appeared to the whole nation in ſoe flaming an inſtance, that there none but the elect are to hope for common reſpect, at leaſt are ſecure from oppoſitions and affronts. And I appeal to yourſelf, who knew very well how much all concerned in a certain cauſe are diſcountenanced in that place, whether you would have thought it ſafe, for the ſake of my own reputation, and the relation I bear to his Grace, to give them the opportunity either of finally denying me, or laying ſuch difficulties in the way, as ſhow their inclination to do it. If you ſay, that before I was of full ſtanding, things might have come to a better temper, your hopes of ſeeing theſe differences laid aſide are more ſanguine than mine, who have noe expectation of being reſtored ſuddenly to the favour and good opinion of many, that were formerly my friends. My comfort is, that I am not conſcious to myſelf of doing any thing, that may have deſerved the loſs of their good words, and good wiſhes.

‘I waited on my Lord Carliſle (†) to Cambridge, with ſome thoughts of going out there *ad eundem*, but finding by ſome previous enquiries, that no foreigners are allowed that favour, till they be of full ſtanding by the ſtatutes of that univerſity, I was very well content to wait till that time, thinking it my duty to be thankful for their favours upon their own terms. If in due time I make this application to the univerſity of Cambridge, it is becauſe Oxford has ever declared againſt admitting the Archbiſhops doctors *ad eundem*, and every man muſt be allowed to ſue for kindneſs where it is to be had: though this, I confeſs, is noe way neceſſary to complete the degree, becauſe the law has lodged a right of conferring it entirely in his grace.

‘But however, that difference in the cuſtoms of the two univerſities, may lead me, one time or another, to deſire that favour at Cambridge, nothing ſhall ever tempt me to become a member of any other college than my own; where I am ſatisfied my friends (how thin ſoever in other place) will not forſake me, and to which I ſhall always be grateful, to the utmoſt of my power, for my education. My humble duty to Mr Provoſt, and ſervice to our brethren. If this long ſtory about myſelf and my own trifles be tedious, you are to blame yourſelf for putting me upon telling it, and now it is told may make what uſe of it you pleaſe. I thank you once more for the plain dealing of your laſt, and remain ever,

‘Dear Sir,

‘Your affectionate brother,

‘E. GIBSON.’

[G] *Codex juris Anglicani*, &c.] The occaſion of this author's attempt to draw up a comprehenſive ſcheme of the legal duties and rights of the clergy, was plainly thus; That the knowledge of them lay in great confuſion, and no good ſyſtem had been actually made before for the uſe of the clergy. Some ſchemes indeed had been formed, but they were very defective, ſuch as thoſe of Mocket and Coſins. For the former is too general, ſhort, and ſuperficial in his *politia eccleſiæ Anglicanæ*; and the latter is too jejune and dry, and eſpecially as drawn up in his later tables; and neither of them is ſupported by proper authorities. To omit ſome other imperfect accounts of our eccleſiaſtical law, the beſt book next to the *Codex* was Dr Watſon's clergyman's law. But beſides the deficiencies of that work, as to rules of law, and a proper commentary, there is a great defect ſpread throughout the whole, as to the manner of his citations of acts of parliament, namely the want of the expreſs words of the ſtatutes themſelves at large, to enable every competent reader among the clergy to form a right judgment of particular caſes determinable by the true ſenſe of thoſe ſtatutes. And indeed a complete ſet of the ſtatutes does not fall to the ſhare of many of the inferior clergy, in order to conſult and interpret them themſelves, either as to their legal duties or rights: It might well have been expected that a work of that nature ſhould have been perfected by profeſſed lawyers; but it has been obſerved, that the moſt eminent perſons of that faculty have generally been leſs converſant in the eccleſiaſtical law, than in other parts of the Engliſh law; and that the moſt diſtinguiſhed authors among the common lawyers, have, in fact, been leſs accurate and diligent in treating of the clergy law, than in the more lucrative parts of the common law; and eſpecially as the former is intermixt with the canon law, which is confeſſedly out of their province.

In order then to remedy the defects of former performances on this ſubject, our author ſet about this great work. And here it is obvious, at the very firſt view, how laborious a taſk he preſcribed himſelf, ſince he was obliged by his ſcheme, not only to peruſe all the acts of parliament extant, but to examine with accuracy all the voluminous reports of the common law, as well as the moſt ancient law books, original hiſtories, and authentic inſtruments, in order to extract from them all that related to his large ſcheme of the legal and acknowledged right of the clergy. With this view he found frequent occaſions to inſert in his work ſeveral intire ſtatutes (for printing which at large he was obliged to buy his peace with the then law patentee) and ſometimes large portions of ſome of them, and at other times to ſelect only ſome particular clauſes and paragraphs of them of an eccleſiaſtical nature, which often occurs in acts intermixt with ſecular matters, where one would leaſt expect to find them. All theſe were either to be tranſcribed or extracted, with the opinions of the beſt lawyers upon them, if they were to be found, and inſerted properly in his work.

But this ſcheme comprehended likewiſe the ancient canon law, as far as it had been received in England, and is conſiſtent with the laws of the land, as being ſtill in force by the 25 Henry VIII. Here not only the canon law itſelf, but the allowed practice of it in England were neceſſary to be ſtudied with care; particularly Lyndwood, the beſt Engliſh canoniſt, to be digeſted, and proper extracts of them to be made, which

‡ Communicated by J. Smith, Esq; as before. See alſo the account of Dr Hooper, under Dr Ken's article in remark [*Q*].

§ Le Neve's Faſti, p. 62, edit. 1707, fol.

(*p*) Communicated by Dr Smith.

(*q*) Communicated by the ſecretary of Dr Secker, the preſent Abp. of Canterbury. He had reſigned the Rectory of Stiſted, and was ſucceeded in it by Charles Kidman, B. D. in 1707. Maſters's Hiſt. of Corpus-Chriſti College Cambridge, p. 327.

(*) See below in remark [*G*].

(†) He preached the ſermon at the conſecration of the Biſhop to that ſee, which was printed with the title of ‘The duty of the clergy to ſupport the character and authority of their biſhops, a ſermon preached at Lambeth chapel June 14, 1702, at the conſecration of the Rt. Rev. Father in God William Nicholſon, Lord Biſhop of Carliſle, London, 1702, 4to.’

been ſaid (†), that this comprehenſive ſcheme was doubtleſs formed and carried on by the encouragement of his patron the Archbiſhop, whoſe intimations and directions he occaſionally received for the improvement of it. It is certain, however, that upon his Grace's deceaſe, and the tranſlation to the metropolitical ſee of Dr Wake Biſhop of Lincoln, our Archdeacon, by the recommendation of Dr Wake, was promoted to that ſee [*H*] in 1716 (*r*). This dignity entitled him to a ſeat in the Houſe of Lords; and he is ſuppoſed to be the anonymous author of remarks on part of a bill brought into that Houſe by the Earl of Nottingham, in 1721, intitled, *A Bill for the more effectual ſuppreſſion of blaſphemy and prophaneneſs* [*I*]. Another anonymous pamphlet which came out in 1719, intitled, *The caſe of addreſſing*, was alſo aſcribed to him, the deſign of which was to ſhew that the clergy, by declaring in public bodies their ſenſe of the article of the church upon the

which were of the greateſt uſe in forming our author's commentary on his work. For the better knowledge of the practice of the canon law, as conſiſtent with the laws of the land, another great taſk was neceſſarily to be performed by our moſt diligent author. He accordingly peruſed all the records or regiſters extant, of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury; which, on account of metropolitical buſineſs, as well as dioceſan, he judged equal to the records of all the other ſees in England, in order to make proper extracts from them, which are occaſionally inſerted throughout the whole *Codex*.

I need here only mention, with regard to the civil law, that there was leſs occaſion for our author's uſe or citations of it, except as it was intermixt with the old canon law here received before the reformation, and as the canon law itſelf might be illuſtrated and confirmed by the reaſons uſed in the civil law; for otherwiſe we have much leſs concern with the civil law here in England ſince the reformation, than any of the nations round about us.

From all theſe materials, reduced with incredible pains and trouble into the large body of his eccleſiaſtical law, our author propoſed to draw up an eccleſiaſtical inſtitute, chiefly for the benefit of the poorer clergy, in imitation of Juſtinian's Inſtitute, as drawn from the vaſt digeſts of the civil law. But though this deſign was never executed by himſelf, yet ſo good an abridgment of the Codex has been made, by a learned perſon, and revived and improved by a very ſkilful hand, as to ſuperſede the neceſſity of the propoſed inſtitute, by reducing the ſubſtance of the larger work to a narrow compaſs, and a leſſer price, in 8vo. (§).

But as new views frequently ariſe in the minds of thoughtful and learned perſons, in different parts of their lives, ſo that general idea of an *eccleſiaſtical common law*, that had long lain in the mind of our author, and which perhaps he thought was not ſufficiently ſpecified before in his Codex, prevailed ſo far with him, as to engage him in a new purſuit of the ſtudy of the eccleſiaſtical and common law, that had been received here before the reformation, and is conſiſtent with the laws of the land. And indeed, that there is ſuch a law in being as the ancient eccleſiaſtical common law, under the forementioned limitations, is as evident as that there is a temporal or ſecular common law, as they are equally founded on the ſame foot of practice, uſage, and cuſtom, concurrently with the ſtatute law of the land, and conſiſtent with the law of God. Our author aſſures us he learned much of this kind in point of practice, from the regiſters of Canterbury, even previous to the reformation, as has been intimated; but ſince thoſe reſearches did not give him a full and intire ſatisfaction, he reſumed his former vigour, even whilſt he was in his decline of life, and purſued for ſeveral years with an uncommon reſolution, his accurate examination of all the records and regiſters now extant in the ſeveral cathedrals in England and Wales, which were tranſmitted to him by the permiſſion and order of their ſeveral Biſhops, and were after his due uſe of them, returned ſafe to their reſpective archives. He accordingly made large collections of the ancient canon law, limited as above, out of them, and digeſted them under proper heads. This was a work of prodigious labour, as well as it required great judgment and ſkill. He did not, indeed, think fit to publiſh it himſelf at ſo advanced an age (2), and much leſs to defend it if drawn out into controverſy, as it might poſſibly happen, if any part of it ſhould be found diſagreeable to what he apprehended to be a novel doctrine, namely, that the canon law does not oblige the laity among us (3).

[*H*] *He was advanced to the See of Lincoln.*] Upon this promotion he reſigned the Rectory of Lambeth, Nov. 2, 1717, and the Arch deaconry of Surry; and the ſame year he publiſhed at London, in 8vo. Several charges to the clergy of that Arch-deaconry, with the title of *Viſitations parochial and general.* To which he added his ſermon *De Excommunicatione*, preached before the convocation in 1714-5, together with ſome other tracts relating to the government and diſcipline of the church. Among theſe tracts are reaſons given for ſeparating the commiſſions of Official-principal and Vicar-general, now jointly granted to Chancellors, but propoſed to be hereafter granted according to the original deſign of each office; the firſt to civilians for cauſes of a civil and temporal nature; the ſecond to clergymen for the adminiſtration of matters merely ſpiritual and eccleſiaſtical. This diſtinction of offices ſeems to have been deſigned by our author as a proper means to retrieve the ancient honour and reverence of the ſentence of excommunication, which he thought had been too much proſtituted by an application of it to ſome temporal or mixt matters, and ſometimes to things not of the greateſt importance; but being contrary to the preſent practice and eſtabliſhed by long cuſtoms, has not yet been executed. It is obſervable that ſome of theſe treatiſes though compoſed before, ſeem to have been publiſhed in 1717, as a ſort of ſupplement to the Codex. He had before publiſhed "Articles and directions in order to a parochial viſitation of the ſeveral churches and chapels, and of the houſes of all Rectors, Vicars and Curates, in the Arch-deaconry of Surry; to which is prefixed a brief account of parochial viſitations and of the right and duty of Arch-deacons to make them," 4to. 1711.

[*I*] *Remarks on part of a bill of the Earl of Nottingham's.*] In theſe remarks the author obſerves, ‘That ‘thoſe of the clergy who are underſtood to be fa‘vourers of the Arian doctrine (for that was the blaſ‘phemy and prophaneneſs here principally meant) ‘will ſubſcribe the teſt therein mentioned againſt ‘Arianiſm is moſt certain, becauſe the teſt is part ‘of the 39 articles; and it is an avowed principle ‘among them, that thoſe articles may lawfully and ‘conſcientiouſly be ſubſcribed in any ſenſe, in which ‘they themſelves, by their own interpretations, can ‘reconcile them to ſcripture; without regard to the ‘meaning and intention, either of the perſons who ‘firſt compiled them, or who now impoſe them.’—Tis alſo ſaid here, ‘that this method of ſubſcribing ‘has been occaſionally mentioned as a very lawful ‘and regular way in many other of the Arian books, ‘and is what they all openly and profeſſedly main‘tain in their common converſation; that ſeveral ‘of them have actually ſubſcribed, and received pro‘motions ſince they fell into theſe opinions, and be‘came advocates for them. And the author ſays ‘he had not heard of any one man among them, ‘who has declined the offer of promotion, on account ‘of his not being able to ſubſcribe.’ Upon theſe laſt words, Mr Whiſton makes the following ſtricture. ‘Now though this is ſaid in much too general a ‘manner, and both Mr Emlyn and myſelf always, ‘and Dr Clark and Mr Jackſon after ſome time, ‘have refuſed all preferments which require that ſub‘ſcription, not to name others within my acquaintance, ‘becauſe their caſes are not ſo well known; yet are ‘ſuch examples to be ſure very rare among us; and ‘the generality ſeem by their practice to approve of ‘the Lord King's (4) grand expedient, *not to loſe their* ‘*uſefulneſs for ſcruples* (5).’

(†) By the writer of his life.

(*r*) He was nominated Jan. 1[illegible]; confirmed the 11th, and conſecrated the [illegible]th Feb. 1715-16, at Somerſet houſe chapel, in the preſence of the Abp. of Canterbury, the Biſhops of London, Winton, and Glouceſter.

(§) The fourth edition is further improved by a much more exact reference to the ſeveral pages of the Codex, than the index of the Codex itſelf affords.

(2) This MS. among many other pieces civil and eccleſiaſtical, is in the hands of the Biſhop's ſon, who has ſome thoughts of publiſhing them.

(3) In the caſe of Midleton and Cotterell, M. 10. G. II. it was determined by the King's Bench, when Lord Hardwick was Chief Juſtice, that the canons of 1603 do not *proprio vigore* bind the Laity. Strange's Reports.

(4) Lord High Chancellor of England.

(5) Whiſton's Memoirs, p. 141, 142, Edit 1753.

ſubject of the Trinity, as was done in their addreſſes of thanks to the Earl of Nottingham, had, in ſtrictneſs of law, incurred a *præmunire* (*t*). In the end of Oct. 1721, our prelate was appointed Dean of the chapel in the room of Dr Talbot Bp of Durham (†); and upon the death of Dr Robinſon, in 1723, he was tranſlated to the ſee of London (§); for the great buſineſs of which dioceſe he was particularly qualified. His talents ſeem indeed, as is obſerved by the writer of his life, to be exactly ſuited to the duties, and equal to all the difficulties of this important ſtation; upon the right management of which ſo much depends in reſpect to the peace and good order of the civil, as well as the eccleſiaſtical ſtate of the nation. He had a particular genius for buſineſs, which he happily tranſacted by means of a moſt exact method uſed by him on all occaſions; and this he purſued with great advantage, not only in the affairs of his dioceſe in England, which he governed with the moſt exact regularity, but in that vaſtly large diſtrict of it the Weſt Indies [*K*]. The miniſtry at this time were ſo ſenſible of his great abilities in tranſacting buſineſs, that there was committed to him a ſort of eccleſiaſtical miniſtry for ſeveral years, and more eſpecially on occaſion of the long decline of health of body and vigour of mind of Archbiſhop Wake, when almoſt every thing that concerned the church was, in a great meaſure, left to the care of the Biſhop of London (*). Soon after his acceſſion to this Biſhopric, he procured an ample endowment from the crown, for a regular courſe of ſermons on Sundays, to be preached by a ſucceſſion of miniſters ſelected out of both univerſities, with proper ſalaries (*s*). The writer of his life mentions it as a memorable inſtance of our prelate's ſervice to the church of England, that he conſtantly guarded againſt the repeated attempts of ſome perſons to procure a repeal of the corporation and teſt acts. To which muſt be added his diſtinguiſhed zeal in oppoſing the bold ſchemes of the Quakers, in order to deprive the clergy of their legal rights to tythes; after animating his brethren of the bench to concur with him, he timely apprized the clergy what was in agitation, and adviſed them to avert the blow by an early application to the legiſlature. By this means the pernicious deſign was happily defeated; but ſuch umbrage was taken by the then great miniſter (Sir Robert Walpole) on occaſion of that advice, as in fact ſoon terminated in the viſible diminution, if not the intire ſinking, of the ſuperior intereſt and authority of his Lordſhip (*t*). Hitherto he had been long looked on, to uſe Mr Whiſton's phraſe (*u*), as heir apparent to the ſee of Canterbury, to ſucceed thereto after the demiſe of Dr Wake; but from this period, that proſpect entirely vaniſhed upon his diſgrace at court. In the church much pains were taken to fix the character upon him of a haughty perſecutor, and even a ſecret enemy to the civil eſtabliſhment. To this end, in 1735, a paſſage in the introduction to his Codex [*L*], ſuggeſting the groundleſsneſs of the modern practice of ſending prohibitions to the ſpiritual from the temporal courts, was ſeverely handled by the direction of the then Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench (Lord Hardwick) as derogatory to the ſupreme power and ſuperintendency of that court over all others (*w*). And there likewiſe were not wanting great numbers to join in a general cry of perſecution againſt our prelate, for hindering the promotion of a chaplain of the Lord Chancellor Talbot to an Engliſh Biſhopric, on a ſuſpicion of Deiſm (*x*). To theſe public mortifications may be

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[*K*] *In the Weſt Indies.*] To this purpoſe he printed *two letters, the firſt addreſſed to the maſters and miſtreſſes of families in the Engliſh plantations abroad, exhorting them to encourage and promote the inſtruction of their negroes in the Chriſtian faith: the ſecond to the Miſſionaries there, directing them to diſtribute the ſaid letter, and exhorting them to give their aſſiſtance towards the inſtruction of the negroes within their ſeveral pariſhes*, London, 1727, 4to. In the ſame view he addreſſed a letter dated at Whitehall, April 3, 1740, to the clergy of his dioceſe, recommending to them a readineſs to promote the deſign of the ſociety for propagating the Goſpel in foreign parts, in the diſtribution of good books upon religious ſubjects among the poor: this letter, which is prefixed to a French tranſlation of Dr Wilſon, the pious Biſhop of Sodor and Man's *eſſay of an inſtruction for the Indians* (*), in 1744, 8vo. is ſaid by the tranſlator to have procured an increaſe of the forementioned ſociety by 12 ſubſcribers, and 24 correſpondents. Upon the former of theſe pieces ſome remarks were made in a *Letter to the Rt. Rev. the Lord Biſhop of London, from an inhabitant of his Majeſty's Leward Caribbee Iſlands, containing ſome conſiderations on his Lordſhip's two letters of May* 19, 1727—In which is inſerted *a ſhort eſſay concerning the converſion of the negro ſlaves in our ſugar colonies, written in June* 1727, *by the ſame inhabitant*, London, 1730.

[*L*] *A paſſage in the introduction to the Codex againſt prohibitions from the temporal courts.*] When in a public aſſembly he was once attacked with great warmth, and keenneſs of language, upon this ſubject; he modeſtly defended himſelf in words to this effect, 'If 'after a diſcuſſion of the ſubject matter of this controverſy, it ſhall appear that what was laid down 23 'years ago, as the conſtitution of the church of England, is not really the conſtitution, the author will 'be ready to acknowledge his miſtake. But after all, 'if it ſhould only be ſaid that though it be the conſtitution it ought not to be ſo, the judgment of that is 'not with any ſingle perſon, but wholly and ſolely 'with the legiſlature.' And after a calm reflection upon the temper of his antagoniſt, he added, 'but I 'muſt remember that it is an eſpecial precept of the 'Goſpel, *not to return railing for railing* (6).' It is remarkable that his Lordſhip retained the ſame opinion to his death, ſince in the ſecond edition of the Codex, publiſhed with large additions from his own papers, in 1761, at Oxford, 2 vol. folio, the offenſive paſſage, which fills the five firſt ſections of the introduction, ſtands unaltered. Beſides the two pieces already mentioned pro and con by Foſter and Andrews, there came out *A letter to the Rev. Dr Codex, on the ſubject of his modeſt inſtruction to the crown*, inſerted in the Daily Journal of Feb. 27, 1733, from the ſecond volume of Burnet's hiſtory, 1734, 8vo. which was anſwered in, *The neceſſary reſpondent; or, a full, clear, and adequate anſwer to, as well as juſt obſervations on, a late ſcurrilous and vile invective againſt a Rt. Rev. Prelate, intituled,* A letter to the Rt. Rev. Dr Codex, on the ſubject of his modeſt inſtruction to the crown: *the whole being taken to pieces, and not one thing omitted in a proper reply to each particular.* To which is added by way of poſtſcript, *A true and ſuccinct account of the ſtory of a clergyman, which the author of this pamphlet has mentioned. The whole ſupplying the deficiencies of the former anſwer*, 1734, 8vo.

(*r*) It was about this time that our prelate wrote a ſpirited letter to the Biſhop of Cheſter, Dr Gaſtrell, in defence of the Abp. of Canterbury's power to grant faculty degrees: the original of which, as well as of Dr Gaſtrell's equally ſpirited anſwer, was ſhewn to me by the then Mr (now Dr) Yarborow, and Principal of Braſenoſe college Oxford.
N. B. In March 1720-1, that learned body returned ſolemn thanks to Dr Gaſtrell, for having ſo fully aſſerted the rights, &c. of univerſity degrees. See his article.

(†) Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under that year.

(§) He was made a Governor of the Charterhouſe May 4, and Privy Counſellor May 16th the ſame year.

(*) See Abp. Wake's article.

(*s*) There are 12 of them, 6 out of each univerſity, and their ſalaries are 30 l. a year reſpectively, paid out of the civil liſt. They are appointed by the Biſhop of London for the time being. Hiſt. of the reign of K. Geo. I.

(*t*) Some account of Bp Gibſon, p. 18, 19. Edit. 1753, in 4to.

(*u*) His Memoirs, p. 219.

(*w*) See Abp. Whitgift's article under remark [*GGG*] at the end.

(*x*) A particular detail of this unlucky affair may be ſeen in Whiſton's Memoirs, p. 209. as alſo ſome account of Dr Rundle, who, upon his rejection from an Engliſh Bpric, was promoted to the ſee of Derry in Ireland, Feb. 1734. *Harris's continuation of Ware:* upon which he offered Doctor Foſter, the Socinian, any preferment he would accept in his gift in that kingdom. See Foſter's life prefixed to his diſcourſes.

(*) This piece, with others of that pious Bp's, was ſent by the ſociety to the Indies.

(6) Charge of Dr Allen, D. D. Archdeacon of Middleſex, edit. 1749. 4to.

added a private diſguſt, ſaid to be taken by the King, for his cenſuring, with an epiſcopal boldneſs, the abuſe which was frequently made of maſquerades, a diverſion to which his majeſty ſhewed a particular liking (*y*). However, neither any nor all theſe, nor yet many more diſcouragements which he met with, were able to break his ſteady and vigilant attention to the duties of his paſtoral office, in writing and printing paſtoral letters [*M*], addreſſed both to the clergy and laity, in order to ſtop the growth of Infidelity and Enthuſiaſm, in directions to the clergy, and viſitation charges; as well as occaſional ſermons [*N*]; beſides ſome leſſer pieces of a mixt nature (z), and ſeveral ſmall particular tracts againſt the prevailing immoralities of the age [*O*]; in the repeated editions of which laſt, he took more ſatisfaction in his decline of life, than in his large volumes of a diſciplinarian and more controverſial nature. For ſome time before his death he was very ſenſible of his decay, in which he complained of a languor that hung about him. As indeed he had made free with his conſtitution, in the beſt ſenſe of that word, by incredible induſtry, in a long courſe of ſtudy, and buſineſs of various kinds, he had well nigh exhauſted his ſpirits by his unintermitted labours, and worn out a conſtitution, which was naturally ſo vigorous, that life might otherwiſe have probably been protracted to ſeveral more years than ſeventy-nine, in the end of which year of his age, namely on the 6th of Sept. 1748, he departed out of this life, with true chriſtian fortitude, an apparent ſenſe of his approaching diſſolution, and in a perfect tranquillity of mind during the intervals of his laſt fatal indiſpoſition, at Bath, after a very ſhort continuance there (*aa*). His remains were conveyed to Fulham, and interred the following month in a family vault, on the eaſt end of that church-yard, with no other inſcription than his name, *viz.* Edmund Gibſon, Lord Biſhop of London (*bb*). His Lordſhip, in the vigour of his age, was married to a ſiſter of the wife of Dr John Betteſworth, Dean of the Arches, and judge of the perogative court of Canterbury, whom he appointed joint executor of his laſt will, with George Gibſon, Eſq; his eldeſt ſurviving ſon (*cc*), beſides whom he had twelve children, ſeven of which ſurvived, and were all handſomely provided for by him. The writer of his life, among his other good qualities, ſpeaks of his works of charity, which though private, there is great reaſon, he ſays, to believe were very conſiderable (*dd*). One Extraordinary act of his generoſity is taken notice of by Mr Whiſton (*ee*), that he freely gave 2500 l. left to him by Dr Crow, once his Chaplain, to ſuch of Dr Crow's relations as were in indigent circumſtances. His Lordſhip alſo gave 50 l. towards the new buildings in Queen's College Oxford, while Dr Lancaſter was Provoſt, and 100 l. more in the Provoſtſhip of Dr Joſeph Smith (*ff*), ſucceſſor in it to Dr John Gibſon, who was related to his Lordſhip, and obtained that place by his intereſt.

(*y*) He had not only preached againſt this diverſion in the former reign, but procured an addreſs to the King from ſeveral of his brethren the Biſhops to break them off.

(z) Theſe were printed in one vol. 8vo.

(*aa*) Some account of Biſhop Gibſon as before, p. 20.

(*bb*) Communicated by George Gibſon, Eſq;

(*cc*) His eldeſt ſon Thomas died of the ſmall-pox, in his father's life time, at Chelſea; he was one of the chief clerks of the treaſury, under Sr Rob. Walpole. MS Memoirs of Dr Smith.

(*dd*) Account of Biſhop Gibſon, p. 19, 20.

(*ee*) His Memoirs, p. 214.

(*ff*) Communicated by this Provoſt's eldeſt ſon and heir, who has ſeveral of our Biſhop's letters to his father, teſtifying a friendly regard for him.

[*M*] *Paſtoral letters*, &c.] There are five of theſe, intituled, *A paſtoral letter to the people of his Dioceſe*, particularly to thoſe of the two great cities of London and Weſtminſter, occaſioned by ſome late writings in favour of Infidelity. The firſt was printed in 1729, 8vo. ſoon after which came out the ſame year in 8vo. written by Dr Tindall, who obſerved himſelf to be particularly ſtruck at by his Lordſhip, *An addreſs to the inhabitants of the cities of London and Weſtminſter, in relation to the paſtoral letter ſaid to be written by the Biſhop of London to the people of his Dioceſe, occaſioned by ſome late writings in favour of Infidelity.* Some paſſages of the Infidel ſpirit in this, gave birth to his Lordſhip's ſecond paſtoral letter. In the three ſubſequent letters, ſpeaking of the dangers from Enthuſiaſm, he deſcribes the Methodiſts as a ſet of Enthuſiaſts, then beginning to grow dangerous to true religion and the eſtabliſhed church. He alſo printed a collection of diſcourſes publiſhed by Mr Addiſon and others of the laity, againſt Atheiſm and Infidelity, and in defence of the Chriſtian revelation (7). To this collection he prefixed a preface, wherein he ſummons on his ſide the greateſt maſters of reaſon and philoſophy that ever this nation, or any other could boaſt of: he looked upon this collection as a manual of religion, proper for young gentlemen. He alſo made a ſelect collection of the beſt pieces that were wrote againſt Popery in King James's reign, and publiſhed them with a preface, in 1738, in 3 vol. fol.

[*N*] *Occaſional ſermons and diſcourſes.*] Beſides the two ſermons already mentioned, his Lordſhip printed *Family Devotion, or a plain exhortation to morning and evening prayer in families, with two forms of prayer ſuited to thoſe two ſeaſons, and fitted for one perſon in private: for the uſe of the inhabitants of Lambeth pariſh, London*, 1705, 8vo. This was tranſlated into Welſh, in 1726. *A ſermon againſt ſpeaking evil of princes, and thoſe in authority under them; preached at the aſſizes held at Croydon in Surry, March 7, 1705 6, before the Rt. Hon. Lord Chief Juſtice Holt and Mr Juſtice Tracy*, London, 1706, 4to. *De excommunicatione, concio ad ſynodum ab archiepiſcopi commiſſariis, epiſcopis, et clero provinciæ Cantuarienſis celebratum, habitum in eccleſia cathedrali S. Pauli, London. 21 die Martii, A. D. 1714-15, edita juſſu commiſſariorum reverendiſſimorum, London*, 1715, 4to. *The deliverances and murmurings of the Iſraelites and theſe nations compared, a ſermon preached before the Rt. Hon. the Houſe of Peers, at Weſtminſter Abbey, on Wedneſday June 7, 1716, being the day of public thankſgiving for the bleſſing of God upon his Majeſty's arms in ſuppreſſing the late unnatural rebellion, London*, 1716 (8). *The peculiar excellency and reward of ſupporting ſchools of charity, a ſermon preached in the pariſh church of St Sepulchre, May 24, 1716, being Thurſday in Whitſun-week, at the anniverſary meeting of the children educated in the charity ſchools in and about Weſtminſter* London, 1716, 4to. *Four ſermons upon ſeveral ſubjects*, 1. *The wickedneſs of aſperſing Princes and their adminiſtration.* 2. *The danger and miſchief of Popery.* 3. *The iniquity of proſtituting the name of the church.* 4. *The great ſin of murmuring after deliverances.* The firſt preached before the Judges of aſſize, and the fourth before the Houſe of Peers, with a preface, London, 1719, ſecond edition. *A ſermon preached to the ſociety for the reformation of manners, at St Mary le Bow, on Monday Jan.* 6, 1723, London, 1723, in 4to. and 8vo. *Directions given to the clergy of the dioceſe of London, in the year* 1724; *to which are now added, directions to the maſters and miſtreſſes of charity ſchools, within the bills of mortality and dioceſe of London, aſſembled for that purpoſe in the chapter houſe of St Pauls*, Nov. 14, 1724, ſecond edition in 1726. *A charge given to the clergy of the dioceſe of London, in a viſitation begun in the cathedral church of St Paul, the 28th day of May* 1730, *concerning the proper methods of propoſing and defeating the preſent attempts of Infidels againſt the Chriſtian religion.*

[*O*] *Several ſmall tracts againſt the prevailing immoralities of the age.*] The titles of moſt of theſe are, Family devotions; A treatiſe againſt intemperance; Admonition againſt ſwearing; Advice to perſons that have been ſick; Truſt in God; Sinfulneſs of neglecting the Lord's day; Againſt lukewarmneſs in religion. Theſe with others have been often reprinted in England, and likewiſe in Ireland, by the particular recommendation of Dr Synge, then Biſhop of Ferns.

(7) The objections of the Infidels have been again lately obviated by Gilbert Weſt, Eſq; in his obſervations on the hiſtory and evidences of the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt, as alſo in obſervations on the converſion and apoſtleſhip of St Paul, in a letter to Gil. Weſt, aſcribed to Lord Lyttelton.

(8) Thanks were returned by the Houſe for it, on the 8th of June.

This article is taken chiefly from *The life of* Bernard Gilpin, by Will. Gilpin, M. A. of Queen's college Oxford, the ſecond edition, London, 1753, 8vo.

GILPIN [Bernard], an excellent example of a good pariſh prieſt, uſually diſtinguiſhed in his time by the character of *apoſtle of the north*, was deſcended of an ancient and honourable family in Weſtmoreland [*A*], and born in that county at Kentmire in 1517. He diſcovered an extraordinary turn of genius and diſpoſition in his childhood [*B*], which determining his parents to breed him to the church, he was firſt put to a grammar ſchool, and after paſſing through all the claſſes with great approbation, was ſent to Oxford and admitted a poor child, i. e. a ſcholar on the foundation of Queen's college in 1533. Here he ſtuck cloſe to the academical ſtudies of logic and philoſophy, and became a diſtinguiſhed diſputant in the ſchools; at the ſame time he made himſelf a good maſter of Eraſmus's works, which were then the vogue, and acquired a ſingular knowledge in the Greek and Hebrew tongues. He took the degree of B. A. Feb. 24, 1539 (*a*), and that of A. M. March 21, 1541, and was choſen a fellow of his college, and entered into holy orders, being much beloved for the ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition, and unaffected ſincerity in his manners. In July 4, 1549, he commenced B. D. and he had not been long ſettled in his fellowſhip, when he was invited by Cardinal Wolſey's agents to come to his new foundation at Chriſt-church (*b*); he accepted the propoſal and removed to that college. As he had been bred in the Roman Catholic religion, ſo he continued hitherto ſteady to that church, and in defence thereof, while he reſided at Oxford, held a diſputation againſt Hooper, afterwards Biſhop of Worceſter, and martyr for the Proteſtant faith. But in Edward the Sixth's time, being prevailed upon to hold a diſputation with the famous Peter Martyr, againſt ſome poſitions maintained by him in his divinity lecture at Oxford, Mr Gilpin was therein a little ſtaggered [*C*], and upon a further enquiry into the Proteſtant doctrines, and the corruptions of Popery (*c*), began to incline to the reformation. While he was going on at Oxford in this courſe, having commenced B. D. (*d*), and taken holy orders (*e*), he was over-ruled by the perſuaſion of his friends to accept againſt his will of the vicarage of Norton, in the dioceſe of Durham. This was in 1552, and being a grant from King Edward VI, before he went to reſide, he was appointed to preach on the firſt Sunday after Epiphany, before his Majeſty then at Greenwich [*D*]. His ſermon, which was chiefly levelled againſt ſacrilege, was greatly approved (*f*), and recommended him to the notice of many perſons of the firſt rank, particularly to Sir Francis Ruſſel and Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards Earls of Bedford and Leiceſter, and to Secretary Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh, who obtained for him the King's licence for a general preacher during his Majeſty's life, which, however, happened to be not much above the ſpace of half a year after. Thus honoured he repaired to his pariſh, entered upon the duties of it, and as occaſion required made uſe of the King's licence in other parts of the country. But here he ſoon grew uneaſy: however reſolved, as he was, againſt Popery, he was ſcarcely ſettled in ſome of his religious opinions; he found the country overſpread with Popiſh doctrines, the errors of

(*a*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. vol. 1. col. 62 and 63.

(*b*) So ſays the writer of his life, though Mr Wood intimates it to be not before the college was founded by K. Henry VIII. ibid. col. 74.

(*c*) He went firſt to his uncle Tonſtal Bp of Durham, who told him Innoc. III. was much overſeen to make tranſubſtantiation an article of faith.

(*d*) In July 1549, Wood's Faſti, col. 74, where he is called Gilpin of Queen's college.

(*e*) Mr Wood ſays he took orders ſoon after he commenced M. A. Ibid.

(*f*) It was printed at Lond. in 1581, 8vo. it is the only piece of his own writing however printed. It is reprinted at the end of his life.

[*A*] *Deſcended from an ancient and honourable family, &c.*] His forefathers had been ſeated at Kentmire-hall, in Weſtmoreland, from the time of King John; in whoſe reign this eſtate had been given by a baron of Kendal to Richard Gilpin, as a reward for ſervices thought very conſiderable. From this gentleman the eſtate at Kentmire deſcended to Bernard's father, Edwin Gilpin, who became prematurely poſſeſſed of it by the death of an elder brother, killed at the battle of Boſworth, in the cauſe, moſt probably, of Richard III. whoſe gallant behaviour, and very popular government, had eſtabliſhed him greatly in the eſteem of the northern counties. Edwin had ſeveral children, of which Bernard was one of the youngeſt (1).

[*B*] *He diſcovered an extraordinary genius and diſpoſition.*] From his earlieſt youth he was inclined to a contemplative life, thoughtful, reſerved, and ſerious. A begging friar came on a Saturday evening to his father's houſe, where, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, he was received in a very hoſpitable manner. The plenty ſet before him was a temptation too ſtrong for his virtue, of which it ſeems he had not ſufficient to ſave appearances. The next morning, however, he ordered the bell to toll, and from the pulpit expreſſed himſelf with great vehemence againſt the debauchery of the times, and particularly againſt drunkenneſs. Young Gilpin, then a child upon his mother's knee, ſeemed for ſome time exceedingly affected with the Friar's diſcourſe, and at length, with the utmoſt indignation, cried out, *Oh! mamma, do you hear how this fellow dares ſpeak againſt drunkenneſs, and was drunk himſelf yeſternight at our houſe* (2).

[*C*] *He was ſtaggered.*] He was puſhed upon this diſpute by three of his acquaintance (3.) But afterwards Peter Martyr ſaid, he was not troubled for them; but as for that Gilpin, ſays he, 'I am very much 'moved concerning him, for he doeth and ſpeaketh 'all things with an upright heart: the reſt are carried away with every blaſt of ambition or covetouſneſs; but Gilpin, reſting firmly upon gravity of manners, and the teſtimony of a moſt humble life, ſeems, 'with his own goodneſs, to honour the cauſe which 'he undertakes (4)." This Peter Martyr, whoſe true name was Vermilly, was born at Florence in 1500, and entered a white friar of St Auſtin, in the monaſtery of Fioſole, where he became a good maſter of the learned languages, as alſo in philoſophy and divinity, and was advanced to be chief of his congregation, being eſteemed one of the beſt preachers in Italy. At length, upon reading the books of Zuinglius and Bucer, he turned Proteſtant, converted Tremellius, Zanchius, and many others, and carrying with him Bernardin Ochin, general of the Capuchins, he went to Zurich, thence to Baſil, and afterwards to Straſburgh, where he kept a public lecture, and married a young nun named Catherine. His fame procured him an invitation to England, whither he went with his wife in 1547, and taught at Oxford till 1553, when he returned to Straſburgh, and going afterwards to the ſame employ to Zurich, he died there in 1562, having aſſiſted the preceding year at the famous conference of Poiſſy He publiſhed a great number of books in defence of the reformed religion (5).

[*D*] *He was appointed to preach before the King.*] The writer of his life obſerves (6), that Strype in his annals ſeems to intimate, that our author was at that time famous for his preaching in the north, and that it was upon this account he was called upon to preach at court. But, continues he, there is little authority for this, and he does not ſeem to have been yet a preacher at all, at leaſt of any note. It is rather probable the reaſon of the royal command was, that he might give a public teſtimony of his being well inclined to the reformation; for the heads of the Proteſtant party were at this time very ſcrupulous in the diſpoſal of livings. It was then ordered, ſays Heylin in his church hiſtory, that none ſhould be preſented unto any benefice in the donation of the crown, till he had firſt preached before the King, and thereby paſſed his Majeſty's judgment and approbation.

(1) His life by Gilpin, p. 1, 2.

(2) Id. p. 3, 4.

(3) Namely, Chedſey, Weſton, and Morgan. Mr Wood gives ſome account of them under their reſpective articles, alſo ſee our author's life, p. 26, 27.

(4) His life, p. 11 to 13.

(5) Diction Portatif. 2d edit. in 2 vol. 8vo. 1755, vol. 2d.

(6) P. 34, 35.

which he was unable to oppoſe. In this unhappy ſtate he applied to his uncle, Biſhop Tonſtal, then in the tower. That prelate adviſed him to provide a truſty curate for his pariſh, and ſpend a year or two abroad in converſing with ſome of the moſt eminent profeſſors on both ſides of the queſtion. This propoſal was exactly Mr Gilpin's own wiſh with regard to travelling abroad, which he therefore reſolved upon, but at the ſame time he determined to reſign his parſonage, as he accordingly did to a perſon very deſerving of it. This done he ſet out for London to receive the Biſhop's laſt orders, and embarked. His reſignation gave his Lordſhip much concern, it proceeded from a ſcruple of conſcience very uncommon, and which the Biſhop could ſee no foundation for, ſince he could have procured him a diſpenſation for non-reſidence. However, after ſome words of advice to look better to his intereſt, he was reconciled, promiſed to ſupport him abroad, and at parting put into his hands a treatiſe upon the Euchariſt [*E*], which the times not ſuiting to be printed here, he deſired might be done under his inſpection at Paris. With this charge he embarked for Holland, and upon landing went immediately to Malin to viſit his brother George, then a ſtudent there; but after a few weeks he went to Louvain, which he pitched on for his reſidence (*g*), propoſing to make occaſional excurſions to Antwerp, Ghent, Bruſſels, and other places in the Netherlands. Here he made the beſt uſe of his time, ſoon began to have juſter notions of, and greater ſatisfaction in, the doctrines of the reformed churches, when he was alarmed with the news of King Edward's death, and the acceſſion of Queen Mary to the throne. However, this bad news came attended with an agreeable account of Biſhop Tonſtal's releaſe from the tower, and re-eſtabliſhment in his Biſhopric: but the conſequence of this was not ſo agreeable. His brother George invited him to Antwerp, in order to perſuade him to accept, at the Biſhop's requeſt, of a living of conſiderable value, which was fallen in his dioceſe; George uſed all his endeavours for the purpoſe, but in vain [*F*]: Bernard was too well pleaſed with his preſent ſituation to think of a change [*G*], and excuſed himſelf to his patron on the ſame ſcruple of conſcience as before, againſt taking the profits while another did the duty. After a reſidence of two years in Flanders, in which he had made himſelf a perfect maſter of the controverſy as it was there handled, he went the latter end of 1554 to Paris, where he immediately ſet about printing his uncle's book (*h*). He continued a year at Paris, and being now fully ſatisfied in all his more conſiderable ſcruples, he returned home; and going to the Biſhop of Durham, then in his dioceſe, was received by him with great friendſhip, and his Lordſhip within a very little time gave him the Archdeaconry of Durham, to which the Rectory of Eaſington is annexed. It was in the heat of the Marian perſecution when he went to reſide at his living; no wonder then that his free reproofs of the clergy ſoon rouſed the Papiſts in his diſtrict, many articles were drawn up againſt him, and he was accuſed of hereſy in form before the Biſhop; and though upon the trial his Lordſhip declared him innocent, yet all the baſeſt methods were uſed to inflame the people againſt him. His duty obliged him to oppoſe the tide as long as he was able, but the fatigue (and a very great fatigue it was in the conſcientious manner of his doing it) he found at length too much for him. He therefore acquainted the Biſhop that he muſt reſign either his Archdeaconry or his pariſh; that he would with the greateſt readineſs do his duty in which ſoever his Lordſhip thought him beſt qualified for, but he was not able to do it in both. The Biſhop refuſing to ſeparate them, he reſigned both, and lived with his Lordſhip as one of his chaplains (*i*). However, he did not continue long unbeneficed, for before Eaſington and the Archdeaconry were diſpoſed of, the Biſhop gave him the rich Rectory of Houghton-le-Spring, and ſoon after urged him to accept of a prebend in the church of Durham, which however he declined. Upon his taking poſſeſſion of Houghton it was ſome mortification to him that he could not reſide, his parſonage houſe was gone entirely to decay, and ſome time was required to make it habitable: part of it was fitted up as ſoon as poſſible for his reception; but he continued improving and enlarging it, till it became ſuitable to his hoſpitable temper, a proper habitation for a man who never intended to keep what he had to himſelf. Houghton was indeed of conſiderable value, but the duty of it was proportionably laborious. It was ſo extenſive that it contained no leſs than fourteen villages; and having been as much neglected in that dark age as the cures in the north then ordinarily were, Popery had produced its full growth of ſuperſtition in it. The Rector there-

[*E*] *A treatiſe upon the euchariſt.*] It was written in Latin with this title, *De veritate corporis et ſanguinis Chriſti domini in euchariſtia*, and contained a defence of the real preſence in the groſs ſenſe, an opinion which Mr Gilpin, who had a great reverence for his uncle, ſeems to have imbibed from him, and to have retained always after.

[*F*] *His endeavours were in vain.*] He ſucceeded better in a requeſt made afterwards, at the intereſt of the Earls of Bedford and Leiceſter, to write an exact account of the ſteps he made in the progreſs of his change from the Romiſh religion, which is printed in his life by Biſhop Carleton. Our author's brother George was now at the Engliſh court, but was employed as a miniſter from thence in the Low countries, where he moſtly reſided (7).

[*G*] *He was too well pleaſed to think of a change, and excuſed himſelf.*] He concludes the letter he ſent to Tonſtal on this occaſion thus, 'I know well your 'Lordſhip is careful how I ſhould live, if God ſhould 'call your Lordſhip, being now aged; I deſire you 'let not that trouble you, for if I had no other ſhift, 'I could get a lectureſhip I know ſhortly, either in 'this univerſity, or at leaſt in ſome abbey hereby, 'where I ſhould not loſe my time; and this kind 'of life, if God be pleaſed, I deſire before any be'nefice.' He was much delighted with his preſent ſituation, which was near to a monaſtery of minorite friars, and had the uſe of an excellent library of theirs, and enjoyed the company of the beſt ſcholars, 'nor, 'ſays he, was I ever more deſirous to learn (8).'

(*g*) In this town John IV. D. of Brabant, had founded an univerſity which ſoon became one of the moſt conſiderable in Europe. It conſiſts of many colleges, in each of which philoſophy was taught by two profeſſors, who read two hours each morning. When Mr Gilpin was there it was the reſidence of the moſt eminent divines on both ſides the queſtion, and the moſt important topics of religion were diſcuſſed with great freedom.

(*h*) It came out that year, ſee Tonſtal's article.

(*i*) With ſome of theſe he had a diſpute about tranſubſtantiation, at which the Biſhop being preſent, bid them let him alone; for he had more learning than all of them.

(7) Idem.

(8) This letter is printed in his life, p. 59 to 62 incluſive, dated Louvain Nov. 22, 1554, he ſubſcribed himſelf his Lordſhip's chaplain.

fore ſet himſelf with his uſual diligence and courage to effect a reformation, which, though he conducted himſelf with prudence and caution to give the leaſt offence (k), yet inflamed the malice of his enemies to ſuch a degree, that they brought a freſh accuſation againſt him before Tonſtal, who acquitted him a ſecond time. However, his Lordſhip's favour to him from this period viſibly declined, and a little before his death, which happened ſoon after, he ſtruck him out of his will (l). His enemies in the mean time finding their malice defeated by his uncle were not thus ſilenced. Thirty two articles were drawn up againſt him, and laid before Dr Bonner Biſhop of London [H]. The meſſengers apprehended him in a few days, but an account of Queen Mary's death met him upon the road (m), and put a ſtop to any further proſecution. Upon Queen Elizabeth's acceſſion, when the Popiſh Biſhops were deprived, her Majeſty, at the particular recommendation of the Earl of Bedford, nominated him to the ſee of Carliſle (n), and a conge d'elire was ſent down to the Dean and Chapter of that ſee. Mr Gilpin, who knew nothing of what was going forward in his favour, was greatly ſurprized at this unexpected honour, yet could not by any means perſuade himſelf to accept it [I]. This was in the year 1560, and the following year he likewiſe declined an offer that was made to him of the Provoſtſhip of Queen's college Oxford, where he had been a fellow. Thus having had in his option almoſt every kind of preferment which an eccleſiaſtic is capable of holding, he ſat down with one living which gratified the utmoſt of his deſires; for he found it afforded him as many opportunities of doing good as he was able to make uſe of. The Queen recommended the eſtabliſhment of public free-ſchools: Mr Gilpin joined therein, and built and endowed a free grammar-ſchool at Houghton, which by the extraordinary care he took in the management of it, produced many ſcholars who became great ornaments to the church, and very exemplary inſtances of piety [K]. This was the laſt paſſage of his life of a public

(k) He behaved at this time more cautiouſly than he could afterwards approve, he would often charge his behaviour with weakneſs and cowardice.

(l) Tonſtal's character has been already ſet forth in this work: he ſeems now to be apprehenſive that he muſt ſuffer by encouraging his chaplain.

(m) 'Tis ſaid that in the way he broke his leg, which put a ſtop for ſome time to his journey. The meſſengers hereupon frequently obſerving to him, 'That nothing happens to us but what is intended for our good,' aſked him maliciouſly, 'Whether he thought his broken leg was ſo intended;' he anſwered meekly, 'he made no queſtion but it was.' And indeed ſo it proved in the ſtricteſt ſenſe; for before he was able to travel Queen Mary died, and he was ſet at liberty.

(n) Mr Wood ſays it was void by the death of Owen Oglethorp, Faſti Oxon. vol. 1. col. 74. See alſo the Biſhop of Worceſter's letter in remark [I] below.

[H] *Articles were laid before Biſhop Bonner.*] Here they went the right way to work, Bonner was juſt the reverſe of Tonſtal; formed by nature for an inquiſitor. The fierce zealot at once took fire, extolled ſuch a laudable concern for religion, and promiſed that the heretic ſhould be at the ſtake in a fortnight. Mr Gilpin received the account with great compoſure, and immediately after called up *William Airey*, a favourite domeſtic, who had long ſerved him as his almoner and ſteward, and laying his hand upon his ſhoulder, 'At length, ſays he, they have prevailed againſt me—I am accuſed to the Biſhop of London, from whom there will be no eſcaping—God forgive their malice, and give me ſtrength to undergo the trial.' He then ordered his ſervant to provide a long garment, in which he might go decently to the ſtake, and deſired it might be got ready with all expedition, 'for I know not, ſays he, how ſoon I may have occaſion for it.' As ſoon as this garment was provided, it is ſaid he uſed to put it on every day till the Biſhop's meſſengers apprehended him (9).

[I] *He declined the Biſhoprick of Carliſle.*] The vexation which the Popiſh party was likely to give to any one placed in this ſee, is imagined, by the author of Biſhop Grindal's life, to be a principal reaſon why Mr Gilpin refuſed it. But this would have been as good a reaſon for his refuſing the rectory of Houghton, or any other employment in the church; for popery prevailed univerſally over the country; and he could be placed no where in the north, without experiencing a toilſome oppoſition to the bigotry and prejudices of it. But his own eaſe and convenience were never motives of the leaſt weight with him, when any ſervice to mankind could be balanced againſt them. The accounts given us by Biſhop Nicholſon (10) and Dr Heylin (11) of Mr Gilpin's behaviour on this occaſion, are ſtill more diſingenuous; they both aſcribe it chiefly to lucrative motives. The former intimates that the good man knew what he was about, when he refuſed to part with the rectory of Houghton for the biſhoprick of Carliſle: the latter ſuppoſes that all his ſcruples would have vaniſhed, might he have had the old temporalities undiminiſhed. Both theſe writers ſeem to have been very little acquainted with Mr Gilpin's character, in which diſintereſtedneſs bore ſo principal a part; it will appear hereafter that he conſidered his income in no other light, than that of a fund to be managed for the common good. The Biſhop's inſinuation therefore is contradicted by every action of Mr. Gilpin's life: and as for Dr Heylin's, it is moſt notoriouſly falſe, for the Biſhopric was offered to him with the old temporalities undiminiſhed. This is evident from the letter of Dr Sandys, Biſhop of Worceſter, who at the requeſt of the Earl of Bedford, after the firſt offer had been refuſed, wrote to him in theſe terms:

> 'My much reſpected kinſman,
>
> Regarding not ſo much your private intereſt as the intereſt of religion, I did what I could that the Biſhoprick of Carliſle might be ſecured to you: and the juſt character I gave of you to the Queen, has I doubt not, had ſome weight with her Majeſty in her promoting of you to that ſee; which, not to mention the honour of it, will enable you to be of the utmoſt ſervice to the church of Chriſt——I am not ignorant how much rather you chuſe a private ſtation, but if you conſider the condition of the church at this time, you cannot, I think, with a good conſcience refuſe this burthen, eſpecially as it is in a part of the kingdom where no man is thought fitter than yourſelf to be of ſervice to religion. Wherefore I charge you before God, as you will anſwer to him, that laying all excuſes aſide, you refuſe not to aſſiſt your country, and do what ſervice you can to the church of God—In the mean time I can inform you, that by the Queen's favour, you will have the Biſhoprick juſt in the condition in which Dr Oglethorp left it; nothing ſhall be taken from it as hath been from ſome others. Whereſore, exhorting and beſeeching you to be obedient to God's call herein, and not to neglect the duty of your function, I commend both you and this whole buſineſs to the divine providence.
>
> Your kinſman and brother,
>
> *London Apr.* 4,
> 1560. EDWIN WORCESTER.'

He had, it ſeems, a particular reaſon for refuſing this Biſhopric. In one ſenſe he had a ſcruple of conſcience about it. 'The caſe, ſays he, is truly thus: if any other Biſhoprick beſides Carliſle had been offered to me, I poſſibly might have accepted it; but in that dioceſe I have ſo many friends and acquaintance, of whom I have not the beſt opinion, that I muſt either connive at many irregularities, or draw upon myſelf ſo much hatred, that I ſhould be leſs able to do good there than in any one elſe.' This declaration, it cannot be denied, might give a handle to the cenſure paſſed upon our rector, after ſo extraordinary a refuſal, by Biſhop Nicholſon, and Dr Heylin, and Strype, grounding their animadverſion on the ordinary conduct of mankind, without making the exception due to Mr Gilpin's extraordinary character.

[K] *His grammar ſchool produced many ſcholars of diſtinguiſhed learning and piety.*] Among theſe were Henry Ayray, George Carleton, and Hugh Broughton. The firſt became afterwards Provoſt of Queen's college Oxford: the ſecond was promoted to the ſee of Chicheſter, both men of piety as well as learning. But of the third, Hugh Broughton, we have a different account;

(9) His life, p. 98, 99.

(10) In his hiſtorical library.

(11) In his church hiſtory.

lic nature, if any action may be ſo called of a life ſo private. To place his merit therefore in its trueſt light, it will be neceſſary to accompany him in his retirement, and take a view of his ordinary behaviour from which all reſtraint was taken off. The particulars ſhall be mentioned below [*L*], which will abundantly prove the juſtice of his claim to that title,

account: he was indeed famous in his time, and as a man of letters eſteemed by many, but in every other light deſpicable. He was a remarkable inſtance of the danger of learning without common ſenſe. During the younger part of his life he confined himſelf to a college library, where his trifling genius engaged him chiefly in rabbinical learning, in which indeed he made a notable progreſs. Thus accompliſhed he came abroad with an opinion of himſelf equalled only by his ſovereign contempt for others. As he wanted that modeſt diffidence which is the natural guard of a perſon unacquainted with the world, he ſoon involved himſelf in difficulties; London was the ſcene where he firſt expoſed himſelf. Here for ſome time he paid a ſervile court to the vulgar, in the capacity of a popular preacher: but afterwards giving a freer ſcope to his vanity, he ſet up a conventicle; where aſſuming the air of an original, he treated the opinions of the times, and all who maintained them, with an inſufferable inſolence and ſcurrility. Diſappointed of his expected preferment, and thoroughly mortified that his merit had been ſo long diſregarded, he withdrew into Germany. Thither he carried his old temper, attacking Jews in ſynagogues, and Papiſts in maſſes. But he was ſoon glad to return into England, where having lived out all his credit, and become the jeſt even of the ſtage (*), he died a ſtanding monument of the folly of applying learning to the purpoſes of vanity, rather than the moral ends of life. He acted the baſeſt and moſt ungrateful part to Mr Gilpin; he endeavoured to ſupplant the very patron who raiſed him. Having raſhly inſinuated himſelf into the Biſhop of Durham, Dr James Barnes (12), he fixed his eye upon Houghton. Mr Gilpin was old, and in all probability could enjoy it but a very few years; yet Broughton had not patience to let him ſpend the remainder of his days in peace; he knew the Biſhop was eaſily impoſed on, and found means to prejudice him againſt Mr Gilpin. To this was owing, as appeared afterwards, the affair of Mr Gilpin's ſuſpenſion (13), and ſome other inſtances of the Biſhop's diſpleaſure. But his Lordſhip was reconciled to Mr Gilpin, and Broughton finding himſelf neglected, left Durham to ſeek his fortune elſewhere. After his death, which happened in 1612, there came out an elegy of him in verſe, conſiſting of no leſs than 15 ſtanzas, of 8 lines each, which the writer of Mr Gilpin's life has tranſcribed (14), as illuſtrating his character. ' It is, ſays he, a beautiful compoſition, and though deſigned as an encomium, is rather a ſatire upon him for the miſemployment of his time and talents.' However, Mr Bayle, who has given him a place in his dictionary, ſpeaks much in his praiſe for his learning, and has given a tranſlation of ſome extracts of his letters written in Greek while he was abroad, in defence of the church of England againſt Beza. In 1662, his works were publiſhed in folio, with ſome account of him by that eminent Hebrew and rabbinical divine Dr Lightfoot, who declares himſelf a child in compariſon of this great maſter of that learning, and mentions an offer that was once made to him of a cardinal's hat. He was very troubleſome at Cambridge, being of Chriſt's college there, to Dr afterwards Archbiſhop Whitgift, whom yet he is ſaid to have made a convert to his opinion concerning the article of Chriſt's deſcent into hell (15). But to return to Mr Gilpin's ſchool. He not only procured able maſters for it from Oxford, but himſelf likewiſe conſtantly inſpected it; he took particular notice of the foremoſt, would ſend for them into his ſtudy, and there inſtruct them himſelf. Whenever he met a poor boy upon the road, he would make trial of his capacity by a few queſtions, and if he found it ſuch as pleaſed him, he would provide for his education. From his ſchool he ſent ſeveral to the univerſities, where he maintained them wholly at his own expence; he held a punctual correſpondence with their tutors, made the youths frequently write to him, and give him an account of their ſtudies, and once every other year he generally made a journey to the univerſities to inſpect their behaviour. He expended above 500l. in building the ſchool, and purchaſing lands for the maintenance of a maſter and uſher: and as there was ſo great a reſort of ſcholars to it, that in a little time the town was not able to accommodate them, he fitted up a part of his own houſe for that purpoſe, where he had ſeldom fewer than 20 or 30 children. He boarded the richeſt at eaſy rates, and the poorer, which were by far the greateſt part, he both educated, cloathed, and maintained. For the maintenance of poor ſcholars at the univerſity, he yearly ſet apart 60l (16). Before his death he procured an increaſe for the foundation, from one Mr Heath of Keipier, upon which he obtained a charter in 1572 for it, by the name of Keipier School.

[*L*] *The particulars ſhall be mentioned below.*] Strange was the diſorder of that part of the country. Among the injunctions of Biſhop Grindal in 1570, are theſe, ' That no pedlar ſhould be admitted to ſell ' his wares in the church porch in time of ſervice— ' That pariſh clerks ſhould be able to read—That no ' lords of miſrule, or ſummer lords and ladies, or any ' diſguiſed perſons, morrice-dancers or others, ſhould ' come irreverently into the church, or play any un' ſeemly parts with ſcoffs, jeſts, wanton geſtures, or ' ribbald talk in the time of divine ſervice.' Amidſt ſuch ignorance to introduce a knowledge of religion, was a laborious work, as difficult as the firſt plantation of the Goſpel. He ſet out with making it his endeavour to gain the affection of his pariſhioners. To ſucceed in it however he uſed no ſervile compliances; his behaviour was free without levity, obliging without meanneſs, inſinuating without art: he condeſcended to the weak, bore with the paſſionate, complied with the ſcrupulous; in a truly apoſtolic manner he became all things to all men. By theſe means he gained mightily upon his neighbours, and convinced them how heartily he was their friend. To this humanity and courteſy he added an unwearied application to the duties of his function. He was not ſatisfied with the advice he gave in public, but uſed to inſtruct in private, and brought his pariſhioners to come to him with their doubts and difficulties. He had a moſt engaging manner towards thoſe whom he thought well diſpoſed: nay his very reproof was ſo conducted, that it ſeldom gave offence; the becoming gentleneſs with which it was urged, made it always appear the effect of friendſhip. Thus laying himſelf out in admoniſhing the vicious, and encouraging the well intentioned, in a few years he wrought a greater change in his neighbourhood, than could well have been imagined——A remarkable inſtance what reformation a ſingle man may effect when he hath it earneſtly at heart. He laid much of his time in endeavouring to improve the younger part of his pariſh; nor did he omit whatever beſides might be of ſervice to his pariſhioners. He was very aſſiduous in preventing all law ſuits among them (17). His hall is ſaid to have been often thronged with people who came to him about their differences. He had a juſt concern for all under afflictions, and was a much readier viſitant at the houſe of mourning than at that of feaſting; and when the infirmities of age came upon him, and he grew leſs able to endure exerciſe, it was his cuſtom to write letters of conſolation to ſuch as were in affliction. He uſed to interpoſe likewiſe in all acts of oppreſſion. Thus he lived in his pariſh, beſides which he uſed to viſit regularly every year the moſt neglected pariſhes (18) in Northumberland, Yorkſhire, Cheſhire, Weſtmoreland, and Cumberland, providing a conſtant aſſiſtant at his own. Wherever he came he uſed to viſit all the jails and places of confinement (19), and is ſaid to have reformed many abandoned perſons in thoſe places. He would employ his intereſt likewiſe for ſuch criminals whoſe caſes he thought attended with any hard circumſtances, and often procured pardons for them. He never failed to ſpend ſome part of every year in that dreadful tract of country upon the border of Northumberland, called Reads Dale and Tine Dale, before the union generally called the Debatable Land.

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* See the Alchymiſt of Ben. Johnſon, act 2, ſce. 3. and act 4, ſce. 5. The Fox, act 2, ſce. 2.

(12) He ſucceeded Dr Pilkington, Tonſtal's ſucceſſor in 1577. Wood, vol. 1. under his article.

(13) The Biſhop had ordered him to preach a viſitation ſermon the Sunday following. He excuſed himſelf on account of his journey to the Debatable Lands, and hearing no more of it went thither, but upon his return found himſelf ſuſpended: during this ſuſpenſion he received another ſudden order to preach before the clergy, which he accordingly did, though without notes, and reproved the Bp for his miſconduct in general with ſo much affectionate warmth, that his Lordſhip was unexpectedly moved with it, and was reconciled to him from that time.

(14) P. 123, *et ſeq.*

(15) See Whitgift's article in this work.

(16) This ſum he always laid out, often more; his common allowance to each ſcholar was about 10 l. a year, which for a ſober youth was at that time a ſufficient maintenance: ſo that he never maintained fewer than ſix. By his will it appears that at his death he had nine upon his liſt, whom he took care to provide for during their ſtay at the univerſity.

(17) He was not indeed much acquainted with the law, but he could decide equitably, and that ſatisfied, nor could his Sovereign's commiſſion have given him more weight than his own character.

(18) Pariſhes were ſhamefully neglected all over England at that time. In the dioceſe of Ely, containing 156 pariſhes, 47 had no miniſters at all, 57 poſſeſſed by non-reſidents, and only the remaining 52 regularly ſerved. His life, p. 171.

(19) He was not only careful to give the priſoners proper inſtructions, but uſed to purchaſe for them likewiſe what neceſſaries they wanted.

title, which he gained among his contemporaries, of the Northern Apoſtle. The parallel indeed was ſtriking; his quitting the corrupt doctrines in the utmoſt reverence of which he had been educated, the perſecutions he met with for the ſake of his integrity, the danger he often ran of martyrdom, his contempt of the world, his unwearied application to the buſineſs of his calling, and the boldneſs and freedom with which he reproved the guilty, whatever their fortunes or ſtations were, might juſtly characteriſe him a truly apoſtolical perſon.

Towards the latter part of his life he went through his duty with great difficulty; his health was much impaired; the extreme fatigue he had during ſo many years undergone, had now quite broke his conſtitution. While he was ſtruggling with age and infirmities, there happened a very unfortunate affair which entirely deſtroyed his health. As he was croſſing the market-place at Durham, an ox ran at him, and puſhed him down with ſuch violence, that it was imagined the bruiſes he received would have occaſioned his death. He lay long confined, and though he again got abroad, he never recovered even the little ſtrength he had before, and continued lame as long as he lived. But ſickneſs was not the only diſtreſs which his declining years had to ſtruggle with; as age and infirmity began to leſſen that weight and influence he once had, the malice and oppoſition of his enemies of courſe prevailed more, and many calumnies were thrown upon him, all which he bore with great fortitude. His reſignation however was not long exerciſed. About the beginning of Feb. in 1683, he found himſelf ſo very weak, that he was ſenſible his end muſt be drawing near. He told his friends his apprehenſions; and ſpoke of his death with that happy compoſure, which always attends the concluſion of a good life. He was ſoon after confined to his chamber. His ſenſes continued perfect to the laſt. A few days before his death he ordered himſelf to be raiſed in his bed, and took a moſt pathetic leave of the poor, his ſcholars, and his ſervants. He died March the 4th that year. In his perſon he was tall and ſlender, in the ornament of which he was at no pains. He had a particular averſion to the fopperies of dreſs. In his diet he was very temperate, rather abſtemious. His parts were very good; his imagination, memory, and judgment lively, retentive, and ſolid. His acquirements were as conſiderable: by an unwearied application he had amaſſed a great ſtore of knowledge, and was ignorant of no part of learning at that time in eſteem: in languages, hiſtory, and divinity, he particularly excelled. He read poetry with a good taſte: himſelf, as the Biſhop of Chicheſter relates, no mean poet [*M*]. His temper was

naturally

Land (20). This was a very difficult, laborious, and even dangerous employ (α).

The diſintereſted pains he took among theſe barbarous people, and the good offices he was always ready to do them, drew from them the ſincereſt expreſſions of gratitude: indeed he was little leſs than adored, and might have brought the whole country almoſt to what he pleaſed (β). Every Thurſday throughout the year a very large quantity of meat was dreſſed wholly for the poor, and every day they had what quantity of broth they wanted, 24 of the pooreſt were his conſtant penſioners. Four times in the year a dinner was provided for them, when they received from his steward a certain quantity of corn, and a ſum of money; and at Chriſtmas they had always an ox divided among them. Whenever he heard of any in diſtreſs, he was ſure to relieve them whether of his own pariſh or any other. In his walks abroad he would frequently bring home with him poor people, and ſend them away cloathed as well as fed. He took great pains to inform himſelf of the circumſtances of his neighbours, that the modeſty of the ſufferer might not prevent his relief. He took a ſingular pleaſure in making up the loſſes of the induſtrious neighbours: if a poor man had loſt a beaſt he would ſend him another in its room; or if any farmer had had a bad year, he would make him an abatement in his tythes: ſuch as had large families never failed to meet with his aſſiſtance to ſettle their children in the world. In the diſtant pariſhes where he preached, as well as in his own neighbourhood, his generoſity and benevolence were continually ſhewing themſelves, particularly in the deſolate parts of Northumberland (21). Even upon the public road he never let ſlip an opportunity of doing good (22). Often has he been known to take off his cloak and give it to a half naked traveller; and when he has had ſcarce money enough in his pocket to provide himſelf a dinner, yet would he give away part of that little, or the whole if he found any who ſeemed to ſtand in need of it. His hoſpitable manner of living was the admiration of the whole country: he ſpent in his family every fortnight 40 buſhels of corn, 20 buſhels of malt, and a whole ox; beſides a proportionate quantity of other kinds of proviſion. Every Sunday from Michaelmas till Eaſter, was a ſort of public day with him: during this ſeaſon he expected to ſee all his pariſhioners and their families. For their reception he had three tables well covered; the firſt was for gentlemen, the ſecond for huſbandmen and farmers, and the third for day-labourers (23). He was always glad of the company of men of worth and letters, who uſed much to frequent his houſe. In the mean time ſtrangers and travellers found a chearful reception: all were welcome that came, and even their beaſts had ſo much care taken of them, that it was humourouſly ſaid, ‘ if a horſe was turned looſe in any ‘ part of the country, he would immediately make ‘ his way to the Rector of Houghton's.’

[*M*] *No mean poet.*] An inſtance of his poetical talents, is the following Latin epigram. His moderation and univerſal benevolence, and excellent character, drew both Papiſts and Preſbyterians to attempt the bringing him into their communions. When Cartwright's book came out againſt the eſtabliſhed church, it was put into Mr Gilpin's hands by a friend to the principles advanced in it, with a deſire to read it over carefully, and communicate to him his remarks (24). But very impatient for them, he ſent a meſſenger before Mr Gilpin had read the book half through, who re-

(20) See a deſcription of it in Camden's Brita. It was ſo poor as not to furniſh a tolerable proviſion, the badneſs of the weather, and the roads over mountains covered with ſnow, expoſed him often to great hardſhips, in a country deſolate for ſeveral miles together, ſo that being ſometimes benighted, he was obliged to lodge *ſub dio*, when making his ſervant ride about with the horſes, he uſed as much exerciſe on foot as his age and fatigue would admit.

(21) When he began his journey, he would have 10l. in his purſe, and at his coming home he would be 20 nobles in debt, which he would always pay within a fortnight after.

(22) One day paſſing by a field where a horſe had ſuddenly dropt dead in a team, he made his man diſmount and give the farmer the horſe he rode on.

(23) His pace of hoſpitality he never omitted, even when loſſes or a ſcarcity of proviſion made its continuance rather difficult to him, and when he was abſent no alteration was made in his family expences.

(24) One of Mr Gilpin's moſt intimate friends he ever had, was one Mr Lever, a Preſbyterian, and a ſufferer in their cauſe.

(α) An inſtance of this we have among others, as follows: One Sunday morning coming to a church in thoſe parts before the people were aſſembled, he obſerved a glove hanging up, and was informed by the ſexton, that it was meant as a challenge to any one that ſhould take it down, and upon the ſexton's refuſal he took it down himſelf and put it in his breaſt: when the people were aſſembled, he went into the pulpit, and before he concluded his ſermon, took occaſion to rebuke them ſeverely for theſe inhuman challenges. ‘ I hear, ſaith he, that one among you hath ‘ hanged up a glove even in this ſacred place, threatening to fight ‘ any one who taketh it down: ſee I have taken it down;’ and pulling out the glove he held it to the congregation, and then ſhewed them how unſuitable ſuch ſavage practices were to the profeſſion of Chriſtianity.

(β) How greatly his name was revered among them, one inſtance will ſhew. By the careleſſneſs of his ſervant his horſes were one day ſtolen: the news was quickly propagated, and every one expreſſed the higheſt indignation of the fact. The thief was rejoicing over his prize, when by the report of the country he found whoſe horſes he had taken: terrified at what he had done, he inſtantly came trembling back, confeſſed the fact, returned the horſes, and declared, he believed the Devil would have ſeized him directly, had he carried them off knowing them to have been Mr Gilpin's.

turned

naturally warm, and in his youth there are inſtances of his giving way to paſſion; but he ſoon got more command of himſelf, and at length intirely corrected that infirmity. His diſpoſition was ſerious, yet, among his particular friends, he was commonly chearful, ſometimes facetious: his general behaviour was very affable, his ſeverity had no object but himſelf; to others he was humble, candid, indulgent; never did virtue ſit with greater eaſe on any one, had leſs of moroſeneſs, or could mix more agreeably with whatever was innocent in common life. He had a moſt extraordinary ſkill in the art of managing a fortune [*N*]: his intimacies were few, it was his endeavour, as he thought the ſpirit of Chriſtianity required, to dilate rather than to contract his affections; yet where he profeſſed a particular friendſhip, he was a religious obſerver of its offices. He was the moſt candid interpreter of the words and actions of others. His ſincerity was ſuch as became his other virtues, the luſtre of which, whatever they were, was greatly increaſed by his humility. Thus far, however, he hath had many imitators. The principal recommendations of him, and the diſtinguiſhed parts of his character, were his conſcientious diſcharge of the duties of a clergyman, his extenſive benevolence, and his exalted piety. He was buried in his church, but without any monument beſides that of his example, which one would imagine had its influence upon the Rectors of Houghton; for perhaps few pariſhes in England can boaſt of ſuch a ſucceſſion of worthy paſtors, as that pariſh can ſince Mr Gilpin's death (*o*).

(*o*) The preſent *Archbiſhop* of Canterbury, *Dr* Secker, I have already obſerved, was one of theſe worthy paſtors. See Biſhop Butler's article in this Supplement, remark [*D*].

turned it however with the following lines, which ſhew his opinion of church government in general.

Multa quidem legi ſed plura legenda reliqui;
Poſthac, cum dabitur copia, cuncta legam.
Optant, ut careat maculis eccleſia cunctis;
Præſens vita negat, vita futura dabit.

Your volume half peruſed with cautious pains,
For future leiſure what is left remains:
Zealous you will the church, with ardor vain,
Free from each fault, and clear from every ſtain.
Perfection ſuits not with a ſtate below;
That bliſs alone a future can beſtow.

[*N*] *He had extraordinary ſkill in the art of managing a fortune.*] The Lord Burleigh being once ſent into Scotland, took the opportunity in his return to viſit his old acquaintance at Houghton. His viſit was made without notice, yet the oeconomy of ſo plentiful a houſe as Mr Gilpin was not ſo eaſily diſconcerted. He received his noble gueſt with ſo much true politeneſs, and treated him and his whole retinue in ſo affluent and generous a manner, that the Treaſurer would often afterwards ſay, He could hardly have expected more at Lambeth. While he ſtaid he took great pains by his own and the obſervations of his domeſtics to acquaint himſelf with the order and regularity of the houſe: it contained a very large family, and was beſides continually crowded with perſons of all kinds, gentlemen, ſcholars, workmen, farmers, and poor people, yet there was never any confuſion, every one was immediately carried into proper apartments, and entertained, directed, or relieved, as his particular buſineſs required. My Lord, at parting, embraced his much reſpected friend with all the warmth of affection, and told him, he had heard great things in his commendation, but he had now ſeen what far exceeded all that he had heard. If, added he, Mr Gilpin, I can ever be of any ſervice to you at court or elſewhere, uſe me with all freedom as one you may depend on. When he had got to Rainton-hill, which riſes about a mile from Houghton, and commands the vale, he turned his horſe to take one more view of the place, and having kept his eye fixed upon it for ſome time, his reverie broke out into this exclamation: There is the enjoyment of life indeed! who can blame that man for refuſing a biſhopric! what doth he want, to make him greater, or happier, or more uſeful to mankind.

P

GRABE [John Ernest], a learned divine, editor of the Alexandrian manuſcript in the King of England's library, was born January 10, 1666, at Koningſberg [*A*] in Pruſſia, in which univerſity he had his education, and took the degree of A.M. and devoting himſelf to the ſtudy of divinity, he read the fathers with great diligence; but falling into ſome opinions contrary to the tenets of the Lutheran church there eſtabliſhed, he was apprehended, and not being able to clear himſelf, continued under confinement ſeveral months (*a*). And in 1699, reſolving to enter into the Romiſh communion, he gave in to the electoral college at Sambia in Pruſſia a memorial, ſetting forth the reaſons for his change, and leaving Koningſberg, ſet out in order to put it into execution in ſome Catholic country. He was on the road to a place called Erfurd in this deſign, when there were preſented to him three tracts, in anſwer to his memorial [*B*], from the Elector of Brandenburg, who had given immediate orders to three Pruſſian divines (*b*) to write them for the purpoſe. Mr Grabe was intirely diſpoſed to pay all due reſpect to this addreſs from his ſovereign, and having peruſed the tracts with ſufficient care, his reſolution to embrace Popery was ſomewhat ſtaggered, inſomuch that he wrote to one of the divines, Mr Spener, to procure him a ſafe conduct, that he might return to Berlin to confer with him. This favour being readily granted, he returned to that city, where Mr Spener prevailed upon him ſo far as to change his deſign of joining the Papiſts for another: '*In England* (ſays this friend) '*you will meet with the outward and uninterrupted ſucceſſion* [of biſhops] *which you want*:

(*a*) Some Papiſts were impriſoned alſo for the ſame notions, but were releaſed upon their appearing to be Papiſts, their religion being tolerated there. MS. of Abp Potter at Lambeth, which I was favoured with a ſight of by the preſent Abp. Dr Secker.

(*b* Phil. Spener, eccleſiaſtical counſellor to the Elector of Brandenburg, and principal miniſter of Berlin; 2. by Bernard Van Sanden, principal profeſſor at Koningſberg; 3. by John William Baier.

(1) Some account of Dr Grabe, &c. p. 72. edit. 1712, 8vo.

(2) Intituled, *A defence of the Evangelic church, againſt the accuſation of ſchiſm, and communion with the antient heretics, falſely charged upon it, in anſwer to the doubts propoſed by* John Erneſt Grabe. *By* Philip Spener.

[*A*] *Was born at Koningsberg.*] His father, Martin Sylveſter Grabe, was profeſſor of divinity and hiſtory in that univerſity, where he was Rector. He read lectures againſt Sandius, the reviver of Arianiſm, ſome of which relating to the controverſy about the genuineneſs of that text in St John, *There are Three that bear record in Heaven*, which was of ſervice to Dr Mills, in writing his learned diſſertation on that ſubject, and which were found among the manuſcripts of the ſon, with large notes and additions of both, in order, as it ſeems, to another and more complete edition (1).

[*B*] *In anſwer to his memorial.*] The memorial was afterwards printed in High Dutch, at the end of the two anſwers to it by Spener and Sanden; the former of which (2) was publiſhed at Francfort upon the Main, the latter at Koningſberg, both in 1695, 4to. Baier's anſwer was publiſhed at Jena the ſame year, in 8vo.

'*take then your rout thither; this ſtep will give much leſs uneaſineſs to your friends, and* '*at the ſame time equally ſatisfy your conſcience.*' Our author yielded to the advice (*c*), and arriving in England, was received with all the reſpect due to his merit, and preſently recommended to King William in ſuch terms, that his Majeſty granted him a penſion of 100 l. a year, to enable him to purſue his ſtudies. He had the warmeſt ſenſe of theſe favours, and preſently ſhewed himſelf not unworthy of the royal bounty, by the many valuable books which he publiſhed in England (*d*), which from this time he adopted for his own country, finding the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution thereof nearer, in his opinion, than that of any other, to the primitive pattern. Having before apparently formed a deſign of publiſhing ſome curious and ſcarce pieces of the Fathers, in defence of his opinions, he went, ſoon after his arrival, to Oxford, in order to ſearch the treaſures of the Bodleian library; and in 1698 he publiſhed there, in 8vo. *Spicilegium S. S. Patrum*, &c. Vol. I. This was followed the next year by Vol. II. and both were reprinted in 1700 at Oxford [*C*], where, in July the ſame year, he was ordained a deacon by Dr William Lloyd Biſhop of Worceſter, and was favoured with a chaplainſhip of Chriſtchurch [*D*]; and the year was not expired, when his edition of Juſtin Martyr's firſt apology came out from the Oxford preſs, in 8vo. [*E*]. In 1702, he publiſhed in folio, from the ſame preſs, *Irenæi Epiſcopi Lugdunenſis contra omnes hæreſes, libri quinque* (*e*), &c. [*F*]. Upon the acceſſion of Queen Anne to the throne this year, our author's affairs grew ſtill better. The very warm affection which that Princeſs had for the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, could not but bring our champion for the Fathers into her particular notice. Beſides continuing his penſion, her Majeſty conſulted how to make him ſtill more eminently ſerviceable to the honour of her church and nation. The Septuagint had never been intirely printed from the Alexandrian manuſcript in the royal library, partly by reaſon of the great difficulty of performing it in a manner ſuitable to its real worth (*f*), and partly becauſe that worth itſelf had been ſo much diſparaged by the advocates of the Roman copy, that it was even grown into ſome neglect. To perform this taſk, and therein to aſſert its ſuperior merit, was an honour marked out for Mr Grabe; and when her Majeſty acquainted him with it, ſhe preſented him with a purſe to carry him through with it (*g*). In 1704, he drew up a particular account of the preferences of this to the Vatican manuſcript (*h*), eſpecially in reſpect to the book of Judges, and publiſhed it, together with three ſpecimens, containing ſo many different methods of his intended edition, to be determined in his choice by the learned. This came out in 1705, with propoſals for printing it by ſubſcription, in a letter addreſſed to Dr Mill,

(*c*) It was apparently given by the King's direction. See remark [*K*].

(*d*) Some account of his life, &c. by Dr Hickes.

(*e*) It was undertaken and encouraged chiefly by Dr Aldrich Dean of Chriſtchurch.

(*f*) See Patrick Young's article.

(*h*) Some perſons, diſpleaſed with this preference, endeavoured to ſhew the contrary. Vide Lettre de Th. Gal. a Mr L'Abbé B. in the ſupplement to the Journal *des Scavans* for Dec. 1709.

(*g*) The purſe was 60 l. procured by the then Robert Harley, Eſq; and it enabled him to enlarge the *Prolegomena* to the Octateuch, or firſt volume of the work. See thoſe *prolegomena* at the concluſion.

[*C*] *Spicilegium S. S. Patrum*, &c.] The whole title runs thus: *Spicilegium S. S. Patrum ut & hæreticorum ſæculi poſt Chriſtum natum* I, II, & III. *Quorum vel integra monumenta, vel fragmenta, partim ex aliorum Patrum libris jam impreſſis collegit, & cum codicibus manuſcriptis contulit, partim ex MSS. nunc primum edidit, ac ſingula tam præfatione quam notis ſubjunctis illuſtravit Johannes Erneſtus Grabe.* The firſt volume contains the writings of the catholic fathers and heretics of the firſt century. 1. The epiſtle to Abgarus (3) King of Edeſſa to Jeſus Chriſt, and our Saviour's anſwer to that King. Theſe he thinks doubtful and apocryphal. 2. *The Goſpel of the twelve Apoſtles*, or *The Goſpel according to the Hebrews*. This, though dubious and apocryphal, yet he ſhews was accounted orthodox by the primitive Chriſtians. 3. *The Acts of the Apoſtles*, cited by Iſidorus Peluſiota; which he looks upon as genuine, written in the apoſtolic age, and containing nothing in them ſuperſtitious or incongruous to that time. 4. *The Teſtament of the twelve Patriarchs*, with chronological tables, communicated by Mr Dodwell. 5. The genuine and ſuppoſititious works of St Clement the Roman. He has likewiſe given ſome brief remarks upon the writings aſcribed to Simon Magus, Cerinthus, and other heretics of the firſt century.

The ſecond volume of the *Spicilegium*, &c. begins, 1. with an account of St Ignatius and his writings; 2. Papias; 3. Baſilides and Valentinus, two hereſiarchs; Epiphanes, Iſidorus, Ptolemæus, Heracleon, and other heretics; 4. Matthias and his traditions; Quadratus and his apology; Agrippa, Caſtor, and Ariſto Pellius; and, 5. he treats at large of Juſtin Martyr and his writings (4). Upon the whole, it is obſervable that our author diſcovers an unwarrantable attachment and fondneſs for ſome opinions and doctrines advanced in theſe fragments, and particularly in regard to the piece in the firſt volume, intituled, The Acts of the Apoſtles, it has been remarked that ſeveral of the tenets of Popery are, by the advocates of that party, confirmed out of this book, as being authentic, genuine, and apoſtolic: ſo for inſtance, the ſtory, chapter xx. of Falconilla (Triſina's daughter) coming after her death from the other world, and deſiring her to aſk Thecla (5) to pray for her, that ſhe might be tranſlated from her ſtate of miſery to a ſtate of happineſs; which requeſt Triſina made to Thecla, and Thecla accordingly prayed for her. This paſſage is brought by Damaſcenus *to ſupport the doctrine of praying for the dead, and helping the miſerable in the other world by our prayers and alms.* Again, the Popiſh doctrine of celibacy is frequently contended for, and confirmed out of this book, as perhaps the firſt prevalence and progreſs of that doctrine owed its original to it (6).

[*D*] *He was ordained Deacon, and made a chaplain of Chriſtchurch.*] The chaplainſhip was given him for a ſuſtenance, and it is probable he never performed the office. When he was ordained Deacon, he refuſed to receive the ſacrament, becauſe the prayer in the communion ſervice mentioning the ſacrifice before receiving the elements, as it was in the firſt common prayer-book of Edward VI. was omitted; and he continued always after in the ſame nonconformity to the eſtabliſhed church in that particular (7). So that if he was ordained prieſt, as Dr Hickes ſays he was, it muſt have been by ſome of the Nonjuring ſeparatiſt prelates.

[*E*] *Juſtin Martyr's firſt apology.*] All that is contained in this edition was reprinted, with ſome other works of Juſtin, at Oxford, 1703, in 8vo. by Mr Hutchins. Some critical remarks were made by Le Clerc upon Langius's verſion (choſen by our author) and the notes inſerted in this edition (8), and the works of this father, came out in 1722, fol. by Styan Thirlby, who, in the dedication, obſerves, that Dr Grabe was a good man, and not unlearned, and well verſed in the writings of the fathers; but that he was no critic, nor could be one, not being endowed with genius or judgment, or, to ſpeak the truth, furniſhed with learning ſufficient for that purpoſe (9).

[*F*] *Irenæus contra hæreſes.*] Several objections were made to this edition by René Maſſuet, a Benedictine monk, who publiſhed another edition of Irenæus at Paris in 1710, folio; in reſpect of which, Dr Hickes tells us, he found among our author's papers his Irenæus, reviſed and corrected, with corrections and references for a new edition, in which he deſigned to animadvert upon René Maſſuet, in his own defence (10).

(3) Or Agbarus.

(4) Dr Hickes, ubi ſupra, ſays a 3d volume was intended by our author, in order to which he had got a copy of the *Demaſcalia* of Clemens Romanus and of Hippolitus, with others, tranſcribed by himſelf. Dr Hickes alſo found among our author's manuſcripts many Greek fragments of Origen, particularly out of his Commentaries, containing 120 ſheets 4to. and five in folio, beſides a numerous collection of other Greek fragments of the Fathers, and ſome of heretics, enough for ſeveral volumes in print.

(5) One of theſe tracts is intituled, *The Acts of Paul and Thecla.*

(6) New and full method of ſettling the canonical authority of the New Teſtament, Vol. II. part iii. cap. 34. p. 476. edit. 1726, 8vo. by Mr Jeremiah Jones.

(7) Dr Secker, the preſent Abp of Canterbury.

(8) Bibliotheque choiſie, tome I. p. 328.

(9) Juſtini apologia, cum notis Styan Thirlbeii, Lond. 1722.

(10) Hickes's account of Grabe.

Principal

Principal of Edmund-hall Oxford [*G*]; and, that nothing might be wanting which lay in the power of that learned body to promote the work, he was honoured with the degree of D. D. April 6, the following year (*i*). The ſucceſs was abundantly anſwerable to his fondeſt wiſhes: beſides the Queen's bounty, he received a preſent from his own ſovereign the King of Pruſſia, and ſubſcriptions from the principal nobility, clergy, and gentry, crowded daily upon him from all parts. In the midſt of theſe encouragements, the firſt tome of his important work, containing the *Octateuch*, came out in 1707, at Oxford, in folio and octavo. But the deſign of printing the reſt according to the tenor of the manuſcript was broken, for the ſake of expedition, and the firſt tome was followed by the fourth in 1709; the ſecond and third being poſtponed, in expectation of ſome materials neceſſary to complete them; which not coming to hand, the editor publiſhed a diſſertation the following year 1710 (*k*), giving a particular account of the delay [*H*]. By this means it happened that he did not live to publiſh the ſecond and third tomes of this laborious work. However, he had, it ſeems, done more than enough to ſubject his character to the attacks of Mr Whiſton, who, both in private diſcourſe and public writings, intimated that the Doctor was nearly of his mind about the *Conſtitutions of the Apoſtles*, written by St Clement; and that he owned in general the genuine truth and apoſtolical antiquity of that collection. This ſtory gaining credit, the Doctor, to clear himſelf from the calumny, drew up *An eſſay upon the two Arabic manuſcripts (l) in the Bodleian library* [*I*], *and that antient book called The doctrine of the Apoſtles, which is ſaid to be extant in them, wherein Mr Whiſton's*

(*i*) Catalogue of Oxford degrees. The Bp [Smalridge] made two Latin ſpeeches on the occaſion, one upon the celebration of the *encænia* of the univerſity of Francfort that day, which was followed by that on preſenting him [illegible] his degree; and for the greater ſolemnity, the whole was performed in the public theatre. See Smalridge's article, remark [*U*].

(*k*) The title of it is, *J. Erneſti Grabii de variis vitiis lxx. interpretum ante B. Originis ævum illatis, & remediis ab ipſo hexaplari ejuſdem verſionis additione adhibitis, deque hujus editionis reliquiis tam manuſcriptis, tam prælo excuſis.*

(*l*) In tranſlating the Arabic he was aſſiſted by Mr Gagnier. See remark [*I*].

[*G*] *A letter to Dr Mill.*] Among our author's manuſcripts were found the Alexandrian texts of the New Teſtament, and of St Clement's epiſtles, by Junius (11), with notes. But he never diſcovered the deſign he had of printing that work, which would have perfected the whole Alexandrian manuſcript, leſt he ſhould prejudice the ſale of his friend Dr Mill's New Teſtament, as Hickes aſſures us, who likewiſe obſerves, that had Dr Mill ſurvived our author, he would have acknowledged to the world, as he did to this obſerver and others, the many ready and generous aſſiſtances he received from him in his great work.

[*H*] *He gave an account of the delay.*] The helps he wanted were, a Syriac manuſcript of the hiſtorical books of the Old Teſtament, with Origen's marks upon them. He had already begun to print the ſecond volume, when Mr Daniel Erneſt Jablonſki, chaplain to the King of Pruſſia, wrote to him, that this manuſcript was at Herborn, among the books of Mr Lantius, who had been profeſſor of the oriental languages in that univerſity; but to procure this, and collate it, would require ſome time, which occaſioned the poſtponing the ſecond volume: and to complete the third volume, he wanted two manuſcripts, one belonging to Cardinal Chigi, and the other belonging to the college of Lewis the Great. He received all afterwards, and made collations from them; he alſo prepared a volume of annotations upon the whole work, as well as for the prolegomena; all which requiring ſome time to digeſt into a proper method, the ſecond volume did not come out till 1719, but was followed by the third volume the enſuing year 1720 (12).

[*I*] *Two Arabic manuſcripts in the Bodleian library.*] In tranſlating theſe manuſcripts, the Doctor acknowledges (13) the aſſiſtance of the Reverend Mr John Gagnier, who then taught Hebrew at Oxford. This divine was born and bred at Paris, took holy orders in the Roman church, and was made a canon regular of the abbey of St Genevieve *ad montem Pariſiis* (14); but afterwards reſolving to quit the Romiſh communion, he came to England, about the beginning of this century, and embraced the religion of our church. He was well received here, and met with many friends of the firſt rank, who reſpected him for his eminent ſkill in the eaſtern languages (15). He went firſt to Cambridge, where the degree of A. M. was conferred upon him (16); but going thence to Oxford, he was incorporated in the ſame degree at that univerſity (17), and there fixing his reſidence, for the ſake of the uſe of the Bodleian library, he ſupported himſelf chiefly by teaching Hebrew and Arabic. In the mean time, he was made chaplain to Dr William Lloyd Biſhop of Worceſter, and attended his Lordſhip when he was at Oxford upon the buſineſs of conſulting the Bodleian treaſure (18), and by the order of his Lordſhip, and under his inſpection, who was at the whole expence, he undertook and printed Joſeph Ben Gorion's hiſtory of the Jews, from the original Hebrew, with a Latin tranſlation, and notes, by himſelf, intituled, *Joſephi Ben Gorionis hiſtoriæ Judaicæ, libri ſex, ex Hebræo, & cum notis illuſtrati*, Oxon. 1706, 4to. * and the ſame year came out his *L'Egliſe Romaine convaincue de depravation, d'Idolatrie, et d'Antichriſtianiſme*: this piece, which was printed at the Hague, with a dedication to the States General, was drawn up in the form of a letter to our author's brother Mr Germain Gagnier, Canon regular of St Yvet de Braine des Soiſſons, of the order of the Remonſtrants, and in his perſon to all the canons of both congregations. In 1712, he inſerted Greaves's Latin tranſlation of Abulfeda's deſcription of Arabia, together with the original Arabic in the third volume of Dr Hudſon's *Geographiæ veteris Scriptores Græci minores*, 8vo. In 1717 he was appointed by the Vicechancellor and proctors to read the Arabic lecture of Archbiſhop Laud's foundation at Oxford, in the abſence of Mr John Wallis the profeſſor (19). In 1719 came out his *Carolina ecloga, in diem natalem Willelminæ Carolinæ ſereniſſimæ Principis Walliæ, qui incidit in colendas Martias, D. Davidi Cambrorum patrono ſacras, pace, Georgio Magno Imperante, Britannis & Europæ reſtituta.* In 1723 he publiſhed *Iſhmael Abulfeda's life of Mohammed, founder of the Muſſelmanic religion, in Arabic, with a Latin tranſlation, and notes*, at Oxford, in folio: this piece was printed from a manuſcript given to the Bodleian library by Dr Pocock, who is defended by our author in many particulars, both in his preface and notes, againſt the attacks of his adverſaries (20), eſpecially Mr Renaudot, whoſe ſkill, however, in the oriental languages he much extols, and mentions a deſign he had of completing a Latin verſion of George Elmacinus, left unfiniſhed by his countryman. In 17[illegible]8 came out at Oxford, in 8vo. his *Vindiciæ Kircherianæ, ſeu defenſio concordantiarum Græcarum Conrad. Kircheri, adverſus Abr. Trommii animadverſiones.* There were alſo aſcribed to him *La vie de Mahomet compilee de la Sonne et de melleurs auteurs Arabes*, Amſt. 1732, in two vols 8vo. in the preface of which, the paradoxes advanced by the Count of Boulainvilliers (21) are confuted. Mr Gagnier alſo made a great progreſs in printing Abulfeda's geography, and, in order to finiſh it, he publiſhed propoſals for the purpoſe; but theſe not meeting with that encouragement which he deſerved, the deſign proved abortive (22). Eighteen ſheets were printed off, and the remainder, which was left imperfect, is now in the hands of Dr Hunt, the preſent Profeſſor of Hebrew and Arabic at Oxford, who purchaſed it of our author's widow, in order to preſerve it (23). Mr Gagnier continued teaching the oriental languages at Oxford till his death, which happened March 2, 1740. He was buried in Holy-well church there. Before his coming to England, he entered into matrimony, and left by his wife a ſon, Mr Thomas Gagnier, who was bred at Wadham college Oxford, and commenced A. M. July 2, 1743 (24). Entering into holy orders, he was preferred by Biſhop Clavering (25) to the rectory of Marſh-Gibbon in Bucks, and afterwards obtained that of Stranton, near Hartlepool in the biſhopric of Durham, where he was living in good reputation a few years ago, and had his aged mother with him. But ſhe is very lately dead (26).

(11) i.e. Patrick Young. See his article.

(12) Prolegom. in tom. IV. cap. iv. § 9.

(13) In the preface to his eſſay, ſect. 3. p. 4.

(14) MS. of Dr Rawlinſon the antiquary.

(15) Particularly Abp Sharp, who recommended him to Dr Grabe for the tranſlation above-mentioned, and afterwards by the Earl of Macclesfield, to whom he dedicated his life of Abulfeda.

(16) Preface to his Abulfeda.

(17) Grabe, in the preface to his eſſay before-mentioned.

(18) Dr Rawlinſon's MS.

* Several years afterwards he alſo tranſlated from the Arabic, Rhaſes on the ſmall-pox, at the requeſt of Dr Mead. See his article, remark [*M*].

(19) He ſpoke his inauguration ſpeech on Wedneſday in the firſt week of Lent. Preface to Abulfeda.

(20) He alſo in the notes occaſionally defends Dr H. Prideaux's life of Mahomet, which, however, he ſometimes corrects.

(21) Ladvcoat's Dict. Portatif. under our author's article, edit. 1755, in two tomes 8vo. But this, which I have not ſeen, is perhaps only a tranſlation of the folio edition.

(22) See Greave's article in this work, and the General Diction. under Abulfeda.

(23) Communicated by that gentleman.

(24) Catalogue of Oxford degrees.

(25) Mr Gagnier the father had acted for ſome time as deputy to his Ldſhip, who was Hebrew profeſſor at Oxford.

(26) From the information of a maid-ſervant who lived with her.

miſtakes about both are plainly proved. This piece was printed at Oxford in 1711, 8vo (*m*). In the dedication to Dr William Lloyd Biſhop of Worceſter, he obſerves, that it was the firſt treatiſe which he publiſhed in the Engliſh tongue for the ſervice of the church; and it proved in the event to be the laſt, being cut ſhort in the deſign he had of publiſhing many others by his death, which happened on the 13th of November the next year, in the vigour of his age (*n*). He was interred in Weſtminſter abbey, where a marble monument, with his effigy at full length, in a ſitting poſture, and a ſuitable Latin inſcription underneath, was erected (*o*), at the expence of that patron of the Oxford muſes the Lord Treaſurer Harley, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer. He was attended in his laſt illneſs by Dr afterwards Biſhop Smalridge, who gave him an ample teſtimony of his ſincere piety and religion (*p*). He deſired upon his death-bed, that ſomething might be made public to declare his dying in the faith and communion of the church of England, which he thought a pure and ſound part of the catholic church, notwithſtanding ſome defects, as he apprehended, in the reformation of it. Theſe defects were in points which he, however, deemed ſo eſſential, that he never communicated in it, except in caſe of neceſſity, without a particular caution and reſerve, and an aſſurance that the prieſt was of his own perſuaſion and ſentiments (*q*). His agreement with the Nonjuring ſeparatiſts in their favourite doctrines [*K*], produced a ſtrong attachment to him of that party, who thereby became faithful guardians of his fame. In ſhort, he was one of thoſe eminently diſtinguiſhed divines of whom the world rarely ſpeaks with a juſt temper. Thus while his character is ſunk below the ſtandard of candid truth by Le Clerc (*r*), it is exalted to exceſs by Mr Nelſon (*s*) and Dr Hickes, which laſt gentleman tells us, that our Pruſſian had ſo great a zeal for promoting the antient government and diſcipline of the church among all who had ſeparated themſelves from the corruptions and ſuperſtitions of the church of Rome, that he formed a plan, and made ſome advances in it, for reſtoring the epiſcopal order and office in the territories of that Prince [*L*]; and that he propoſed moreover to introduce a liturgy,

much

(*m*) Mr Whiſton publiſhed Remarks, &c. upon it immediately, which were anſwered by Mr Oatley in 1712.

(*n*) From the inſcription on his monument.

(*o*) It is placed at a conſiderable height over that of Camden, and by the attitude ſeems to be afraid of falling upon his head.

(*p*) Given in order to cl[illegible]r him from an aſperſion of impiety and drunkeneſs caſt upon him by one Caſimir Ouden. Epiſt. ad Piannoulli à J. Kiell.

(*q*) Hickes's account.

(*r*) In Biblioth. ancienne et moderne, tome II, p. 11.

(*s*) In his life of Bp Bull, p. 403. 2d edit. 1714. 8vo.

[*K*] *A ſtrong attachment to the fortunes of the Nonjurors.*] ‘ He never made any difficulty, ſays Dr Hickes (27), of telling his mind with a truly Chriſtian *parrheſia* of the oblation of bread and wine, and the prayer or invocation to God the Father in the conſecration, to ſend down his Holy Spirit upon them, that they might be unto the communicants, in the myſtical ſenſe, the body and blood of his Son Jeſus Chriſt; not in *ſubſtance*, but in *grace* and *virtue*, as in the antient liturgies, for the remiſſion of their ſins; for their confirmation in godlineſs; for the benefit of their ſouls and bodies; for the communion of the Holy Ghoſt; for ſure truſt and confidence in God; and for the reſurrection unto life eternal. For the ſame reaſon, he never was afraid to declare his mind freely for the practice of chriſm in confirmation; for anointing the ſick with oil; for confeſſion and ſacerdotal abſolution, as judicial; for prayer for the ſouls of the dead, who died in the faith and fear of God; for the antient commemoration of ſaints in the holy Euchariſt †. As he uſed to ſpeak of the want of theſe things as defects in the Reformed churches, ſo it was not without ſorrow and ſome indignation, that he uſed to lament the corruption and depravation of them in the church of Rome.’

[*L*] *He formed a plan for reſtoring of Epiſcopacy in Pruſſia.*] An account of this project to make the Lutheran church of Pruſſia epiſcopal, after the model of the church of England, may be ſeen in *Godwin de præſulibus*, by Dr Richardſon, under the article of Archbiſhop Teniſon, where that editor, after an encomium upon the ſucceſsful war preceding the peace of Utrecht, proceeded thus: ‘ Magna tum vigebat nominis Anglicani gloria, at vero ad illus cumulum adimplendum, una res deſiderabatur, quam cum nobis temporum opportunitas ultro obtuliſſe videretur, jure dolemus prætermiſſam fuiſſe & neglectam: Jam tum ſc. Fredericus Boruſſiæ Rex potentiſſimus, religionis juxta ac literarum Fautor inſigniſſimus, in Eccleſiis quotquot ad dictionem ſuam pertinebant, regimen Epiſcopale ſtabilire meditabatur. cumque præ cæteris eccleſiaſticam hanc politiam noſtram ad Apoſtolicæ diſciplinæ normam propius accedere exiſtimaret, inde potiſſimum ſibi exemplar ſumendum ſtatuit. Ea mente Liturgiam noſtram in linguam Germanicam, in popularium ſuorum uſus vertendam curavit: inſuper Legatis Spanhemio & Bonetto, qui tum Londino commorabantur, in mandatis dedit, ut cum Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi conſilia ſua communicarent; id ſedulo obſecrans poſtulanſque ut certi quidem homines e clero Boruſſiaco evocati, juxta eccleſiæ Anglicanæ ritus manuum epiſcopalium impoſitione Epiſcopi conſtituerentur. Verum cum nimis cunctanter hæc res procederet, ejuſdem Regis juſſu Urſinus inter Boruſſiæ Theologos Princeps literis ad Archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem datis anno MDCCVI. iterum iterumque efflagitavit, ut Boruſſorum neceſſitatibus hac in parte ſuccurreret Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ pietas. Archiepiſcopus colloquio habito per nuncium reſpondit, ſe quidem, quæ poſtulaverat, libenter facturum, quantum in ſe erat, neque honeſtis Boruſſorum deſideriis defuturum; verum in re tanti momenti amplius deliberandum cenſuit, ut Reginæ ipſius & eorum qui apud ipſam gratia valebant maxime, voluntate prius explorata & perſpecta, quid effici poterat, intelligeret; tum demum ſe ubi primum commode potuerit, literis ſignificaturum [α]; literas haſce diu ſane & fruſtra expectarunt Boruſſi: quænam vero interceſſerint impedimenta ſcire non datur, nihil certe effectum videtur. Verum hæc cunctatio Boruſſi animos adeo non fregit, ut etiam acrius erexerit & confirmaverit. Itaque per Legatos Archiepiſcopum Eboracenſem, anno, ſc. MDCCXI. cujus tum apud Aulicos authoritas magis valere putabatur, rei hujuſce eccleſiaſticæ curam ſedulo commendavit. Verum ne tum quidem quidquam profecit. Homines Aulici negotiis civilibus ita erant occupati & impediti, ut eccleſiaſtica minus curarent: atque irrita prorſus intercederunt pia Regis Boruſſi conſilia, unde tum ad religionem Reformatam accederent ſtabilitatis ſuæ præſidia, tum ad eccleſiæ Anglicanæ nova dignitatis amplificatæ ornamenta.’

Thus the account of this projected union ſtood in the firſt copies (28). But Biſhop Potter, who was the principal encourager of this edition of Godwin (29), obſerving ſome circumſtances in it not carefully enough related, prevailed with the learned editor to cancel the ſheet, and print another in its ſtead, in which the ſtory is much ſhortened, as follows: ‘ Reſtabat tamen eccleſiæ reformatæ una triumphi materies quum temporum opportunitas obtulit, quam tamen Archiepiſcopus noſter, præ nimia cunctatione, timiditate, vel abundanti & intempeſtiva cautela, neglexit. Intelligo Epiſcoporum in

‘ Boruſſia

(27) In his account, p. lxviii.

† According to the antient liturgies where this prayer is called the *Diptycks*, which contained a liſt of their names.

(28) Viz. in p. 167. edit. 1743.

(29) His Grace gave Dr Richardſon a good option. Communicated by Dr Nicholls, late Rector of St James's Weſtminſter, Maſter of the Temple, and Prebendary of St Paul's London.

[α] ‘ Hæc verba ex literis Rev. Viri Dris Ayerſt Archiepiſc. Cantuar. Aprilis IV, MDCCVII. datis tranſcripta exhibemus. Is ſc. Domino Raby jam tum ad Berolinenſes legato à ſacris domeſticis cum aſſiſteret, in hujuſce negotii adminiſtrandi ſocietatem admiſſus cum Archiepiſc. Cantuar, colloquia habuit, & ipſius ad Berolinenſes reſponſionem reportavit. Literæ quæ ultra citoque hac de re erant ſcriptæ genuinæ extant, nec non liturgiæ eccleſiaſticæ forma à Rev. Viro Jac. Jablonſki, Regis ſui juſſu deſcripta, & à memorato Doctore Ayerſt è Germanica in linguam vernaculam reddita.’

much after the model of the Engliſh Service, into the Pruſſian dominions. He recommended likewiſe the uſe of the Engliſh liturgy itſelf, by means of ſome of his friends, to a certain neighbouring court (*t*).

(*t*) Hickes.

Beſides the pieces already mentioned, our author publiſhed in 1705 an elegant edition in folio of Biſhop Bull's Latin works, with his own notes, for which he had the thanks of that learned prelate (*u*). He had alſo a hand in preparing for the preſs Archdeacon Gregory's pompous edition of the New Teſtament in Greek (*x*), which was printed the ſame year at Oxford; and in 1706 came out, at London, Caroli Daubuz *Preſbyteri & A. M. pro teſtimonio Flavii Joſephi de Jeſu Chriſto, libri duo: cum præfatione Johannis Erneſti Grabe.* He left moreover a great number of manuſcripts behind him, which he bequeathed to Dr Hickes for his life, and after his deceaſe to Dr George Smalridge. The former of theſe divines publiſhed an account of his life, prefixed to a tract of our author, with this title, *Some inſtances of the defects and omiſſions in Mr* Whiſton's *collection of teſtimonies from the Scriptures and the Fathers againſt the true Deity of the Holy Ghoſt, and of miſapplying and miſinterpreting divers of them, by Dr* Grabe, *found among his Engliſh manuſcripts, by* George Hickes *D. D.* Lond. 1712, 8vo. There came out afterwards two more of our author's pieces: 1. *Liturgia Græca Johannis Erneſti Grabe*, i. e. The Greek Liturgy of John Erneſt Grabe, publiſhed by Chriſtopher Matthew Pfaff, at the end of *Irenæi fragmenta anecdota*, printed at the Hague in 1715 (*y*), 8vo. 2. *De forma conſecrationis Euchariſtiæ hoc eſt defenſio eccleſiæ Græcæ* (*z*), &c. *written in Latin by John Erneſt* Grabe, *and now firſt publiſhed with an Engliſh verſion. To which is added, from the ſame author's manuſcripts, ſome notes concerning the oblation of the body and blood of Chriſt, with the form and effect of the Euchariſtical conſecration, and two fragments of a preface deſigned for a new edition of the firſt Liturgy of King Edward the Sixth; with a preface of the editor, ſhewing what is the opinion of the church of England concerning the uſe of the Fathers, and of its principal members, in regard to the matter defended by Dr Grabe, in this treatiſe* [*M*], Lond. 1721, 8vo.

(*u*) Idem.

(*x*) He reviſed the Schol[illegible], which Gregory, then dead, had collected from curious authors, and marked the places whence they were taken. Preface to that work.

(*y*) This liturgy was drawn up by our author for his own private uſe. Hickes.

(*z*) This tract was written before the eſſay againſt Whiſton, at the requeſt of Abp Sharp, but not publiſhed, becauſe he intended to write more obſervations of the faith of the two firſt centuries.

'Boruſſia ordinationem juxta eccleſiæ Anglicanæ 'exemplar, quam Rex Boruſſ. religionis reformatæ, 'juxta ac literatorum fautor per regna ſua celebrari 'voluit; & ea de cauſa virum tum eruditione, tum 'pietate eximium D. Erneſtum Grabe in Angliam 'tranſmiſit in epiſcopum juxta ritus eccleſiæ Angli'canæ ordinandum (30) Verum Archiepiſcopus adeo 'non avide occaſionem oblatum arripuit, ut frigide '& oſcitanter rem mementi graviſſimi curaret, & dif'ficultatibus & cauſationibus interjectis, ita in longum 'protraxit, ut aliquando tandem irrita prorſus inter'cideret (31).'

(30) See this article in the text, verſus initium.

(31) Godwin de Præſul. by Ri*chardſon*, p. 167. edit. 1743.

The truth is, *this* project was firſt ſuggeſted by Dr Erneſt Jablonſki, a learned Poliſh Proteſtant, born November 20, 1660, at Dantzick, who having completed his ſtudies in Germany, Holland, and England, was ſucceſſively miniſter of Magdebourg, Liſſa, Koningſberg, and Berlin, at which laſt place he became Preſident of the Academy of Sciences, and Eccleſiaſtical counſellor of Pruſſia. He appeared with great zeal againſt the Atheiſts and Deiſts, and laboured in vain to unite the Calviniſts and Lutherans. He died May 26, 1741, having publiſhed a Latin tranſlation of Dr Bently Sermons at Boyle's lecture, as alſo ſeveral Latin diſſertations about the country of Geſſen, beſides *Meditationes de divina origine Scripturæ Sacræ*; a piece intituled *Thorn affligée*, and other things, in good eſteem (32). This projecting reconciler taking epiſcopal orders from the only two remaining old Bohemian Biſhops, afterwards ordained Count Zinzendorf a *Biſhop*, and wrote to Dr Grabe and Dr Smalridge about getting the epiſcopal order eſtabliſhed in Pruſſia, and his colleague Orſini alſo appeared deſirous of it: but Jablonſki gave them a caution not to correſpond with Orſini upon the ſubject; Orſini ſaid he had written a letter to Archbiſhop Teniſon, to which the Archbiſhop had returned no anſwer; but Archbiſhop Potter was told by Dr Ayerſt above mentioned, that ſpeaking to Dr Teniſon about the matter, he denied that he had ever received that letter from Orſini. Thus it appears that Dr Teniſon's conduct in the affair was ſo far from meriting the cenſure thrown upon it by Dr Richardſon, that he behaved with great prudence, under a juſt apprehenſion that the project was formed by a few intemperate zealots only, and unſupported by the body of the clergy of that church in general (33). It is certain there was once a liturgy in the German language prepared for the uſe of the Pruſſian church, but their clergy would not accept it (34).

(32) Ladvocat's Dict. Portatif. Vol. I. under Jablonſki.

(33) A like defect was obſerved by Abp Wake, in a project offered to him of an union between the churches of France and England. See Wake's article.

(34) Dr Secker, the preſent Abp of Canterbury, from a MS. of Dr Potter, with additions by himſelf.

[*M*] *Defended by Dr Grabe, in his treatiſe.*] Among our author's plans, there was found one in Latin, intituled, *Anglicanæ eccleſiæ prerogativæ præ aliis Proteſtantium cætibus in praxi & doctrina ſeriatim*; and another with the titles of theſe prerogatives, in nine articles, after which was written in capitals *Deſiderata*, intimating his opinion, ſays Dr Hickes, for reſtoring the pure primitive practices and diſcipline of the catholic churches, which continued more or leſs corrupted in all churches till the Reformation. Among his Engliſh manuſcripts, was one containing remarks upon the epiſtles of Clemens Romanus, Polycarp, Ignatius, and the Shepherd of Hermas, which he communicated to Dr Wake, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who not only in the preface to the ſecond edition of his tranſlation of thoſe apoſtolic Fathers, but in a letter which he wrote for that purpoſe to the Doctor, acknowledges his great obligation for them. In his laſt will he ordered ſome few notes, which he had written upon Clemens Alexandrinus, to be ſent to Dr Potter (the editor of that Father's works) who afterwards ſucceeded Dr Wake in the Archbiſhopric, and who, together with Mr Wanley librarian to the Earl of Oxford, undertook and performed the taſk of comparing his copy with the Alexandrian manuſcript, before it went to preſs. The Doctor began alſo to write notes on Dr Wells's paraphraſe on the Epiſtles. He made likewiſe ſome remarks on the propitiatory oblation in the Euchariſt, by Mr John Johnſon, of Cranbrook in Kent, which, Dr Hickes ſays, he undoubtedly intended to communicate to the author. Laſtly, he left ſome emendanda and addenda to Dr Cave's *Hiſtoria Literaria* (35).

(35) Hickes's account of our author.

P

GREGORY [John], a learned author in the ſeventeenth century, was born at Agmondeſham in Bucks, November 10, 1607. His parents were in low circumſtances, but of ſuch noted piety and honeſty, as gained them the eſteem of perſons of the beſt quality in that place, whence this their eldeſt ſon, after their pious education of him, removed to Chriſtchurch Oxford (*a*), where he became a ſervitor in 1624, under the tuition of Dr George Morley, afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter (*b*). He applied himſelf to his ſtudies with prodigious diligence, and had made an uncommon progreſs in learning, when he took his firſt degree in arts, October 11, 1628. He commenced A. M. June 22, 1631 (*c*), and

(*a*) He was choſen by Dr Crook to wait upon Sir William Drake, and ſoon after upon Sir Robert Crook. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II, col. 100.

(*b*) Idem ibid.

(*c*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 240 and 252.

having entered into holy orders, was made chaplain or petty-canon of his college by the Dean, Dr Brian Duppa, who afterwards took him to be his chaplain; and on his promotion ſucceſſively to the Biſhoprics of Chicheſter and Saliſbury, collated him to a Prebend in each of thoſe churches. In 1634 he publiſhed at Oxford, in 4to. a ſecond edition *(d)* of Sir Thomas Ridley's *View of the civil and eccleſiaſtical law, with notes* [*A*]. Upon the breaking out of the civil wars he adhered to the royal cauſe, for which being deprived of his two prebends, he was reduced to great diſtreſs, in which condition he retired to an obſcure ale-houſe on Kidlington-green, near Oxford, where he lived in privacy; and in 1646 (*e*), juſt before his death, publiſhed *Notes and obſervations on ſome paſſages of Scripture* [*B*], in which kind of ſtudies he intended to ſpend the reſt of his life. But his conſtitution being broken with an hereditary gout, with which he had been troubled for above twenty years, and which at laſt ſeized his ſtomach, he died March 13, 1646, at Kidlington, whence his body, by the contribution of his friends, was conveyed to Chriſtchurch Oxford, and there interred *(f)*. He was honoured with the acquaintance and favour of the greateſt men of that age, and held a correſpondence with ſeveral eminent perſons abroad, as well Jeſuits and Jews as others. In 1650 came out, in 4to. *Gregorii poſthuma* [*C*], or certain learned tracts, written by John Gregory M. A. and chaplain of Chriſtchurch in Oxon; together with a ſhort account of the author's life, and elegies on his much lamented death. Publiſhed by his deareſt friend J. G. B. D. of Merton college. Beſides his printed works, he left two manuſcripts and three tranſlations, which laſt were afterwards publiſhed [*D*].

(d) It was reprinted at Oxford in 1662, 8vo. and again 1675, 4to.

(*e*) It was reprinted at London in 1660, 1665, 1671, 1683, 4to. and tranſlated into Latin, and inſerted in the *Critici Sacri*.

(f) Ath. Oxon. col. 101.

[*A*] In the preface he ſtyles this work a learned and uſeful view of both the laws, and remarks, that it may now hope to receive a more indifferent cenſure than before, as being committed to a ſeaſon more mature, and more perfectly diſpoſed (1): 'For howſoever (ſays he) the time that firſt brought this forth, could not be charged with any notable diſtemper, yet the commonwealth we live in was of that thriving nature, that however the preſent time may ſtill be good, yet it always makes the ſucceeding age better than itſelf. This argues the ſtate not near her ruin, though ſome unruly ſpirits, led by an irregular motion, have been bold to anticipate, as if every one that had ſo much pity to fear had alſo judgment enough to foreſee the ruin of a kingdom. If it needs muſt be ſuſpected that the ſtate is not far from her fall, let this be the only reaſon, becauſe ſhe draweth ſo near to her perfection. That which heretofore moſt of all incumbered theſe dominions, was the diſproportion of the civil power to the eccleſiaſtical. This a great Prince abated, and the act was truly maſculine, yet, like thoſe of the ſtrongeſt importance, would not be perfected by the ſame hand. Therefore it was by him ſo fully done on one ſide, that it might be feared leſt it ſhould run over on the other. To prevent this, the direction of theſe late diſcerning times hath warily provided, the wiſdom of the Prince having ſo well tempered both the powers, that it may now be hoped they ſhall agree one with the other, as both do in him, by a glorious correſpondence (2).' This extract is inſerted as a conſpicuous evidence of our author's warm attachment to the King and his prerogative, which it is well known was carried at this time to that height, as afterwards proved the unfortunate occaſion of Mr Gregory's ruin. In the mean time, it has been juſtly obſerved to his honour, that in his notes to this treatiſe he made an early diſcovery of his civil, hiſtorical, eccleſiaſtical, ritual, and oriental learning, and his ſkill in the Saxon, French, Italian, Spaniſh, and all the eaſtern languages, which it is alſo ſaid he made himſelf maſter of, without any guide, except Mr John Dod the decalogiſt (3), whoſe converſation and directions for the Hebrew tongue he enjoyed one vacation near Banbury.

[*B*] *Notes and obſervations on ſome paſſages of Scripture.*] He animadverts in the preface upon thoſe who, in explaining the Scriptures, made pretences to a ſpirit of interpretation: 'This, indeed, (ſays he) *is a ſpirit that bloweth where it liſteth, and no man can tell whence it cometh, nor whither it will go.* I would have you tell me by this ſpirit what kind the dial of Ahaz was of, or how the ſun could go ten degrees backwards; for the kind, I am ſure it was like none of ours in uſe; and if the retroceſſion could be meant of the ſhadow (and ſome men look no farther) the ſame thing may be made to fall out every day upon an ordinary dial, and (notwithſtanding what a good mathematician (4) hath ſaid to the contrary) in a ſite and poſition without the tropics: therefore, the going back is to be meant of the ſun itſelf (5).' In ſpeaking of the various readings of the Scriptures, he obſerves that is an invincible reaſon for the Scriptures part, that ſuch eſcapes ſhould be ſo purpoſely and infinitely let paſs, and yet no ſaving or ſubſtantial part at all ſcarce moved out of its place. To ſay the truth, theſe varieties of readings, in a few by-places, do the ſame office to the main Scripture, as the variations of the compaſs do to the whole magnet of the earth. The mariner knows ſo much the better for theſe to ſteer his courſe. With reſpect to the ſtyle of the Scriptures, he remarks that it is unſpeakably good, but not admirable in their ſenſe who reckon the height of it from the unuſualneſs of the phraſe. 'The Majeſty of that book (continues he) ſits upon another throne. He that was among the *Herdſmen of Tekoah*, did not write like him that was among the *Prieſts at Anathoth.*'

[*C*] *Gregorii poſthuma.*] The contents are, I. *A diſcourſe of the ſeventy interpreters, the place and manner of their interpretation.* II. *A diſcourſe declaring what time the Nicene creed began to be ſung in the church.* III. *A ſermon upon the Reſurrection*, 1 Cor. xv. 20. IV. Καινὰν δεύτερος, *or a diſproof of him in the third of St Luke, ver.* 36. V. *Epiſcopus Puerorum in die Innocentium.* VI. *De æris & epochis, ſhewing the ſeveral accounts of time among all nations, from the creation to the preſent age.* VII. *The Aſſyrian monarchy, being a deſcription of its riſe and fall.* VIII. *The deſcription and uſe of the terreſtrial globe.*

[*D*] *He left ſeveral manuſcripts, which were afterwards publiſhed.*] Theſe are, 1. *Alkibla, or a diſquiſition on worſhipping toward the eaſt.* 2. *Obſervationes in loca quædam excerpta ex Johannis Malelæ chronographia.* 3. A tranſlation from the Greek into Latin of *Palladicus de gentibus Indiæ & Brachmannibus*; another of S. *Ambroſius de moribus Brachmannorum*; and a third of *Anonymus de Brachmannibus*; which tranſlations came afterwards into the hands of Mr Edm. Chilmead, chaplain of Chriſtchurch Oxford, and then into thoſe of Edward Byſhe Eſq; who publiſhed them in his own name in 1665, at London, 4to.

(1) The firſt edition was printed in the reign of K. Ja. I. Sir Tho. Ridley was educated at King's college Cambridge. He became afterwards maſter of Eton ſchool, one of the maſters in chancery, chancellor of the dioceſe of Wincheſter, and vicar-general to Abp Abbot. He died January 23, 1628.

(2) The happineſs of theſe times is particularly celebrated by the Lord Chancellor Clarendon. See his article.

(3) See an account of this divine in Biſhop Wilkins's article.

(4) Pet. Nonius.

(5) See Sir Chriſt. Wren's article, remark [*K*].

H.

HALES [STEPHEN], an eminent Engliſh mechanic genius, was the ſixth ſon of Thomas Hales, Eſq; eldeſt ſon of Sir Robert Hales (*a*) of Beckeſbourn or Bekeſburne in Kent, where Stephen was born (*b*) Sept. 7, 1677. After a proper inſtruction in grammar learning, he was ſent to Cambridge, and entered a penſioner of Bennet college, June 19, 1696, under the tuition of Mr Robert Moſs, afterwards Dean of Ely (*c*). Having taken his firſt degree in arts at the ſtatutable period, he was pre-elected into a Fellowſhip April 16, 1702, into which he was admitted Feb. 25th following. He applied himſelf, with great aſſiduity and ſucceſs, to natural and experimental philoſophy [*A*], and acquainted

[*A*] *He applied his ſtudy to natural and experimental philoſophy*, &c.] In theſe ſtudies his chief aſſociate was William Stukeley jun. M. D. of whom we have the following account (1), That he was born at Holbech in Lincolnſhire, Nov. 7, 1687 (2); after going through the free-ſchool of that place, he was admitted into Bennet college Nov. 20, 1703, and choſen a ſcholar of it in April following. He often, whilſt an undergraduate, indulged a ſtrong propenſity to drawing and deſigning, which he had from his infancy. However he made phyſic his principal ſtudy, and with that view took frequent perambulations through the neighbouring country in ſearch of plants, with Mr Hales, then fellow of the college, and others, wherein he made great additions to Mr Ray's *Catalogus plantarum circa Cantabrigiam* (3). He ſtudied anatomy under Mr Rolfe the ſurgeon, and went, as well as Mr Hales, to Sig. Vagari's lectures in chymiſtry. However, taking the degree of M. B. in 1709, he made himſelf acquainted with the practical part of medicine under Dr Mead, then phyſician to St Thomas's hoſpital Southwark. He firſt began to practiſe at Boſton (4) in his native county; but in 1717 removed to London, where on the recommendation of Dr Mead, he was ſoon after elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and was one of the firſt who received that of the Antiquaries in 1718, as well as their ſecretary for many years during his reſidence in town. In 1719 he commenced at Cambridge M. D. and was admitted a fellow of the college of phyſicians about the time of his publiſhing *Arthur's Oon in Scotland*, and the *Roman Vallum*, with copper plates, in 1720, 4to. Soon after which his curioſity led him to be initiated into the myſteries of Maſonry (5), imagining them to be the remains of the famous myſteries of the ancients. In March 1722, he was appointed to read the *Gulſtonian* lecture before the college of phyſicians, in which he gives *A deſcription and hiſtory of the ſpleen* (6), and printed it in folio. Upon his being conſtituted maſter of a lodge of free-maſons in 1723, he preſented his brethren with *An account of the Roman amphitheatre at Dorcheſter*, in 4to. which he had delineated in one of the journeyings he was generally obliged to make in the ſpring, to relieve himſelf from the gout, which he had by inheritance to ſuch a degree, that it commonly confined him moſt of the winter months. In theſe tours he not only recovered his health, but indulged his innate love of antiquities, more eſpecially thoſe of his own country, by tracing out in the neighbourhood of London and in Kent the footſteps of Julius Cæſar's expeditions in this iſland, his camps, ſtations, &c. whilſt the fruit of his more diſtant travels was his *Itinerarium Curioſum, or An account of the antiquities and curioſities in travels through Great Britain, Centuria* I. adorned with elegant plates, and publiſhed at London 1724, folio (α). After having been one of the council of the College of Phyſicians, of the council of the Royal Society, and of the committee to examine into the condition of the aſtronomical inſtruments of the Royal Obſervatory at Greenwich, he left the town in 1726, and retired to Grantham in Lincolnſhire. He had an invitation from the Earl of Hertford to come and practice at Marlborough, upon the death of the phyſician there; but this he declined, and in 1728 entered into matrimony (7). During his reſidence here, he was phyſician to moſt of the conſiderable families in the neighbourhood, and upon the death of Dr. Hunter at Newark, was much ſollicited to ſucceed him; but having for ſome time had thoughts of entering into holy orders, and being encouraged thereto by Archbiſhop Wake, he was ordained at Croydon July 20, 1729, and in Oct. following was preſented by the Ld Chancellor *King* to the living of All Saints in Stamford (8). He removed thither in 1730, and entered upon his parochial cure, when Dr Rogers of that place had juſt invented his *oleum arthriticum*; our author applied it with admirable ſucceſs: it not only ſaved his joints, but with the addition of a proper regimen, and leaving off the uſe of fermented liquors, he recovered his health and limbs to a ſurprizing degree, and has ever ſince enjoyed a firm and active ſtate of body beyond any example in like circumſtances. This occaſioned him to publiſh *an account of theſe oils*, in innumerable inſtances, *in a letter to Sir Hans Sloane*, 1733; and the year after he publiſhed a treatiſe of *The cauſe and cure of the gout*, from a new rationale (9). He collected ſome remarkable particulars here in relation to Biſhop Cumberland, and 1736, printed an explanation, with an engraving of a curious ſilver plate, of Roman workmanſhip, in *baſſo relievo*, found underground at Riſley park in Derbyſhire. The ſame year came out his *Palæographia Sacra*, No. I. or, *Diſcourſes on the monuments of antiquity that relate to ſacred hiſtory*. In the like ſpirit he paid great attention to the works and hiſtory of the druids in this iſland, looking indeed upon them as the aboriginal and patriarchal prieſts here. With this view he viewed, and afterwards publiſhed, *Stonehenge* (10), in 1740, with many copper plates, in folio (11). About three years after he publiſhed what he called, *The druidical temple at Abury*. He loſt his former wife in 1737, whereupon he married the only daughter of Dean Gale, and the ſiſter of his friend Roger Gale, in 1739 (12), from which time he often ſpent his winters in London, where he preached before the Houſe of Lords Jan. 30, 1741, and became one of the founders of the Egyptian So-

(*a*) He was created a Bart. upon the reſtoration July 12, 1660. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. in the liſt of Barts. created that year.

(*b*) His mother was Mary the daughter and heireſs of Rich. Wood, of Abbots Langley in Hertfordſhire. Maſters's Hiſt. of Corpus-Chriſti college Cambr. p. 30. 2 edit. 1753, 4to.

(*c*) See his article.

(1) In Maſters's Hiſt. of Bennet college Camb. part II. p. 381, & *ſeq.*

(2) He was deſcended by his father's ſide of an ancient family, Lords of Great Stukeley near Huntingdon: his mother was Frances daughter of Rob. Bullen of Weſton Lincolnſhire, Gent. deſcended from the ſame anceſtors with Anne Bullen.

(3) This he was ſolicited to print, with a map of the country, but his father's death occaſioning many avocations to look after his domeſtic occaſions, prevented it.

(4) Here he ſtrongly recommended the chalybeate waters of Stanfield near Folkingham, and became one of the earlieſt drinkers of them himſelf.

(5) This, he tells us, enabled him to write more fully thereupon than had been hitherto done, although this work hath not yet been publiſhed.

(6) Together with ſome anatomical obſervations on the diſſection of an elephant, and many plates coloured in imitation of nature.

(7) He married Frances the daughter of Rob. Williamſon, of Allington near Grantham, a lady of a good family and fortune.

(8) He had likewiſe the offer of that of Holbech, the place of his nativity, by the Bp of Lincoln; and of another from the Earl of Winchelſea, but he declined them.

(9) This, with the abſtract thereof, has paſſed through ſeveral editions.

(10) He ſpent many months there, and at Abury and Ambreſbury, in Wiltſhire.

(11) He dedicated it to Peregrine D. of Ancaſter, who had made him one of his chaplains, giving him the living of Somerby near Grantham, the year before.

(12) He had no children by her, but by his former wife three daughters.

(α) He had contracted friendſhips with Sir Iſaac Newton, Thomas Earl of Pembroke, the Earls of Hertford and Winchelſea, Roger Gale, Eſq; and many of the literati at home, beſides ſome foreigners, as Dr Heigertahl, Mr Keiſler, and the learned Montfaucon, who inſerted ſome of his deſigns (ſent him by Archbiſhop Wake) in his Antiquity.

quainted himſelf with botany, anatomy, chymiſtry, and aſtronomy [*B*]. He proceeded A. M. at the next commencement in June 1703, and he took Holy Orders not long after; and in 1706 was appointed perpetual Curate of Teddington, near Twickenham, in Middleſex. In 1711 he went out B. D. (*d*). March 13, 1717-18, he was choſen a Fellow of the Royal Society, London (*e*), and about the ſame time vacated his Fellowſhip at Cambridge, by his acceptance of the living of Porlock in Somerſetſhire, which he exchanged for that of Faringdon in Hampſhire. Soon after this he engaged in a marriage with Mary, the daughter and heireſs of Dr Henry Newcombe of Haliſham in Suſſex, who reſided at Hadham in Herefordſhire (*). On the 5th of March the following year 1718-19, he exhibited an account of ſome experiments he had lately made on the effect of the ſun's warmth in raiſing the ſap in trees; this procured the thanks of the Society, who alſo requeſted him to proſecute the ſubject (*f*). To this requeſt our author complied with great pleaſure, and June 14, 1725, he exhibited a treatiſe giving an account of his progreſs. This treatiſe being highly applauded by the Society, he further enlarged and improved it, and in April 1727 (*g*) publiſhed it in 8vo. under the title of *Vegetable Statics, &c.* This being a diſcovery of his own, entirely new, founded on experiments made with the utmoſt care and exactneſs, and faithfully related with proper inferences from them, being likewiſe moſt uſeful to the curious in the culture and improvement of gardening, met with a favourable reception from the public, ſo that a ſecond edition was called for in 1731. In the preface to this edition our author promiſed a ſecond volume, which came out in 1733, under the title of *Statical Eſſays* [*C*]. In 1732 he was appointed one of the Truſtees for eſtabliſhing a new colony in Georgia (*h*), and ſo ſenſible was the Univerſity of Oxford of his extraordinary merit, that Jan. 20, 1733, they honoured him with a diploma, for the degree of D. D. (*i*) [*D*]. In 1734, when the health and morals of the

lower

(*d*) Maſters.

(*e*) Communicated by Dr Birch, from the regiſter of that ſociety.

(*) She died within two years after her marriage, and left no iſſue. Communicated by Mr Gilbert Bouchery, Rect. of Swaffham in Norfolk, who married his niece.

(*f*) See the papers of that ſociety.

(*g*) The ſame year he was choſen one of the council of the Royal Society. His life by Colliſon, F.R.S. in the Gen.Mag. for June 1764.

(*h*) He preached a ſermon at St Bride's before the truſtees, which he printed in 1754.

(*i*) The univerſity of Cambridge have not this power of granting degrees by diploma to members of other univerſities.

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ciety (13) about the ſame time. An account which he had publiſhed of Lady Roiſia's ſepulchral bell lately diſcovered at Royſton, was anſwered by Charles Parkin, A. M. Rector of Oxburgh in Norfolk in 1744; to which the Doctor replied in *Palæographia Britannia*, No. II. in 1746. To which Mr Parkin again replied in 1748. The Doctor was preſented the year before to the Rectory of St George's, Queen's-ſquare, Weſtminſter, by the Duke of Montague; hereupon all his other preferments becoming vacant, he removed to town in 1748; but he had the misfortune to loſe his patron ſhortly after, upon whoſe death he publiſhed ſome verſes, with others on his entertainment at Boughton, and *A philoſophic hymn on Chriſtmas-Day*. In 1750 he publiſhed in 8vo. *The philoſophy of earthquakes natural and religious*; a ſecond part of which was added to a ſecond edition of his *Sermon on the healing of diſeaſes as a character of the Meſſiah*, preached before the college of phyſicians that year. And the next year came out his *Palæographia Britannia*, No. III. We have alſo ſince, his *Account of the eclipſe, predicted by Thales* (14). In 1747 he publiſhed *The medallic hiſtory of Carauſius, &c.* 2 vol. 4to. In 1763 came out in 4to. his *Palæographia Sacra*, with three vegetable ſermons, dedicated to the Princeſs of Wales. He had printed ſome time before *An account of Richard of Cirenceſter, with obſervations*, in 4to. The Doctor is ſtill living in 1764, and in good health, and is preparing for the preſs, *The medallic hiſtory of the moſt ancient Kings of Britain.*

[*B*] *Chymiſtry, anatomy, and aſtronomy*] His genius for mechanics ſhewed itſelf in theſe ſtudies. In anatomy he contrived a method of obtaining a preparation of the lungs in lead. He placed a muſket barrel over a pan of lighted charcoal, ſo as to be kept in an equal and pretty conſiderable degree of heat. He then took the lungs of a dog with the wine-pipe, and having faſtened the wind-pipe very cloſely to the touch hole of the barrel, he applied a pair of bellows to the muzzle, and thus poured a ſtream of air, heated by its paſſage, through the barrel, into the lungs; by continuing this for about an hour, ſo as to keep the lungs always inflated, they were at length perfectly dried in an inflated ſtate, ſo as not to collapſe when taken away from the gun barrel; they were then properly placed as a mold, and melted lead poured into them, the metal not being much more heated than to bring it into fuſion; the lungs thus filled were put into cold water, and ſuffered to macerate till their whole ſubſtance waſhed off, and left a perfect caſt in lead of all their fine pipes and cavities, in all their various convolutions, and in their natural ſituation, with reſpect to each other. This method, however, it muſt be confeſſed, was too tedious and troubleſome, but injections in wax was apparently unknown to our ſtudents at this time. In chymiſtry he attended the lectures of Sig. Vigani, in Queen's college cloiſters, and went to ſee the chymical operations which he performed in a room in Trinity college, which had been the laboratory of Sir Iſaac Newton, and in which, unfortunately for the world, Sir Iſaac's MS. concerning chymical principles was accidentally burnt. In aſtronomy he contrived a machine to demonſtrate the Newtonian ſyſtem; it was conſtructed of braſs, and moved by wheels, ſo as to repreſent the motions of all the planets, upon the ſame principles, and nearly in the ſame manner, as the orrery. This machine of our author's was ſuppoſed to be the firſt of the kind; but it appeared that Dr Cumberland, Rector of All Saints at Stamford, and afterwards Biſhop of Peterborough, had conſtructed one of them before, when he was fellow of Magdalen college Cambridge (15).

[*C*] *Statical Eſſays.*] The contents of both theſe pieces are declared in their reſpective titles, 1. *Vegetable Staticks*, or, *An account of ſome ſtatical experiments on the ſap in vegetables: being an eſſay towards a natural hiſtory of vegetation. Alſo a ſpecimen of an attempt to analyſe the air, by a great variety of chymicoeſtatical experiments, which were read at ſeveral meetings before the Royal Society.* 2. *Statical Eſſays; containing hæmaſtaticks*; or, *An account of ſome hydraulick and hydroſtatical experiments, made on the blood and blood veſſels of animals. Alſo an account of ſome experiments on ſtones in the kidneys and bladder; with an enquiry into the nature of thoſe anomalous concretions. To which is added an appendix, containing obſervations and experiments relating to ſeveral ſubjects in the firſt volume.* They were both printed at the requeſt of the Royal Society (before whom moſt of them had been read) and dedicated to the King. Upon which Mr Maſters well obſerves, That in the inferences thence drawn, there is a variety of ingenious conjectures, of ſuch conſequence, that even the diſagreeable part of his work, to one of his humane and tender diſpoſition, did not deter him from purſuing his experiments, being conſcious of what ſervice they might be in the hands of the ſkilful in phyſic, to explain many of the various caſes, which occur in ſo complicated a ſubject, as an animal body. Thoſe on the calculus were made with the like view of becoming beneficial to mankind, by alleviating at leaſt, if not intirely preventing, the terrible diſorders thence ariſing; and the whole is applied in a manner highly becoming a clergyman, to illuſtrate the wiſdom of the divine architect, whoſe maſterly hand is viſible, and may be alone ſaid to act (where intelligent and free agents do not) through every part of nature.

[*D*] *A diploma for the degree of D. D.*] It is drawn in theſe terms: *Cancellarius, Magiſtri, et ſcholares univerſitatis Oxon. omnibus ad quos præſentes hæ literæ pervenerint ſalutem in domino ſempiternam. Cum eum in*

finem

(13) This brought him acquainted with the Lord Sandwich its Preſident, and the Duke of Montague, one of its members.

(14) In Phil. Tranſ. vol. xlviii. part I. No. 33.

(15) Stuk Iy, at the requeſt of his friend Hales, made a drawing of the ſphere he invented, the original of which is ſtill in his poſſeſſion. Author's life in the Gent. Mag. for June 1764.

lower and middle claſs of people were ſubverted by the exceſſive drinking of gin, our author publiſhed, in 8vo. with his name, *A friendly admonition to the drinkers of Brandy, and other diſtilled ſpirituous liquors:* and in 1739, came out under his name, *Philoſophical experiments on ſea-water, corn, fleſh, and other ſubſtances, containing many uſeful inſtructions for voyages* (k). The ſame year he exhibited to the Royal Society, an account of ſome farther experiments towards the diſcovery of medicines for diſſolving the ſtone in the kidney and bladder (l), and preſerving meat in long voyages, whereupon the Society preſented him the gold medal of Sir Godfrey Copley's donation (m). His next piece is, *An account of ſome experiments and obſervations on Mrs Stephens's medicines for diſſolving the ſtone: wherein their diſſolving power is inquired into and ſhewn,* London 1740, 8vo. In 1741 he read before the Royal Society, an account of his *Ventilators* for conveying freſh air into mines, hoſpitals, priſons, &c. [E], and a deſcription of them came out 1743, 8vo. The ſame year he read before the Royal Society, a deſcription of a method of conveying liquors into the abdomen during the operation of tapping (n). In 1745 he publiſhed in 8vo. *ſome experiments and obſervations on tar water* (o). In this and the five following years he communicated ſeveral new inventions and improvements in experimental philoſophy [F], which were publiſhed in the Phil. Tranſ. and the Gent. Mag. for thoſe years. In 1750 he publiſhed *Some conſiderations on the cauſe of earthquakes, read before the Royal Society April* 5th that year (p). The ſame year was publiſhed (q), an examination of the ſtrength of ſeveral purging waters, eſpecially of the water of Jeſſop's well. He had now been ſeveral years honoured with the eſteem and friendſhip of his Royal Highneſs Frederick Prince of Wales, who frequently viſited him at Teddington from his neighbouring palace at Kew, and took a pleaſure in ſurprizing him in the midſt of thoſe curious reſearches into the various parts of nature, which almoſt inceſſantly employed him; and upon the Prince's death, which happened this year, and the ſettlement of the Princeſs Dowager's houſehold, he was, without his ſollicitation or even knowledge, appointed clerk of the cloſet to her Royal Highneſs, as well as to the Prince her ſon (the preſent King) and had ſome ſhare in the inſtruction of her illuſtrious offſpring (r). In 1751 he was choſen by the college of phyſicians, London, to preach the annual ſermon called Crown's lecture, which as uſual was publiſhed at the requeſt of the college. In the latter end of 1752, his Ventilators, worked by a windmill, were fixed in Newgate [G]. On the death of Sir Hans

(k) He dedicated this to the Lords of the Admiralty.

(l) He had before given ſome experiments of this kind in his Statical Eſſays.

(m) The books of that Society.

(n) This was printed in Phil. Tranſ. No. 472. p. 24.

(o) This was occaſioned by Bp Berkeley's Siris, on which ſubject ſeveral letters between them paſſed, particularly with reſpect to the uſe of tar-water in the diſeaſe then raging among the horned cattle.

(p) This was occaſioned by the ſlight ſhock felt that year in London.

(q) Printed in Ph. Tranſ. No. 495.

(r) Colliſon's account of his life, and Maſters as before.

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finem gradus academici a majoribus noſtris prudenter inſtituti fuerint, ut viri de re literaria optime meriti iſtis inſignibus a literatorum vulgo ſecernerentur, cumq; nobis compertum ſit reverendum virum Stephanum Hales, Sacræ Theologiæ Baccalaureum Ingenio atq; ſcriptis de materia recondita pariter ac curioſa inter hujuſce ſæculi philoſophos merito inclaruiſſe, iiſq; porro quæ hominis clerici famam commendant virtutibus inter primos extitiſſe, æquum judicavimus et academiæ noſtræ conſentaneum venerabilem hunc virum in republica literaria pariter et eccleſia tanta cum laude verſatum teſtimonio noſtro publico cohoneſtare; idcirco in ſolenni convocatione doctorum, magiſtrorum, regentium et non regentium, viceſimo primo die menſis Junii anno domini milleſimo ſeptingenteſimo triceſimo tertio habito (conſpirantibus omnium ſuffragiis) reverendum et egregium virum Stephanum Hales, Doctorem in Sacra Theologia, renunciavimus et conſtituimus; eumq; virtute præſentis diplomatis ſingulis juribus, privilegiis et honoribus gradui iſto quaqua pertinentibus frui et gaudere juſſimus. In cujus rei teſtimonium ſigillum Univerſitatis Oxon. commune (quo hac in parte utimur) præſentibus apponi fecimus. Dat. in domo noſtro congregationis quinto Dei menſis Julii anno domini prædicto (16).

[E] *His Ventilator, &c.*] It is very remarkable that a machine of the ſame kind, for the ſame purpoſe, was in the ſpring of the ſame year invented by one Martin Friewald, an officer in the ſervice of the King of Sweden, called *captain of mechanics*; for which the King and ſenate granted him a privilege in Oct. following, and ordered every ſhip of war in the ſervice of that ſtate to be furniſhed with one of them: a model alſo of this machine was ſent into France, and all the ſhips in the French navy were likewiſe ordered to have a ventilator of the ſame ſort. It happened, moreover, that Sutton's ventilator (17) of another conſtruction was invented about the ſame time, which were recommended by Du Hamel, ſurveyor general of the French marine, and by Mr Benj. Robins, F. R. S. and by the influence of Dr Mead were uſed in ſeveral ſhips of the royal navy, for ſome time, but being found of little or no ſervice, were laid aſide, and Dr Hales's ventilators have been long uſed on board the King's ſhips, and are found to anſwer the beneficial purpoſes intended (18). Our author's ventilators were alſo of uſe for many other purpoſes, particularly for keeping corn ſweet by blowing thro' it freſh ſhowers of air; a practice very ſoon adopted by France, where a large granary has been made, under the direction of Du Hamel aforementioned, for the preſervation of corn in this manner, with a view to make it a general practice.

[F] *Several new inventions and improvements, &c.*] In 1745, he communicated to the public a deſcription of a back-heaver, which will winnow and clean corn much ſooner and better than by the common method; as alſo a cheap and eaſy way to preſerve corn ſweet in ſacks (19). The ſame year he likewiſe directs how to keep corn ſweet in heaps, without turning it, and to ſweeten it when muſty. Moreover he publiſhed the next year 1746, an account of ſeveral methods to preſerve corn by ventilators, with a particular deſcription of ſeveral ſorts of ventilators, illuſtrated by a cut, ſo that the whole mechaniſm of them may be eaſily known, and the machine conſtructed by a common carpenter. This year he publiſhed alſo a detection of the fallacious boaſts concerning the efficacy of the *liquid ſhell*, in diſſolving the ſtone in the bladder (20). The ſame year his propoſal for bringing ſmall paſſable ſtones ſoon and with eaſe out of the bladder, was printed in the Phil. Tranſ. In the Gent. Mag. for July 1747, he publiſhed an account of a very conſiderable improvement of his *back-heaver*, by which it became capable of clearing corn of the very ſmall grain, ſeed, blacks, ſmut-balls, &c. to ſuch perfection as to render it fit for ſeed corn. On the 21ſt of April 1748 he communicated to the Royal Society a propoſal for checking in ſome degree the progreſs of fires (21). The ſame year he alſo communicated to the ſociety two memoirs, printed in their Tranſactions; one on the great benefit of ventilators, and the other on ſome experiments in electricity (22). In 1749 his ventilators were fixed in the Savoy priſon, and the benefit was ſo great, that though 50 or 100 in a year often died of the gaol diſtemper before, yet from 1749 to 1752 incluſive, no more than four perſons died (though in 1750 the number of priſoners was 240) and of thoſe four, one died of the ſmall-pox, and another of intemperance.

[G] *His ventilators were fixed in* (23) *Newgate.*] They are worked by a windmill with branching trunks to 24 wards, and it appeared that the diſproportion of thoſe that died in the gaol before, and after this eſtabliſhment was 7 to 16. In the Gent. Magazine, vol. xxii. p. 179, is a particular deſcription of theſe venti-

(16) Maſters, in the appendix, No. lxxiv. p. 97, 98.

(17) A coffee-man in Alderſgate-ſtreet London. See more of it in Gent. Mag. for June 1764. Dr Mead's article.

(18) Univerſal Mag. for Feb. 1762, p. 93, where it is ſaid that ſome indirect methods were uſed to procure Sutton's ventilators a degree of credit to which neither they nor their author had any juſt pretence.

(19) Of great benefit to farmers, eſpecially to poor leaſeholders, who have no proper granary.

(20) See Gent. Mag. vol. xv. p. 353, 354, and 640. Vol. xvi. p. 315.

(21) This was occaſioned by the great fire in Cornhill that year: it was printed in Phil. Tranſ. See Gent. Mag. vol. xix. p. 554.

(22) In this he takes notice of his diſcovery that the windows of the treaſury were electrified as often as the guns were fired in St James's park on public occaſions.

(23) By order of the Rt. Hon. Henry Fox, Eſq; then Secretary at War, now Lord Holland.

Hans Sloane in 1753, he was elected in his room a member of the Academy of Sciences at Paris (*s*). On the 19th of Dec. 1754, he communicated to the Royal Society, *Some experiments for keeping water and fiſh ſweet with lime-water* (*t*) [*H*]. In 1757 he communicated to the editor of the Gent. Mag. *An eaſy method of purifying the air*, and regulating its heat in melon frames and hot green houſes; as alſo further improvements in his method of diſtilling ſea-water (*u*). His reputation, and the intereſt of his family and friends, might eaſily have procured him farther preferment; but of farther preferment he was not deſirous, for being nominated by his late Majeſty to a Canonry of Windſor, he engaged the Princeſs Dowager of Wales to requeſt his Majeſty to recall his nomination (*w*). Thus, without the leaſt regard to private intereſt, he dedicated the whole of his labours to the ſervice of the public. He was at the ſame time remarkable for ſocial virtue and ſweetneſs of temper; his life was not only blameleſs, but exemplary in a high degree; he was happy in himſelf, and beneficial to others [*I*], as appears by this account of his attachments and purſuits; the conſtant chearfulneſs of his mind, and the temperance and regularity of his life, concurred with a good conſtitution to preſerve him in health and vigour to the uncommon age of 84. He died at Teddington Jan. 4, 1761, and was buried, purſuant to his own directions, under the tower of the pariſh church, which he had built at his own expence not long before his death (*x*). Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Dowager of Wales erected a monument to his memory in Weſtminſter Abbey, with an inſcription [*K*.]

(*s*) Id. there are only eight foreign members.

(*t*) Printed in the Phil. Tranſ. and Gent. Mag. vol. xxv. p. 310.

(*u*) Id. vol. xxvii. p. 165. 503.

(*w*) So ſays Colliſon. But I am informed that he was never actually nominated, but upon receiving a hint from a good hand that he ſhould be thought of for that preferment on a vacancy, he reſpectfully ſignified to the Princeſs of Wales his deſire to be excuſed from the acceptance of any future preferment. Mr Bouchery as before.

(*x*) Idem.

ventilators, illuſtrated with two copper plate cuts, and many curious experiments are there alſo related by the Doctor, demonſtrating the ſalutary effects of theſe machines. He publiſhed alſo a further account of their ſucceſs, and ſome obſervations on the great danger ariſing from foul air, exemplified by a narrative of ſeveral perſons ſeized with the gaol fever by working in Newgate (24). In 1753 he publiſhed ſome farther conſiderations about means to draw the foul air out of the ſick rooms of occaſional army hoſpitals in private houſes in town (25). He alſo publiſhed many other curious particulars relative to the uſe and ſucceſs of ventilators, in the Gent. Mag. (26). The ſame year 1754, a deſcription of a ſea-gage, which the Doctor invented to meaſure unfathomable depth, was communicated to the public in the ſame miſcellany (27). This paper was drawn up about the year 1732 or 1733, by the Doctor, for the late Colin Campbell, Eſq; who employed the ingenious Mr Hawkſby to make the machine it deſcribes, which was tried by that gentleman in his voyage to Jamaica (28), in various depths, and anſwered with great exactneſs; yet at laſt was loſt near Bermuda.

[*H*] *A method of keeping water and fiſh ſweet, &c.*] He alſo continued to enrich the memoirs of the Royal Society with many uſeful articles from this time till his death, particularly by an account of making ſea-water freſh, by blowing ſhowers of freſh air up through it during diſtillation (29). There is likewiſe an account of ſome experiments to cure the ill taſte of milk, and ſweeten ſtinking water, in Gent. Mag. (30)

[*I*] *He was happy in himſelf, and beneficial to others.*] The following character is given him by Dr Secker, the preſent Archbiſhop of Canterbury, when Biſhop of Oxford. He is, ſays his Lordſhip, an excellent man, who hath been long an ornament to his profeſſion as a clergyman, and to his country as a philoſopher (31).

[*K*] *The inſcription upon his monument.*] It runs thus in Latin:

Stephano Hales
S. T. P.
Auguſta Georgii tertii
Regis optimi Mater P.
. . . Quæ viventem
Ut ſibi in ſacris miniſtraret, elegit;
Mortuum prid. non. Jan. MDCCLXI
Octageſimum quartum agentem annum
Hoc marmore ornavit.

(24) Gent. Mag. vol. xxiii. p. 71.

(25) Id. p. 173.

(26) Vol. xxiv. p. 114 to 116.

(27) Id. p. 215.

(28) Where he was poſſeſſed of a large eſtate, and died there about 1740. MS *penes me.*

(29) Phil. Tranſ. vol. xlix. part I. p. 312.

(30) Vol. xxvi. p. 130.

(31) Sermon before the London Infirmary, Feb 20, 1754.

HANDEL [George Frederic], an illuſtrious maſter in muſic, who though a foreigner by birth, lived all the latter part of his life, and died, in England. He was born at Hall in Upper Saxony, Feb. 24, 1684. From his very childhood he diſcovered ſuch a propenſity to muſic, that his father (*a*), who always intended him for the ſtudy of the civil law, was alarmed at it, and took every method to oppoſe it, but in vain [*A*]. Before he was ſeven years of age he went with his father to the Duke of Saxe Weiſenfel's, where it was not poſſible to keep him from harpſichords and other inſtruments; and his performance upon an organ after divine ſervice being obſerved to be very extraordinary (*b*), the Duke prevailed with his father to drop his intention of breeding him to the civil law, and to conſent that a maſter ſhould be called in to aſſiſt his genius for muſic. Immediately after his return to Hall, his father placed him under one Zackaw, organiſt to that cathedral church, a perſon of great abilities in his profeſſion, and not more qualified than inclined to do juſtice to any pupil of promiſing hopes. Handel pleaſed him ſo much, that he never thought he could do enough for him. He was proud of a pupil who already began to attract the attention of the public, and alſo glad of an aſſiſtant, who by his prodigious talents was capable of ſupplying his place whenever he had a mind to be abſent. It may ſeem ſtrange to talk of an aſſiſtant at ſeven years of age, but it is ſtranger that at nine he began to compoſe the church ſervice for voice and inſtruments; and from that time actually did compoſe a ſervice every week for three years ſucceſſively. Having by the maſter's confeſſion far ſurpaſſed him, and made all the improvements he could at Hall, it was agreed he ſhould go to Berlin, where the opera was in a flouriſhing condition, under the encouragement of the King of Pruſſia, grandfather to his preſent Majeſty. Handel went to Berlin in 1698, and he had not been long at that court before his abilities

The ſubſtance of this article is taken from memoirs of the author's life, Lond. 1760, 8vo.

(*a*) He was an eminent phyſician and ſurgeon of the ſame place, and above 60 years old at the birth of this ſon, who was the iſſue of a ſecond venter.

(*b*) The Duke's valet de chambre was Handel's brother-in-law.

[*A*] *Took every method to oppoſe it in vain.*] The old gentleman kept him out of the way of, and ſtrictly forbid him to meddle with, muſical inſtruments of any kind: nevertheleſs the ſon found means to get a little clavichord privately conveyed to a room at the top of the houſe, and with this he uſed to amuſe himſelf when the family was aſleep.

became known to the King, who frequently ſent for him, and made him large preſents. His Majeſty alſo offered to ſend him to Italy, where he might be formed under the beſt maſters, and have opportunities of hearing and ſeeing all that was excellent in the kind, but there were reaſons for refuſing this offer, and alſo for leaving Berlin, as he did ſoon after [*B*]. Next to the opera of Berlin, that of Hamburg was in the higheſt requeſt; and thither it was reſolved to ſend him on his own bottom, and chiefly with a view to improvement; but his father's death happening ſoon after, and his mother being left in narrow circumſtances, he thought it neceſſary to procure ſcholars, and obtain ſome employment in the orcheſtra, in which he ſoon obtained the firſt harpſichord [*C*]. From conducting the performance, he became composer to the houſe, and *Alneria*, his firſt opera, was made here, when he was not above fourteen years of age. The ſucceſs of this (*c*) encouraged him to make others, as he did alſo a conſiderable number of *Sonatas* not extant. After a ſtay at Hamburg of about four or five years [*D*], he went to Italy, and Florence was his firſt deſtination, where at the age of eighteen, he made the opera of *Roderigo* [*E*], for which he was preſented with 100 ſequins, and a ſervice of plate. After about a year's ſtay at Florence, he went to Venice, where he was firſt diſcovered at a maſquerade, while he was playing on a harpſichord diſguiſed by a viſor (*d*). Being earneſtly importuned to compoſe an opera, he finiſhed his *Agrippina* in three weeks, which was performed 27 nights ſucceſſively, and with which the audience were enchanted almoſt to a degree of diſtraction. From Venice he went to Rome, where his arrival was no ſooner known, than he received polite meſſages from perſons of the firſt diſtinction [*F*]. From Rome he went to Naples, and after he quitted Naples, he made a ſecond viſit to Florence, Rome, and Venice. The whole time of his abode in Italy was ſix years, during which he had made abundance of muſic, and ſome in almoſt every ſpecies of compoſition. Handel was now returned to his native country, but yet he had not done travelling, nor was likely to have done while there was any muſical court which he had not ſeen. Hanover was the firſt that he ſtopped at, where he found *Steffani*, with whom he had been acquainted at Venice, and who was then maſter of the chapel to that Elector, afterwards King George I. of England. He was introduced at this court by Baron Kilmanſeck (*e*), who recommended him ſo well, that his Electoral Highneſs offered him a penſion of 1500 crowns *per Ann.* as an inducement to ſtay, which was accepted by Handel upon condition of having leave of abſence for a twelvemonth to go where he pleaſed. After paying a viſit to his mother, who was now extremely old and blind, and to his old maſter Zackaw, he ſet out for Duſſeldorp, where the Elector was highly pleaſed with him, and at parting made him a preſent of a fine ſet of wrought plate for a deſert. From Duſſeldorp he made the beſt of his way through Holland; and embarking for England he arrived at London in the winter of 1710. He was ſoon introduced at court, and honoured with marks of the Queen's favour. Many of the nobility were impatient for an opera from him, whereupon he compoſed *Rinaldo*, in which the famous Nicolini ſung. His ſucceſs was great, and his engagements at Hanover the ſubject of much concern. He returned thither at the promiſed time, where, beſides his penſion, *Steffani* had reſigned to him the maſterſhip of the chapel. But in 1712 he obtained leave of the Elector to make a ſecond viſit to England, on condition that he returned within a reaſonable time. The poor ſtate of muſic here made the nobility deſirous to have him employed in compoſing for the theatre: to their applications the Queen added her own authority, and as an encouragement ſettled on him for life a penſion of 200l. a year. All this made Handel

(*c*) It run for 30 nights without interruption.

(*d*) Scarlatti happened to be there, and affirmed it could be no one but the famous Saxon or the devil.

(*e*) This nobleman's lady was a particular favourite with the Elector. Gen. Hiſt. of Engl. under the reign of K. Geo. I.

[*B*] *He left Berlin.*] During his ſtay there he became acquainted with two Italian compoſers, Buononcini and Attilio, the ſame who afterwards came to England while Handel was here, and were at the head of a formidable oppoſition againſt him.

[*C*] *He obtained the firſt harpſichord.*] This honour had like to have coſt him dear: one of the maſters who laid claim to it, reſented his being conſtrained to yield to ſuch a ſtripling competitor, as they were coming out of the orcheſtra, made a puſh at him with a ſword, which had infallibly pierced his heart, but for a friendly *muſic ſcore* which he carried accidentally in his boſom. *Had this happened*, ſays his hiſtorian, *in the early ages, not a mortal but would have been perſuaded that Apollo himſelf interpoſed to preſerve him in the form of a muſic book.*

[*D*] *After ſtaying at Hamburg four or five years.*] He contracted an acquaintance there with the Prince of Tuſcany, brother to John Gaſton de Medicis, the Grand Duke. The Prince, who was a great lover of the art, often lamented Handel's not being acquainted with the Italian muſic, ſhewed him a large collection of it, and was very deſirous he ſhould return with him to Florence. Handel bluntly anſwered that he could ſee nothing in the muſic anſwerable to the Prince's character of it; but on the contrary thought it ſo very indifferent, that the ſingers, he ſaid, muſt be angels to recommend it. The prince ſmiled at the ſeverity of his cenſure, yet preſſed him to go thither with him, intimating that no convenience ſhould be wanting. Handel thanked him for the offer of a favour which he did not chuſe to accept; for he reſolved to go to Italy on his own bottom, as ſoon as he could make a purſe ſufficient for the purpoſe. He had in him from his childhood a ſtrong ſpirit of independency, which was never known to forſake him in the moſt diſtreſſed ſeaſons of his life; and it is remarkable that he refuſed the greateſt offers from perſons of the firſt diſtinction, nay, and even the higheſt favours from the faireſt of the fair ſex, only becauſe he would not be cramped or confined by particular attachments.

[*E*] *The opera of Roderigo.*] Vitoria, a celebrated actreſs and ſinger, bore a principal part in this opera: ſhe was a fine woman, and had been ſome time in the good graces of his Serene Highneſs; yet Handel's youth and comelineſs, joined to his fame and abilities in muſic, had raiſed emotions in her heart, which, however, we do not find in the leaſt encouraged by Handel.

[*F*] *He received polite meſſages from perſons of the firſt diſtinction.*] Among his greateſt admirers was the Cardinal Ottoboni, a perſon of a refined taſte, and princely magnificence; at whoſe court he met with the famous Corelli, with whom he became well acquainted. Attempts were made at Rome to convert him to Popery, but Handel declared he was reſolved to die a member of that community, whether true or falſe, in which he had been born and bred.

forget his obligations to return to Hanover; ſo that when King George came over upon the Queen's death in 1714, conſcious how ill he had deſerved at his hands, he durſt not appear at court. However, he was ſoon reſtored to his Majeſty's favour [*G*], who as a token of it, was pleaſed to ſettle on him a penſion for life of 200l. a year, to that which Queen Ann had given him before. Our muſician was now ſettled in England, and well provided for. The three firſt years he was chiefly, if not conſtantly, at the Earl of Burlington's [*H*]; the two next years he ſpent at Canons (*), which was then in its glory, and compoſed muſic for that chapel. While he was there a project was formed for erecting an academy in the Hay-market, for a conſtant ſupply of operas, to be compoſed by Handel, and to be performed under his direction. For this purpoſe a large ſum was ſubſcribed (*f*), and our muſician went to Dreſden in queſt of ſingers, from whence he brought *Seneſino* and *Duriſtanti* [*I*]. Thus all went on proſperouſly for a courſe of ten years. Handel maintained an abſolute authority over the ſingers and the band, or rather kept them in total ſubjection [*K*]; but this, however they regarded it hitherto as a legal government, at length appeared to be downright tyranny, upon which a rebellion commenced, with Seneſino at the head of it, and all became tumult and civil war. Handel not being able to diſmiſs Seneſino (*g*), reſolved to have no further concerns with him. And thus the academy, after a continuance of above nine years, was at once diſſolved. Handel ſtill continued at the Hay market, but his audience gradually ſunk away. New ſingers muſt be ſought, and could not be had any nearer than Italy. Diſcouraging this! yet to Italy he went; and returning with ſeveral ſingers re-embarked on a new bottom, he carried it on for three or four years; but with no good ſucceſs. A new ſubſcription was raiſed for another opera at Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and *Farinelli* (§) with others ſent for: in ſhort the oppoſition was ſo ſtrong, that in ſpite of his great abilities his affairs declined. His fortune was not more impaired than his health and his underſtanding: his right arm was become uſeleſs to him from a ſtroke of the palſey, and his ſenſes were greatly diſordered at intervals for a long time. In this unhappy ſtate it was thought neceſſary for him to go to the Vapour-baths at Aix-la-Chapelle, and from them he received a ſurprizing cure (*h*). Soon after his return to London in 1736, his *Alexander*'s *Feaſt* was performed at Covent-Garden, and applauded; ſeveral other attempts of the like nature were alſo made to reinſtate him, but they did not prevail; the Italian party was too powerful; ſo that in 1741 he went to Dublin [*L*], where he was well received: but his ſtay there was ſhort, he returned to London in 1741-2, when he found the minds of moſt men diſpoſed in his favour, and the æra of his proſperity recommenced. He immediately began his *Oratorios* in Covent-Garden, which he continued with uninterrupted ſucceſs, and unrivalled glory, till within eight days of his death (*i*). The laſt was performed on the ſixth, and he expired on the 14th of April 1759. He was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey, where by his own order, and at his own expence, a handſome marble monument, with an inſcription, is erected to his memory. With regard to his character, his perſon was large and rather clumſy, and his aſpect not animated or marked by any tracks of that extraordinary muſical genius within. In his diet he was a notorious epicure, a vice not unuſually ſeen in perſons of diſtinguiſhed talents, endowed with a vigorous conſtitution. His genius lay chiefly to grand and full muſic, conſiſting of a great number and variety of parts.

(*) The magnificent ſeat of the Duke of Chandos, ſince entirely pulled down.

(*f*) The King ſubſcribed 1000l. and the nobility and gentry 4000l.

(*g*) To manage him by gentle means he diſdained, yet to controul him by force he could not, Seneſino's intereſt and party being too powerful.

(§) An Italian ſinger who even rivaled Seneſino.

(*h*) Which, from the manner as well as quickneſs of it, paſſed with the nuns for a miracle.

(*i*) In 1751, a gutta ſerena deprived him of his ſight, but his faculties remained in their full vigour almoſt to the hour of his diſſolution.

[*G*] *Soon reſtored to his Majeſty's favour.*] His noble friend Baron Kilmanſeck, who happened to be here, contrived, with others of the nobility, the following ſcheme for reinſtating him in his Majeſty's favour. The King was perſuaded to form a party on the water; and Handel was bid to prepare ſome muſic on that occaſion. It was performed and conducted by himſelf unknown to his Majeſty, whoſe pleaſure on hearing it was equal to his ſurprize. Upon his enquiring whoſe it was, the Baron produced the delinquent, and preſented him to his Majeſty, as one that was too conſcious of his fault to attempt an excuſe for it. Thus Handel was reſtored to favour, and his muſic honoured with the higheſt approbation.

[*H*] *The two firſt years he was chiefly at the Earl of Burlington*'s.] Here he frequently met Mr Pope. The poet one day aſked his friend, Dr Arbuthnot, of whoſe knowledge in muſic he had an high idea, what was his real opinion of Handel, as a maſter of that ſcience? who replied, "Conceive the higheſt that you can of his abilities, and they are much beyond any thing that you can conceive." Mr Pope nevertheleſs declared, that the fineſt things, ſo untoward were his ears, gave him no more pleaſure than the airs of a common ballad.

[*I*] *Seneſino and Duriſtanti.*] At this time Buononcini and Attilio, whom we have mentioned before, compoſed for the opera, and had a ſtrong party in their favour, and by them a violent oppoſition was maintained (*); but at laſt they were all united, and each was to have his particular part.

[*K*] *He kept the ſingers in total ſubjection.*] Having one day a diſpute with *Cuzzoni* (§), on her refuſing to ſing ſomewhat that was appointed for her: *Oh! madame*, ſaid he, *je ſcais bien, que vous êtes une veritable diableſſe; mais je vous ferai ſcavoir, moi, que je ſuis Beelzebub le chef des diables.* 'Oh! madam, I know 'very well that you are a true devil, but I will make 'you know that I am Beelzebub the chief of the 'devils.' With this he took her up by the waiſt, and if ſhe made any more words, ſwore that he would fling her out of the window.

[*L*] *He went to Dublin.*] This paſſage of his hiſtory is recorded by Mr Pope. A poor phantom which is made to repreſent the genius of the modern Italian opera, expreſſes her apprehenſions, and gives her inſtructions to Dulneſs, already alarmed for her own ſafety; in the following lines:

But ſoon, ah! ſoon, rebellion will commence (†),
If muſic meanly borrows aid from ſenſe.
Strong in new arms, lo! giant Handel ſtands,
Like bold Briareus with his hundred hands:
To ſtir, to rouſe, to ſhake the ſoul he comes,
And Jove's own thunders follow Mars's drums.
Arreſt him empreſs, or you ſleep no more——
She heard——and drove him to th' Hibernian ſhore.

(*) See Dr Byrom's Epigram upon this occaſion, in his article remark [*C*].

(§) By far the beſt female ſinger in his company.

(†) Dunciad, book iv, l. 63. & *ſeq.*

HERBERT

HERBERT [Edward], Baron of Cherbury in Shropſhire, an eminent ſtateſman, and a fine writer, was deſcended of an ancient family, and born in 1581, at Montgomery Caſtle in Wales, the ſeat of his father Richard Herbert, Eſq. After a proper inſtruction in grammar learning, he was ſent to Oxford at the age of fourteen, and admitted a gentleman commoner of Univerſity college, where being put under the care of an eminent tutor, he laid the foundation of that admirable learning, of which he was afterwards a complete maſter; but leaving the univerſity without any degree, he travelled abroad, and applying himſelf to military exerciſe, returned home an accompliſhed gentleman; and on the promotions preparatory to the coronation of King James I. was created Knight of the Bath. He was afterwards one of the council to that King for his military affairs, and about 1616 was ſent ambaſſador to Lewis XIII. the French King, to mediate the relief of the Proteſtants there. He continued in this ſtation till July 1621, when he was recalled on account of a diſpute between him and the conſtable De Luines (*a*) [*A*]. In 1625 he was created an Iriſh Baron, and advanced to the dignity of an Engliſh Lord, with the title of Baron Herbert, of Cherbury in Shropſhire. In 1630 he wrote *Expeditio Buckinghamii in Ream inſulam* (*b*). After the breaking out of the civil wars he adhered to the parliament, and in that cauſe became a ſufferer in the loſs of Montgomery Caſtle, which was demoliſhed by the King's party, but he received ſatisfaction for it from his own maſters (*c*), Feb. 25, 1644. He ſurvived this but a few years, being arreſted by death Aug. 20, 1648, at his houſe in Queen-ſtreet, London, then in the pariſh of St Giles's in the Fields, in the chancel of which church he was interred. Over his grave was afterwards laid a flat marble ſtone, with this inſcription: *Heic inhumatur corpus* Edwardi Herbert, equitis Balnei, baronis de Cherbury et Caſtle Iſland, *auctoris libri cui titulus eſt De Veritate. Reddor ut herbæ viciſimo die Auguſti anno domini* 1648. This book *De Veritate* was printed at Paris in 1624, and again in 1633, after which it was printed at London in 1645, 4to. under this title, *De Veritate prout diſtinguitur a revelatione, a veriſimili, a poſſibili a falſo. Cui operi additi ſunt duo alii tractatus, primus de cauſis errorum, alter de religione laici, cum appendice ad ſacerdotes necnon quibuſdam poematibus.* The deſign of it is to aſſert the ſufficiency, univerſality, and abſolute perfection of natural religion, with a view to diſcard all other extraordinary revelation as uſeleſs and needleſs (*) [*B*].

And

(*a*) Athenæ Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 117.

(*b*) Publiſhed at London in 1656, 8vo.

(*c*) Wood as before. Whitlocke, in a more courtly phraſe, ſays he had an allowance granted him for a livelihood. Memoirs of the Engliſh affairs, p. 104.

(*) In this doctrine he was afterwards followed by the Earl of Shaftſbury. See his article.

[*A*] *He was recalled on account of a quarrel with De Luines.*] Sir Edward, while he was in France, had private inſtructions from England, to mediate a peace for the French Proteſtants, and in caſe of a refuſal to uſe certain means; accordingly being referred to De Luines, the conſtable and favourite, he delivers to him the meſſage, reſerving his threatning till he ſaw how the matter was reliſhed: De Luines had concealed behind the curtain a gentleman of the reformed religion; who being an ear witneſs of what had paſſed, might relate to his friends what little expectations they ought to entertain of the King of England's interceſſion. De Luines was very haughty, and would needs know what our King had to do in this affair. Sir Edward replied, it is not to you, to whom the King my maſter oweth an account of his actions; and for me it is enough that I obey him. In the mean time I muſt maintain that my maſter hath more reaſon to do what he doth, than you have to aſk why he does it; nevertheleſs if you deſire me in a gentle faſhion, I ſhall acquaint you farther. Upon this De Luines bowing a little, ſaid *Very well.* The Ambaſſador then gave him ſome reaſons; to which De Luines ſaid, We will have none of your advices. The Ambaſſador replied, That he took that for an anſwer, and was ſorry only that the affection and good will of the King his maſter was not ſufficiently underſtood; and that ſince it was rejected in that manner, he could do no leſs than ſay, that the King his maſter knew well enough what to do. De Luines anſwered, *We are not afraid of you.* The Ambaſſador ſmiling a little replied, *If you had ſaid you had not loved us, I ſhould have believed you, and given you another anſwer: in the mean time all that I will tell you more is, that we know very well what we have to do.* De Luines upon this riſing from his chair, with a faſhion and countenance a little diſcompoſed, ſaid, *By God, if you were not Monſieur the Ambaſſador, I know very well how I would uſe you.* Sir Edward Herbert alſo ariſing from his chair ſaid, *That as he was the King of Great Britain's Ambaſſador, ſo he was alſo a gentleman; and that his ſword* (whereon he laid his hand) *ſhould give him ſatisfaction, if he had taken any offence.* After which De Luines making no reply, the Ambaſſador went on towards the door; and De Luines ſeeming to accompany him, Sir Edward told him, there was no occaſion to uſe ſuch ceremony after ſuch language; and ſo departed, expecting to hear further from him. But no meſſage being brought from De Luines, he had in purſuance of his inſtructions a more civil audience from the King at Coignac; where the maſter of St Geram told him, that he had offended the conſtable, and was not in a place of ſecurity there; to which he anſwered, That he thought himſelf to be in a place of ſecurity, whereſoever he had his ſword by him. De Luines reſenting the affront, procured Cadinet his brother, Duke of Chaun, with a train of officers; of whom there was not one, as he told King James, but had killed his man, to go as an Ambaſſador extraordinary: who repreſented the affair ſo much to the diſadvantage of Sir Edward, that the Earl of Carliſle, who was ſent to accommodate the miſunderſtanding which might ariſe between the two crowns, got him recalled, until the gentleman who had ſtood behind the curtain, out of a regard to truth and honour, related all the circumſtances ſo, as to make it appear that, notwithſtanding De Luines gave the firſt affront, Sir Edward had kept himſelf within the bounds of his inſtructions and honours. He afterwards fell on his knees to King James, before the Duke of Buckingham, requeſting that a trumpeter, if not a herald, might be ſent to De Luines, to tell him, that he had made a falſe relation of the whole affair; and that Sir Edward Herbert would demand ſatisfaction of him ſword in hand. The King anſwered, That he would take it into conſideration. But De Luines died ſoon after, and Sir Edward was ſent again Ambaſſador to France. Thus the ſtory is related by Lloyd (1), and though the circumſtantial part may perhaps be deemed a piece of cookery, yet the ſubſtance of it is confirmed by Walton (2), whilſt Mr Camden lays the blame upon Sir Edward, who he ſays had treated the conſtable irreverently, *irreverenter tractaſſet* (3).

[*B*] *As uſeleſs and needleſs.*] Gaſſendi wrote a confutation of this book, at the deſire of Peireſk and Diodati; and having finiſhed it, he, without publiſhing it, ſent a copy of it to Lord Herbert, who paid him a viſit in September 1647, and aſſuring him that the copy never came to his hands, Gaſſendi ordered another copy to be taken, which our noble author carried to England. It was afterwards publiſhed in Gaſſendi's works, under the title of *Ad librum D. Edvardi Herberti Angli de Veritate epiſtola*, but is imperfect, ſome ſheets of the original being loſt.

(1) In his Memoirs, &c. p. 101.

(2) In his life of Mr G. Herbert.

(3) His life of K. James.

And the ſame year came out the firſt part of his piece, *De religione Gentilium errorumq; apud eos cauſis* [C]. This being dictated with the ſame ſpirit, his Lordſhp has been uſually ranked among the Deiſts; but however he muſt have been a conſcientious unbeliever, if the following incident be truly related of him: ‘ Being doubtful, ſays he, in my chamber one fair day in the ſummer, my caſement being open towards the ſouth, the ſun ſhining clear, and no wind ſtirring, I took my book *De Veritate* in my hands, and kneeling on my knees, devoutly ſaid theſe words; “ O thou eternal God, author of this light which now ſhines upon me, and giver of all inward illuminations, I do beſeech thee of thine infinite goodneſs to pardon a greater requeſt than a ſinner ought to make: I am not ſatisfied enough, whether I ſhall publiſh this book; if it be for thy glory, I beſeech thee give me ſome ſign from heaven; if not I ſhall ſuppreſs it.” ‘ I had no ſooner ſpoke theſe words, but a loud though yet gentle noiſe came forth from the heavens, for it was like nothing on earth, which did ſo chear and comfort me, that I took my petition as granted, and that I had the ſign I demanded; whereupon alſo I reſolved to print my book. This, how ſtrange ſoever it may ſeem, I proteſt before the eternal God is true, neither am I any way ſuperſtitiouſly deceived herein, ſince I did not only clearly hear the noiſe, but in the ſereneſt ſky that ever I ſaw, being without all cloud, did to my thinking ſee the place from whence it came (*d*).’ His general character is given by Mr Wood, that he was a perſon well ſtudied in the arts and languages, a good philoſopher and hiſtorian, and underſtood men as well as books, as is evident from his *Hiſtory of the life and reign of King Henry VIII.* which was publiſhed in 1649, folio. In 1665 there came out his *Occaſional Verſes*, publiſhed in 8vo. by his ſon Henry Herbert, and dedicated to Edward Lord Herbert, his grandſon. Mr Wood ſays he had ſeen other verſes of his Lordſhip's in Joſeph Sylveſter's *Lachrymæ Lachrymarum, or the ſpirit of tears diſtilled for the untimely death of Prince Henry*, London 1613, in 4to. His Lordſhip had a brother, Mr GEORGE HERBERT, an eminent Engliſh poet and divine, born alſo at Montgomery-Caſtle April 3, 1593; and after making a diſtinguiſhed figure at Weſtminſter ſchool, was elected from that foundation to Trinity college Cambridge. About 1608 he took the degrees in arts, and became fellow of his college: and in 1619 was choſen Orator of the univerſity, which office he held eight years, and during that ſpace he had learned the Italian, Spaniſh, and French tongues very perfectly. He was at this time highly eſteemed by the King, and the moſt eminent of the nobility. This, and the love of a court converſation, drew him often thither from Cambridge, and his Majeſty gave him a ſinecure worth about 120l. *per Ann.* He entertained hopes of being made Secretary of State (*e*), but the death of the Duke of Richmond, and the Marquis of Hamilton, put an end to thoſe hopes; upon which he entered into holy orders, and in July 1626 was collated to a Prebend in the church of Lincoln. About 1630 he married a near relation to the Earl of Danby, and April 26th that year was inducted into the Rectory of Bemerton near Sarum, where he diſcharged the duties of his function in a moſt exemplary manner till his death, which is ſuppoſed to have happened about 1635 (*f*) [D]. Of the ſame family was alſo Mr THOMAS HERBERT, who was born at York (*g*), and admitted of Jeſus college Oxford in 1621, but before he took a degree removed to Trinity college in Cambridge, and after a ſhort ſtay there, went to wait upon his kinſman William Earl of Pembroke, who in 1626 ſent him to travel, with an allowance to bear his charges. He ſpent four years in Aſia and Africa, and then returning, waited on his patron at Baynard's-Caſtle, London. The Earl dying ſuddenly, his expectations of preferment were at an end, upon which he left England a ſecond time, and viſited ſeveral parts of Europe. After his return he married, and gave himſelf to ſtudy, and became an author in 1634 [E]. Upon the breaking out of the civil wars, he ſided with the parliament, and by the intereſt of Philip Earl of Pembroke, became not only one of the commiſſioners of parliament to reſide in Fairfax's army, but a commiſſioner alſo to treat with thoſe of the King's party, for the ſurrender of Oxford. He afterwards attended the ſaid Earl in Jan. 1646, when he with other commiſſioners were ſent from the parliament to the King at Newcaſtle, to treat of peace, and to bring his Majeſty near London. While the King was at Oldenbury, the parliament's commiſſioners deſired his Majeſty to diſmiſs ſuch of his ſervants as were there, and had waited on him at Oxford; to which his Majeſty, with great reluctance, conſented. In the mean time he had taken notice of Mr James Harrington, the author of the *Oceana*, and Mr Thomas Herbert, who had followed the court from Newcaſtle, and being certified of their ſobriety and education, he was willing to receive them as Grooms of his Bed-chamber, with the others

(*d*) MS life of his Lordſhip, cited in Leland's *View of the deiſtical writers*, vol. i. p. 469. Nothing more can be certainly inferred from this ſurprizing ſtory, than that the book was his Lordſhip's favourite piece, as is intimated on his grave ſtone.

(*e*) As his predeceſſors, &c. in the orator's place, Sir Rob. Naunton and Sir Francis Netherſoll had done.

(*f*) Walton as before.

(*g*) Where his father was an alderman.

Chriſtian Kortholt ranks our author with Hobbes and Spinoſa (4).

[C] *His book de Religione Gentilium, &c.*] His Lordſhip ſent the MS to Gerard John Voſſius (5). An Engliſh tranſlation of this work was publiſhed in 1705, intituled, *The ancient religion of the Gentiles, and cauſe of their errors conſidered.* The miſtakes and failures of the heathen prieſts and wiſe men in their notions of the Deity and matters of divine worſhip, are examined, with regard to their being deſtitute of divine ſupernatural revelation.

[D] *He died about* 1635.] His poems, intituled *The Temple*, were printed that year in 12mo. and his *Prieſt to the temple, &c.* came out in 1652. His works have been ſince publiſhed in a 12mo. volume, but are now neglected; nevertheleſs he was highly valued by the moſt eminent perſons of his age. Dr Donne inſcribed to him a copy of Latin verſes; and the Lord Bacon dedicated to him his tranſlation of ſome pſalms into Engliſh metre.

[E] *He became an author in* 1634.] He publiſhed that year in folio, *A relation of ſome years travels into Africa, and the great Aſia, eſpecially the territories of the Perſian monarchy, and ſome parts of the oriental Indies, and iſlands adjacent.*

(4) Kortholt's diſſertation, intituled, *De tribus impoſtoribus magnis, Edvardi Herbert, Thomas Hobbes, and Benedicto Spinoſa, liber*, edit. Kilon. 1680.

(5) See his Lordſhip's letter to Voſſius, and his anſwer in *Clarorum virorum ad Voſs. epiſt. et Voſſii epiſtolæ.*

that were left him, which the commiſſioners approving, they were that night admitted. Being thus ſettled in an honourable office, and in good eſteem with his Majeſty, Mr Herbert continued with him, when all the reſt of the chamber were removed, even till his Majeſty was brought to the block. The King, though he found him, ſays Mr Wood, to be Preſbyterianly affected, yet he found him withal very obſervant and loving, and therefore entruſted him with many matters of moment. At the Reſtoration he was made a Baronet by King Charles II. for faithfully ſerving his royal father the two laſt years of his life (*b*). He died at his houſe in York, March 1, 1681-2, aged ſeventy-ſix years, and was buried in the church of St Crux, or Croſs, in the Foſſegate of that city, where ſoon after a monument was erected to his memory, by his widow Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Gervas Cutler, of Stainſborough in Yorkſhire, Knt. with a large inſcription, which informs us alſo that he took to his firſt wife Lucia, daughter of Sir Walter Alexander, ſervant to King Charles I. by whom he had Henry his heir, and ſeveral other children. Beſides the Travels already mentioned, he wrote ſome other things, an account of which may be ſeen below [*F*].

(*b*) The letters patent are dated the 3d of July 1660. He was created a Baronet by the name of Thomas Herbert, of Tinterne in Monmouthſhire; becauſe Little Tinterne, about half a mile from Tinterne abbey, was his own eſtate. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 692. from whoſe account of our author this article is taken.

[*F*] *Some other things*, &c.] He wrote in 1678 *Threnodia Carolina*, containing an hiſtorical account of the two laſt years of the life of King Charles I. This was compiled at the requeſt of Sir William Dugdale, whom he aſſiſted in compiling the third volume of his *Monaſticon Anglicanum*, and our author's *Account of the laſt days of that king* was given by himſelf to Mr Wood, who publiſhed it in the ſecond volume of his Athenæ Oxonienſes (5). Sir Thomas Herbert alſo, at the deſire of his friend John de Laet of Leyden, tranſlated ſome books of his *India Occidentalis*. A little before his death he gave ſeveral manuſcripts to the public library at Oxford, and others to that belonging to the cathedral of York. There are likewiſe in the Aſhmolean muſæum at Oxford, given to it by Sir William Dugdale, ſeveral collections which Mr Herbert made from the regiſters of the archbiſhops of York (6).

(5) Col. 693 to col. 705 incluſive.

(6) Ath. Oxon. Vol II. col. 693.

P

HERRING [THOMAS], Archbiſhop of Canterbury, was the ſon of the Reverend Mr John Herring, Rector of Walſoken in Norfolk, where he was born, in 1693, and being prepared for the univerſity, at the ſchool of Wiſbech (*a*) in the Iſle of Ely, was admitted, in June 1710, into Jeſus college Cambridge (*b*), where he continued till he took the degree of A. B. but ſeeing no proſpect of obtaining a fellowſhip there, he removed himſelf, in July 1714, to Bennet college, of which he was choſen a fellow in April 1716; and joining with Mr Denne (now D. D. and Archdeacon of Rocheſter) in the buſineſs of a tutor (*c*), there followed that employ for upwards of ſeven years. He commenced A. M. in 1717, and entering into prieſt's orders, was ſucceſſively miniſter of Great Shelford, Stow-cum Qui, and Trinity, in Cambridge. In 1722 Dr Fleetwood, then Biſhop of Ely, made him his chaplain [*A*], and October 1, the ſame year, preſented him to the rectory of Rettingdon in Eſſex, and on the 7th of December to that of Barley in Hertfordſhire. In 1724 he took the degree of B. D. and about the ſame time was preſented by his Majeſty to the rectory of All-hallows the Great in London, which, however, he gave up before inſtitution. In 1726, on the death of Dr Lupton, the ſociety of Lincoln's-inn choſe him their preacher [*B*]. About the ſame time he was appointed the King's chaplain in ordinary, and in 1728 commenced D. D. at Cambridge. In 1731 Sir William Clayton preſented him to the rectory of Blechingly in Surry; and towards the cloſe of the ſame year his Majeſty promoted him to the deanery of Rocheſter, where he was inſtalled February 5, 1731-2. In 1737 he was advanced to the biſhopric of Bangor, and in 1743, on the death of Dr Blackburn, was tranſlated to the archiepiſcopal ſee of York, and was poſſeſſed of that dignity when the rebellion broke out in Scotland in 1745. The progreſs the rebels then made was ſo artfully concealed by their friends in England, that it was ſcarce known or believed that the Highlanders were up in arms, before certain advice came that they had defeated the King's troops at Preſton-pans. The panic with which all were then ſeized is well remembered. Our Archbiſhop was the firſt who gave the alarm, and awakened the nation from its lethargy; his example was followed by the biſhops and the clergy in general with great ſucceſs; an aſſociation was entered into at York, and a ſubſcription propoſed for money to raiſe troops for the defence of that county. The neighbouring nobility, gentry, and clergy, met for that purpoſe at the caſtle of York, September 24, 1745, where

(*a*) Under the care of Mr John Carter.

(*b*) Dr Warren, afterwards rector of Cavendiſh and archdeacon of Suffolk, was his tutor.

(*c*) Mr Herring read the claſſical and Dr Denne the philoſophical part of the lectures.

[*A*] *Chaplain to Biſhop Fleetwood.*] His Lordſhip had generally preached himſelf at the chapel belonging to Ely-houſe in London in the winter ſeaſon; but in the decline of life, when his health was greatly impaired, Mr Herring preached for him: and the Biſhop declared to his friends, that he never heard a ſermon from his chaplain, but what he ſhould have been proud to have been the author of himſelf.

[*B*] *Preacher at Lincoln's inn.*] His ſermons were received with the higheſt approbation by that ſociety. They abounded with manly ſenſe, were animated by the moſt benevolent principles, and adorned by his happy elocution and unaffected delivery. He ſeldom entered into the diſputes canvaſſed among Chriſtians, having obſerved that theſe more frequently exaſperate than convince; but he explained and enforced, with the utmoſt clearneſs and warmth, the fundamental duties of the Chriſtian life, which are ſo affectionately recommended in the Goſpel. He was of opinion with a very ingenious writer, that true religion is true reaſon, which ſmiles at pointed wit, mocks the ſcoffer's tongue, and is alike invulnerable by ridicule and rage. Once, indeed, a great clamour was raiſed on account of his alluding to a popular entertainment, then exhibited at the neighbouring theatre (1), and preſuming to condemn it, as of pernicious conſequence in regard to the practice of morality and Chriſtian virtue. He was not ſingular in this opinion; and experience afterwards confirmed the truth of his obſervations, ſince ſeveral thieves and ſtreet robbers confeſſed in Newgate, that they raiſed their courage at the play-houſe, by the ſongs of their hero *Macheath*, before they ſallied forth on their deſperate nocturnal exploits (2).

(1) The Beggars Opera, which was acted at Lincoln's-inn play-houſe in 1737, and written by Mr Gay. See his article.

(2) Two letters in juſtification of our author's doctrine were printed in one of the weekly papers, March 30 and April 20, 1728; but nothing was able to ſtop the unprecedented run this piece had upon the ſtage.

his Grace addreſſed them in the ſpeech inſerted below [*C*]; which had the deſired effect, and 40,000 l. was immediately ſubſcribed for the purpoſe. On the Duke of Cumberland's return to York, after the victory gained over the rebels at Culloden, and by that means intirely ſuppreſſed the rebellion, our Archbiſhop, at the head of the dean, chapter, and clergy, addreſſed his Royal Highneſs on the 23d July, in the terms which may be ſeen in remark [*D*]. His merit to the public was now unrivalled, and Archbiſhop Potter dying in 1747, Dr Herring was tranſlated to the ſee of Canterbury *(d)*. In this high ſtation he

[*C*] *The ſpeech inſerted below.*]

'My Lords, Gentlemen, my Reverend Brethren
of the Clergy,

'I am deſired by the Lord Lieutenants of the ſeveral ridings, to open to you the reaſon of our preſent aſſembling: and as the advertiſement which has called us together is in every body's hands, and the fact now ſpeaks itſelf too plainly, a few words will be ſufficient on the occaſion.

'It was ſome time before it was believed (I would to God it had gained credit ſooner) but now every child knows it, that the Pretender's ſon is in Scotland, has ſet up his ſtandard there, has gathered and diſciplined an army of great force, receives daily increaſe of numbers, is in poſſeſſion of the capital city there, has defeated a ſmall part of the King's forces, and is advancing with haſty ſteps towards England.

'What will be the iſſue of this rapid progreſs, muſt be left to the providence of Almighty God. However, what is incumbent upon us to do, is, to make the beſt proviſion we can againſt it; and every gentleman, I dare ſay every man in England, will think it his wiſdom and his intereſt to guard againſt the miſchievous attempts of theſe wild and deſperate ruffians.

'But the great miſchief to be feared, which ought to alarm us exceedingly, and put us immediately on our defence, is the certain evidence, which opens every day more and more, that theſe commotions in the north are but part of a great plan concerted for our ruin. They have begun under the countenance, and will be ſupported by the forces, of France and Spain, our old and inveterate, and let me add our ſavage and blood-thirſty enemies: a circumſtance that ſhould fire the indignation of every honeſt Engliſhman. If theſe deſigns ſhould ſucceed, and Popery and arbitrary power come in upon us, under the influence and direction of theſe two tyrannical and corrupted courts, I leave you to reflect what would become of every thing that is valuable to us.

'We are now bleſſed under the mild adminiſtration of a juſt and Proteſtant King, who is of ſo ſtrict an adherence to the laws of our country, that not a ſingle inſtance can be pointed out, during his whole reign, wherein he hath made the leaſt attempt upon the liberty or property, or religion, of a ſingle perſon. But if the ambition and pride of France and Spain is to dictate to us, we muſt ſubmit to have a man to govern us under their hated and accurſed influence, who brings his religion from Rome, and the rules and maxims of his government from Paris and Madrid.

'For God's ſake, Gentlemen, let us conſider this matter as becomes us, and let no time be loſt to guard againſt this prodigious ruin. To your immortal honour be it ſpoken, you have conſidered it, and are now met together to call in the unanimous conſent and aſſiſtance of this great county. This county, as it exceeds every other for its extent and riches, ſo it very naturally takes the lead of the inferior ones; and it will be extremely to our credit, give courage to the friends of the beſt conſtitution in the world, damp the ſpirits of its enemies at home, (if any ſuch can be conceived in Britain in this dangerous criſis) and be an inſtruction to thoſe abroad, that there is ſtill ſpirit and honeſty enough among us to ſtand up in defence of our common country. This will be the uſe of an unanimous and hearty declaration of fidelity to our King. But the times, Gentlemen, call for ſomething more than this! ſomething muſt be done as well as ſaid; and the fund for our defence already begun, and now to be propoſed to this great aſſembly, will, it is hoped, from reaſons of public example and public ſafety, meet with the hearty concurrence of every individual that compoſes it; and at the ſame time that your hearts go along with the aſſociation, your hands will be open to ſupport the neceſſary meaſures of ſelf-defence.

'As to you, my Reverend Brethren, I have not long had the honour to preſide among you; but from the experience I have had, and what I have always heard, of your honeſt love for your country (if you permit me to ſay ſo) I will be your ſecurity to the public, that you will decline no pains to inſtruct and animate your people, nor expence, according to your circumſtance, to ſtand up againſt Popery and arbitrary power under a French or Spaniſh government. We ſcorn the policies of the court of Rome, have no intereſts ſeparate from the people; but on every occaſion, where our country is concerned, look upon ourſelves as incorporated with the warmeſt defenders of it; or if we do deſire to be diſtinguiſhed, it will be by our ardour and zeal to preſerve our happy conſtitution.

'Let us unite then, Gentlemen, as one man, to ſtop this dangerous miſchief; from which union no man can ſurely withdraw, or with-hold his aſſiſtance, who is not liſted into the wicked ſervice of a French and Spaniſh invaſion, or wholly unconcerned for the fate of his bleeding country.

'May the great God of battles ſtretch out his all-powerful hand to defend us, inſpire an union of hearts and hands among all ranks of people, a clear wiſdom into the councils of this Majeſty, and a ſteady courage and reſolution into the hearts of his generals.'

[*D*] *May be ſeen in remark* [*D*]. It runs thus:

'Permit me, Sir, in the name of my brethren the clergy of this dioceſe and province (the King's ever faithful ſubjects) to teſtify to your Highneſs their exceeding joy at your happy and victorious return from the north. I want words to expreſs the fulneſs of our grateful hearts on this occaſion, and therefore I ſhall not attempt it.

'Your conduct, Royal Sir, has been glorious; and though the things you have done for the nation are ſingularly great, your manner of performing them is ſtill more to be admired. You have reſtored the public tranquillity at a very critical ſeaſon, and done it, Sir, as became your high character, in every amiable light.

'Courage is almoſt natural to a young Prince, and is inherent in your royal blood; activity and induſtry are often conſtitutional; but to plan a great deſign maturely, at a perilous juncture, to execute it with all the coolneſs and caution, and providence of an old general, actuated with the fire and exertion of a young one; to uſe moderation and modeſty in ſucceſs, and in the midſt of victory (where obdurate perfidy did not call for exemplary puniſhment) to treat unnatural and unprovoked rebels to the beſt government in the world as deluded ſubjects; theſe things, Sir, which truth obliges me to ſay (though unpolitely in the hearing of your Royal Highneſs) ſhew the greatneſs of your underſtanding, and the goodneſs of your heart, which make every ſubject of Great Britain not only to admire and love, and ſerve you as their royal maſter, and the brother of their beloved Prince, but truſt and depend upon you, as the happy inſtrument of Heaven, to ſave and protect, and raiſe the honour of the nation.

'Go on as you have begun, Great Sir, in the paths of virtue and glory: and may the good providence of God always go along with you, direct all your councils, cover your head in the day of battle, and, as you fight the cauſe of truth and liberty, give uninterrupted ſucceſs to all your undertakings.'

To this ſpeech his Royal Highneſs returned a moſt gracious anſwer.

(d) Dr Birch, in his dedication of Tillotſon's life to him, comparing him with that archbiſhop as a preacher, concludes with his known reluctance to his accepting the firſt ſtation in the church, with this peculiar circumſtance of having before ſhewn the higheſt qualifications for it, by a conduct in the ſecond, from which the public ſafety received its earlieſt ſupport, at its moſt dangerous criſis.

treated his friends with the ſame eaſe and courteſy as before: he knew how to condeſcend, without detracting from the reverence due to his character. In the year 1753 he was ſeized with a violent fever at Lambeth-houſe, which brought him to the brink of the grave; and though he did in ſome meaſure recover, yet from that time he might be rather ſaid to languiſh than to live. He retired to Croydon, declined all public buſineſs, as far as he could, and ſaw little other company than his relations and particular friends. After languiſhing for about four years, he calmly reſigned his ſoul into the hands of his Creator, March 13, 1757, and was buried, according to the expreſs direction of his will [*E*], in a private manner, in the vault of Croydon church, where, on a black ſtone, is the inſcription underneath [*F*]. He abſolutely forbid any monument; however, he left one of his own raiſing in his ſermons, where he ſpeaks of true religion from what he felt and practiſed himſelf; and another was ſoon after raiſed to his memory by Dr Jortin, who, in his life of Eraſmus, having quoted the excellent character which that author drew of Dr William Warham (Archbiſhop of Canterbury) after his deceaſe, takes occaſion from thence to ſketch the following juſt picture of his great friend and patron Archbiſhop Herring: ‘ It is with a melancholy kind of pleaſure, ſays he (*e*), that I tranſcribe ‘ theſe paſſages, and ſhall, in other parts of this work, inſert other teſtimonies to the honour ‘ of the Archbiſhop:’ ‘ Whilſt in the character of this amiable prelate, drawn by ſo ‘ maſterly a hand, I contemplate that of my late patron Thomas Herring Archbiſhop of ‘ Canterbury, who, beſides the good qualities in which he reſembled Warham, had piety ‘ without ſuperſtition, and moderation without meanneſs; an open and a liberal way of ‘ thinking, and a conſtant attachment to the cauſe of ſober and rational liberty, both civil ‘ and religious. Thus he lived and died, and few great men paſſed through this malevo‘ lent world better beloved and leſs cenſured than he [*G*].’ The Archbiſhop likewiſe left another monument of his own raiſing, by two charitable and munificent donations: he left to the incorporated ſociety for the relief of the widows and ſons of poor clergymen the ſum of 1000 l. and to the maſter and fellows of Corpus-Chriſti college Cambridge for the time being the ſum of 1000 l. in South-ſea annuities, towards rebuilding that college [*H*]. He improved the gardens at Biſhopthorp, and gave a new clock to the turret; he reſtored the houſe at Croydon in a manner from ruins, and raiſed and beautified the gardens. He laid out about 6000 l. in repairing and adorning the houſes and gardens at Lambeth and Croydon. A faithful character of the Archbiſhop, drawn by the maſterly hand of a friend whom he much valued, is as follows: That his perſon was tall and comely; his conſtitution, from his tendereſt youth, weak and delicate; his addreſs eaſy, engaging, and polite. He was generous without prodigality, magnificent without profuſion, and humble without meanneſs. His diſtinguiſhed application to the buſineſs of his function, his learning [*I*], his warm attachment to the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and his pathetic eloquence in the pulpit having recommended him to the early notice of the great, he ever afterwards maintained himſelf in the poſſeſſion of their favour, eſteem, and affection, by

(*e*) In a note to Vol. I. p. 42. in his life of Eraſmus, edit. 1758, 4to.

[*E*] *His will.*] In it he left a legacy to the Earl of Hardwicke [Lord High Chancellor] in theſe words: ‘ I beg the favour of the Earl of Hardwicke, my ever ‘ honoured friend, to accept my topaz ſeal engraved ‘ by *Yeo*; and the head of Biſhop Fleetwood of Ely, ‘ painted by *Richardſon*.’

It will ever be remembered to his Lordſhip's honour, that the dignities conferred on this amiable divine were owing to his unſollicited recommendation.

[*F*] *The inſcription on his grave-ſtone.*] It is on a plain black ſtone in the church of Croydon, in theſe terms:

Here lieth the Body of
The moſt Reverend Dr THOMAS HERRING,
Archbiſhop of CANTERBURY,
Who died March XIII,
A. D. MDCCLVII,
Aged LXIV.

[G] *Leſs cenſured than he.*] He afterwards ſpeaks of his connections with the Archbiſhop in the following modeſt manner:

‘ He told me once (ſays he) with an obliging con‘ deſcenſion, which I can never forget, that he would ‘ be to me what Warham was to Eraſmus; and what ‘ he promiſed he performed, only leſs fortunate in the ‘ choice of his humble friend, who cannot be to him ‘ what Eraſmus was to Warham. But if theſe pages ‘ ſhould live protected by the ſubject they treat of, ‘ and the materials of which they are compoſed, they ‘ may perhaps aſſiſt in doing juſtice to his memory.’

His mihi dilectum nomen maneſque verendos
His ſaltem accumulem donis, & fungar amico
Munere. Non totus, raptus licet, optime præſul
Eriperis: redit os placidum, moreſque benigni;
Et venit ante oculos, & pectore vivit imago (3).

(3) Jortin, ubi ſupra.

[*H*] *The ſum of* 1000 *l. toward rebuilding the college.*] To this he added the following reſtriction: ‘ But if ‘ (ſays he) after the lapſe of a competent number of ‘ years no proſpect ariſes of rebuilding the ſaid col‘ lege, then the dividends and ſavings on the ſaid ‘ ſtock are to be diſpoſed of at the diſcretion of the ‘ maſter, in the neceſſary repairs of the old houſe, or ‘ in acts of charity, ſuch as helping poor ſcholars, or ‘ honeſt ſervants, of which the maſter is to give an ‘ account, not ſubject to controul, at every uſual audit, ‘ of the diſpoſal of the dividends in the preceding ‘ year, from the time after commencement; ſo that ‘ except in the caſe of rebuilding the ſaid college, the ‘ aboveſaid ſtock, or an eſtate purchaſed therewith, at ‘ the diſcretion of the ſaid maſter and fellows, be re‘ ſerved for ever.’

[*I*] *His learning.*] He frankly owned that he never had any reliſh for metaphyſical ſtudies. He thought the arguments *à poſteriori* (as they are called) drawn from the beauty, harmony, and variety of the viſible creation, and the mutual coincidence, if I may ſo ſpeak, and ſubſerviency of one thing to ſupport another, the moſt convincing and beſt ſuited to the capacities of all men, to prove the natural and moral attributes of the Deity. In this opinion he admired and recommended Abernethy's diſcourſes upon the being and attributes of God (4). He likewiſe admired the Latin poem of Iſaac Hawkins Browne Eſq; *De immortalitate animi*, for its ſimplicity, elegance, and clear reaſoning, and ſent the author a polite letter on the publication. Upon the whole it may be ſaid, that if he fell ſhort of his predeceſſor Dr Potter in point of learning, it muſt be attributed to his reſolution of applying his ſtudies ſolely to the more immediate and more important buſineſs of a Chriſtian divine.

(4) See his article.

his

his ingenuous converſation, and by his ſingular candor, temper, and moderation. Every new preferment, by rendering both his public and private virtues more known and conſpicuous, convinced the world that he was ſtill worthy of ſomething higher; till, unſolliciting and unexpecting, he was called by his Sovereign, with univerſal approbation, to the moſt exalted dignity of the church. So kind and obliging was his Grace's manner of conferring favours, that it aided the anxiety of the doubtful petitioner, and removed his ſuſpence as ſoon as poſſible; and when forced to deny a requeſt, he always ſeaſoned the refuſal with every circumſtance of benevolence, which might render the diſappointment leſs grievous. His religion was of that pureſt and nobleſt kind which true Chriſtianity inſpires; it was piety without ſuperſtition, devotion without hypocriſy, and faith which *worketh by love.* Conſcious of the uprightneſs of his own heart, and of the ſincerity of his belief of the doctrines and precepts of the Goſpel, he was willing to think the beſt of other people's principles, and to live the friend of all mankind. Having no ſelfiſh views nor private intereſt of his own to ſerve, he was always ready to ſacrifice his preferments, his fortune, and even his life, to the ſafety of his Majeſty's perſon, to the eaſe and ſucceſs of his adminiſtration, and to the perpetuity of the PROTESTANT ESTABLISHMENT, as the only ſupport of the church of England, as the bulwark of our civil liberty, and the ſureſt defence of the peace and welfare of Europe. No man was more carefully obeyed, or more cordially lamented, than he was by all his ſervants: and indeed he deſerved it, as he had no children, being never married, he ſhewed himſelf a ſort of father to his domeſtics, by making in his will a very handſome proviſion for all thoſe who had lived any time with him. Notwithſtanding he was averſe to the printing any of his ſermons, yet ſince his death there has come out a collection of them, in two volumes octavo, 1763, with an account of his life prefixed, whence the preſent article is taken. P

The ſubſtance of this article is taken from an account of the author's life and death, prefixed to a collection of his letters.

HERVEY [JAMES], an ingenious and learned divine, and a polite writer, very worthy of a place in theſe memoirs, for his moſt exemplary piety and virtue. He was born February 26, 1713-14, at Hardingſtone, a village near Northampton; and having been taught by his mother to read, he was ſent at ſeven years of age as a day-ſcholar to the free grammar-ſchool at Northampton, where he acquired a competent knowledge of Latin and Greek, and continued there till the age of ſeventeen [*A*]. In 1731 he was ſent by his father to Lincoln college, Oxford, and put under the tuition of Mr (afterwards Dr) Hutchins, and Rector of that college. The firſt two or three years were ſpent by him with ſome degree of indolence, or rather leſs application to his ſtudies than he afterwards uſed; but in 1733, about his nineteenth year, he became acquainted with ſome perſons who began to diſtinguiſh themſelves by their ſerious impreſſions of religion, and their zeal for the promotion of it, by whoſe influence he was engaged in a ſtrict attachment both to piety and learning [*B*]. He took the firſt degree in arts probably at the ſtatutable period; and entering into holy orders as ſoon as his age and the canons of the church would allow, after a reſidence of ſeven years in the univerſity, he left it, without proceeding A. M. [*C*], and became curate in 1736 to his father, then poſſeſſed of the living of Weſton-Favell, within two miles of Collingtree, and within three miles of Northampton. In 1737 he was curate at Dummer, where he continued about a year (*a*). Upon his quitting it, in 1738, he went upon an invitation by *Paul Orchard* Eſq; to his ſeat at *Stoke-abbey* in *Devonſhire*, where he lived upwards of two years in great eſteem and friendſhip with that gentleman [*D*]. In 1740 he undertook the curacy of Biddeford, fourteen miles from Stoke-abbey, where he lived greatly beloved by the people; his congregation was large, though his ſtipend was ſmall; his friends therefore made a collection yearly for him, which raiſed his income

(*a*) While there he went to London, and ſtaid ſome time in that city.

[*A*] *Till the age of ſeventeen.*] His genius and memory would have enabled him to have made a much earlier progreſs, if it had not been prevented by his ſchoolmaſter, who would not ſuffer him, or any other of his ſcholars, to proceed faſter than his own ſon. Whilſt Mr Hervey was at ſchool, though he ſhewed a remarkable dexterity at all the innocent games uſual among children, bringing home, for inſtance, his pockets loaded with marbles, and ſeveral halfpence won at chuck, yet he had a perfect indifference for the acquiſitions. His mother would often clear his pockets at night, and he troubled himſelf no further about them.

[*B*] *Both for piety and learning.*] Of the former there are conſpicuous marks, in his letters to his ſiſter from 1733 to 1735 incluſive (1); and of the latter, in the courſe of his ſtudies. He made himſelf maſter of *Dr James Keil's Anatomy*, *Dr Derham's Phyſico-theology* and *Aſtro-theology*, the *Spectacle de la nature*, as tranſlated by Mr Humphreys; which laſt he read over with a peculiar ſatisfaction. Nor was he leſs delighted with *Mr Spence's Eſſay on Pope's Odyſſey*, to which elegant and judicious diſcourſe he often acknowledged that he owed more of his improvement in ſtyle and compoſition, than to any other which he had ever read.

(1) See theſe in Vol. I. of his Letters, N° I, II, III, IV.

[*C*] *Without commencing M. A.*] He had an exhibition from the college of about 20 l. per annum, and when he was ordained, his father preſſed him very much to take ſome curacy in or near Oxford, and hold his exhibition; but this he would by no means comply with, as being in his opinion unjuſt to detain it, after he was in orders, from another perſon, who might more want the benefit of that proviſion; and notwithſtanding his father kept him at Oxford, with a deſign that he ſhould take his degree of A. M. and conſtantly urged him to it, yet he could not be perſuaded to yield, though of ſufficient ſtanding, looking upon that ſtep as a qualification intended for his future holding both his father's livings. It ſeems he was reſolved at this time not to be a pluraliſt; but we find him afterwards of a different mind.

[*D*] *He was much eſteemed by Mr Orchard.*] That gentleman ſhewed the following remarkable proof of this regard: when his eldeſt ſon (2) was to be baptized, he inſiſted that Mr Hervey ſhould be one of his godfathers, that he might have an eye to his Chriſtian education; and this he did in preference to many gentlemen of large eſtates in the neighbourhood, who would have thought themſelves honoured by the connection.

(2) The preſent Paul Orchard, to whom our author dedicated the 2d volume of his *Meditations*.

to 60l. per annum. He ſupplied this cure two years and a half [*E*], when the rector dying, he was diſmiſſed by the new incumbent, againſt the united requeſt of the pariſhioners, who offered to maintain him at their own expence. In 1743 he returned about Auguſt to Weſton-Favell, and officiated as a curate to his father till June 1750, at which time his health was much impaired by his great attention to duty, and his family and friends judging that the change of air might be of benefit to him, they formed a deſign which they executed, of conveying him to London, under a pretence of his riding a few miles, in the poſt-chaiſe of a friend who was going thither [*F*]. He ſtaid at London from June 1750 till April or May 1752, during which time he was ſeized with a ſevere illneſs, which almoſt coſt him his life; but he recovered, and upon his father's death, which happened in May this year, he returned to Weſton, and took poſſeſſion of that and Collingtree (*b*), the two family livings [*G*], which being within five miles of each other, he uſed to attend alternately with his curate, till his ill health confined him to Weſton, where he afterwards conſtantly reſided during the remainder of his life. His labours both in his miniſterial office and in his ſtudy, were purſued by him as long as poſſible, under the diſadvantage of a very weak conſtitution of body, which together with the ſeverity of his laſt illneſs he ſupported not only with incredible patience, but without a ſingle expreſſion of peeviſhneſs. That illneſs which had been long coming on, greatly increaſed in the beginning of October 1758, and grew very formidable in December following, ſo that he ſoon became ſenſible of his approaching diſſolution. He had frequent and violent returns of the cramp, attended with moſt acute pain; he had likewiſe a hectic cough, which broke his reſt in the night, ſo that he could ſeldom lie in bed till four in the morning, and was often obliged to riſe at two, eſpecially as opium, how much ſoever guarded by other medicines, would not agree with him. On the 19th the pains of his body abated, and he grew drowſy and lethargic; but in the night following his immediate death was apprehended. The next day (the 20th) his phyſician (*c*) declared, that in his opinion Mr Hervey could not live above three or four days. The day before his death he went a few ſteps acroſs his room, but preſently his ſtrength failed him, ſo that he rather ſunk than fell down; but he fainted away, and was in all appearance dead. When he came to himſelf, and his brother ſaid, *We were afraid you was gone*, he anſwered, *I wiſh I had.* On Chriſtmas-day he complained much of a great inward conflict, and ſaid two or three times, *When this great conflict is over, then——* but ſaid no more. About three o'clock he ſaid, *The great conflict is over——now all is done*; after which he ſcarce ſpoke any other words intelligibly, except now and then *precious ſalvation.* During the laſt hour he ſaid nothing, but leaned his head againſt the ſide of an eaſy-chair, and without a ſigh, groan, ſtruggle, or the leaſt emotion in the world, he ſhut his eyes, and expired, between four and five in the afternoon on Chriſtmas-day 1758, in the forty-fifth year of his age. When his body was conveyed to church, it was covered, by his expreſs deſire, with the poor's pall, and he was buried under the middle of the communion-table in the chancel of Weſton-Favell church on the 28th, in the preſence of a numerous congregation, full of regret for the loſs of ſo excellent a paſtor. It may be ſaid of him, that few lives have ever been more heavenly, few deaths more triumphant. It would be tedious to run through all the parts of his character, which are drawn at large by the writer of his life, and in which, very exemplary as it appears, yet he was not without his equals (*d*). In charity, though he had ſome few equals, yet it is certain he had no ſuperior [*H*]. In his performance of the public ſervice at church, two particulars are very obſervable [*I*]. He embraced the Calviniſtic ſenſe of the

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(*b*) Weſton-Favell is worth about 100l. a year, and Collingtree about 80l. Our author never applied for and never had any other preferment.

(*c*) His name was Stonhouſe: he was a pious man; in which ſpirit he wrote *Friendly advice to a patient*, for the uſe of the infirmary at Northampton, of which he was phyſician. The 9th edition of this piece was publiſhed in 1748.

(*d*) See the article of Bernard Gilpin.

[*E*] *He continued at Biddeford two years and a half.*] While he lived in the weſt, he planned his Meditations, and probably wrote ſome part of them. He ſays, in his firſt volume, that it was in a ride to Kilkhampton in Cornwall that he went into the church, where he lays the ſcene of his *Meditations among the tombs*.

[*F*] *Carried in a poſt-chaiſe to London.*] Of this article he pleaſantly complains, in a letter to a friend (3), upon his arrival there, which begins thus:

'My dear friend,

'If you chide, I muſt accuſe. Pray where was 'your warrant, where your commiſſion, to impreſs 'me into this journey? However, as a good Chriſtian, I forgive you and your accomplices.' After commending ſeveral clergymen his friends, whom he ſaw on the road, he concludes thus: 'My animal 'nature is ſo very feeble, that I find no benefit from 'the change of air, nor from the enjoyment of the 'moſt pleaſing ſociety.'

[G] *He took poſſeſſion of the two family livings.*] As a qualification, he took the degree of M. A. at Cambridge this year. It will doubtleſs be thought ſtrange, after what has been ſaid (4), that our divine ſhould accept of theſe two livings, and hold them during life. In anſwer to which, we are aſſured, that when his father died he remained determined to have Weſton-Favell only, which he frequently declared to his family and friends, and refuſed to accept of Collingtree, or to qualify himſelf for the ſame, inſomuch that it was in danger of lapſing to the biſhop. But at length, through the earneſt and conſtant intreaties of his family and friends, who, unknown to him, had ſent to and procured from Oxford the neceſſary certificates of his being A. B. in order to his taking his Maſter's degree at Cambridge, he was after much importunity prevailed on to comply with their requeſts, hoping that he might be thereby enabled to do ſo much more good. And when he waited upon Dr Thomas, then Biſhop of Peterborough, for inſtitution to Collingtree, which was near ſix months after his induction into Weſton, he ſaid, 'I ſuppoſe your 'Lordſhip will be ſurprized to ſee James Hervey 'come to deſire your Lordſhip's permiſſion to be a 'pluraliſt; but I aſſure you, I do it in obedience 'to the repeated ſollicitations of my mother and my 'ſiſter, and not to pleaſe myſelf;' or to that effect.

[*H*] *In charity he had no ſuperior.*] It was always his deſire to die juſt even with the world, 'I will be 'my own executor,' ſaid he; and his fund almoſt expired with his life, what little remained, he deſired might be given in warm cloathing to the poor in that ſevere ſeaſon (5).

[*I*] *Two particulars are very obſervable.*] When his weakneſs obliged him to ſhorten his ſermons, he concluded

(3) His Letters, Vol. I. N° LXIII.

(4) He entered of Clare-hall, and as he was of ſufficient ſtanding at Oxford, he ſtaid only a few days, to perform the exerciſe required by the ſtatutes of the univerſity.

(5) In the exerciſe of his charity he always choſe to cloath the poor, rather than give them money.

firſt compilers of the article upon predeſtination, as appears from ſeveral parts of his writings, a complete liſt of which is inſerted below [*K*].

cluded each head with a pertinent text of Scripture, deſiring his congregation to turn to their Bibles, and double down that text. ‘ Now (added he) my dear brethren, if you forget my ſermon, you cannot forget God's word in this text, unleſs you wilfully throw your Bibles aſide: ſhew theſe to your children, or the abſent part of your family, when you return home.’ This obliged the generality of his hearers to bring their Bibles. His method of catechiſing children in church was very engaging and uſeful. He would put little queſtions to them, after they had repeated the words of the catechiſm: as for inſtance, Well, my little maid, let me hear if you underſtand what you ſaid; if you do underſtand the meaning of theſe words, you will then be able to anſwer the queſtions I ſhall put to you. He would at theſe times aſk not only ſuch queſtions as were ſuitable to the words of the catechiſm, but alſo ſuch as would ſtrike at the capital vices of his pariſhioners, yet without giving perſonal offence; thus, ſome of his pariſhioners having lain in bed on a Sunday morning longer than he approved, and others having been buſy in foddering their cattle, when he was coming to church, and ſeveral having frequented the ale-houſe; he thus catechiſed one of the children before the congregation: Repeat me the fourth commandment—Now, little man, do you underſtand the meaning of this commandment? Yes, Sir—Then if you do, you will be able to anſwer me theſe queſtions——Do thoſe keep holy the Sabbath-day, who lie in bed till eight or nine o'clock in the morning, inſtead of riſing to ſay their prayers and read the Bible? No, Sir—Do thoſe keep the Sabbath-day, who fodder their cattle, when other people are going to church? No, Sir—Does God Almighty bleſs ſuch people as go to ale houſes, and don't mind the inſtructions of their miniſter? No, Sir. In point of learning, though not in the firſt claſs of ſcholars, yet he was far from being deficient. He was maſter of the three learned languages, and well read in the claſſics, of which the Bible was his particular favourite (6); he eſteemed it as the beſt, and thumbed it moſt; he was a critic in Hebrew, which is found only in the Bible, and delighted in it. In the younger part of his life he wrote ſome copies of verſes, which ſhewed no contemptible genius for poetry (7). In divinity, his maxim was, that *Bonus textuarius eſt bonus theologus*; and he gave a noble proof of it in his defence of the article of the Trinity againſt Arianiſm (8).

[*K*] *A complete liſt of which is inſerted below.*] Theſe are, 1. *Meditations and contemplations, containing meditations among the tombs, reflections on a flower-garden, and a deſcant on creation*, edit. February 1745-6, 8vo. He ſold the copy after it had paſſed through ſeveral editions; which ſale, and the profits of the former impreſſions, amounted to about 700 l. the whole of which he gave in charity, ſaying, that as Providence had bleſſed his attempt, he thought himſelf bound to relieve his fellow-creatures with it (9). The ſeventeenth edition was lately printed. 2. *Contemplations on the night and ſtarry heavens, and a winter-piece*, edit. 1747. Both theſe have been turned into blank verſe (in imitation of Dr Young's Night-thoughts, of which our author was a great admirer) and publiſhed this year 1764, in two volumes 12mo. by Mr T. Newcomb. 3. *Remarks on Lord Bolingbroke's letters on the ſtudy and uſe of hiſtory, ſo far as they relate to the hiſtory of the Old Teſtament, and eſpecially to the caſe of Noah denouncing a curſe upon Canaan, in a letter to a lady of quality*, edit. 1753, 8vo (10). 4. A ſermon preached at the Archdeacon of Northampton's viſitation, intituled, *The croſs of Chriſt the Chriſtian's glory*, edit 1754, 8vo. 5. *Theron and Aſpaſio*, edit. 1755, in three volumes 8vo. This has gone through ſeven editions. In 1756 our author wrote a letter, which is prefixed to Mr Marſhall's *Goſpel myſtery of ſanctification*, as no improper ſupplement to *Theron and Aſpaſio*. But in a letter prefixed to the fourth edition of Biſhop Fowler's *Deſign of Chriſtianity*, &c. publiſhed in 1759, 8vo. both Mr Marſhall and Mr Hervey are animadverted on. Some paſſages in *Theron and Aſpaſio* gave offence likewiſe to thoſe who were attached in general to the author's own favourite ſyſtem of Calviniſm: the Arminians too objected to that work, and Mr John Weſley in particular (11), with ſome others, wrote againſt it. 6. The ſubſtance of three ſermons preached on the late public faſt-days, edit. 1757, 8vo. To the third edition, which came out in 1759, after our author's death, were added his viſitation ſermon before-mentioned, his poſthumous ſermon on *The miniſtry of reconciliation*, and his *Conſiderations on the prevailing cuſtom of viſiting on Sundays*. This year 1757 he publiſhed a new edition of Jenks's Meditations, to which he wrote a ſtrong recommendatory preface. He had before written a recommendatory preface to Burnham's *Pious memorials*, &c. publiſhed in 1753, 8vo.

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(6) His letter in Vol. I. N° xxix.

(7) He deſired afterwards that theſe might be ſuppreſſed.

(8) Letters xx, xxi, xxii, xxiii, and xxiv. in the 1ſt volume of his Letters.

(9) He left all the future profits of his works to charitable uſes.

(10) Mr Whalley, Vicar of St Sepulchre's in Northampton, publiſhed, by way of ſupplement to this piece, A vindication of the evidences and authenticity of the Goſpel from the objections of the late Lord Bolingbroke.

(11) See his Preſervative againſt unſettled notions in religion. Our author wrote an anſwer to it, which would have been publiſhed had he lived a few weeks longer. It is none of the leaſt inſtances of our author's good ſenſe that he never gave into any of the enthuſiaſtic notions of the Methodiſts.

HICKES [George], an Engliſh divine of diſtinguiſhed learning, was born June 20, 1642, at Newſham in Yorkſhire, where his parents were ſettled in a very large farm, called Moorhouſe (*a*). After going through the grammar-ſchool at North Allerton in that county, he was ſent to St John's college Oxford, and admitted a ſervitor in April 1659; but ſoon after the Reſtoration he removed to Magdalen college, took the degree of A. B. February 24, 1662 (*b*), and then went to Magdalen-hall (*c*), whence, on the 23d of May 1664, he was choſen Fellow of Lincoln college in that univerſity, where he commenced A. M. December 8, 1665 (*d*), and entered into holy orders in June the following year. He became an eminent tutor ſoon after, which office he diſcharged with great diligence and reputation till 1673 (*e*), when being in a bad ſtate of health, he accepted an offer of Sir George Wheeler (*f*), who had been his pupil, to accompany him in his travels. They ſet out in October that year, and made the tour of France [*A*] together (*g*); but, after a ſtay of eighteen months, our author left Sir George, and returning home, took the degree of B. D. May 14, 1675 (*h*), and about that time became Rector of St Ebbe's in Oxford. On the 15th of September 1676 he was made domeſtic chaplain to the Duke of Lauderdale (*i*), whom he attended to Scotland in May 1677; and in April the following year, his Grace being High Commiſſioner there, ſent him to the Engliſh court with Dr Burnet Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, to lay before the King the proceedings in Scotland; he returned in May, and, at the requeſt of Dr Sharpe Archbiſhop of St Andrews, he accepted the degree of D. D. in that univerſity (*k*); after which he returned home, and on the 13th of Sept. 1679 entered into matrimony [*B*]; and December 17th following was created D. D.

[*A*] *Made the tour of France.*] At Paris, where our author ſtaid a conſiderable time, he became acquainted with Mr Henry Juſtell, who in confidence told him many ſecret affairs; particularly the intended revocation of the edict of Nants, and a deſign in Holland and England to ſet aſide the family of the Stuarts (1).

[*B*] *He entered into matrimony.*] Namely with Mrs Frances Marſhall, widow of Mr John Marſhall citizen of London, and daughter of Charles Mallory of Raynham in Eſſex. She was perfectly of his own principles as well as of her father's, who had been a great ſufferer under Cromwell; and ſhe had the happineſs of a great courage both active and paſſive, which afterwards made her a very patient and chearful fellow-ſufferer with her huſband (2).

(*a*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1001. and Gen. Dict. under our author's article.

(*b*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 148.

(*c*) He was not of a ſtatutable county for a demyſhip of the college.

(*d*) Id. col. 160.

(*e*) Ath. Oxon. and Gen. Dict.

(*f*) He dedicated to Sir George his ſermon, intituled, The ſpirit of enthuſiaſm exorciſed, preached before the univerſity of Oxford, on Sunday, July 11, 1680.

(*g*) Mr Wood ſays our author went to Switzerland, and was at Geneva.

(*h*) Faſti Oxon. 198.

(*i*) He accepted it by the perſuaſion of Bp Fell. Gen. Dict.

(*k*) Ath. Oxon. as before, where we are told, that on his return the Abp, in his own name and the names of all his brethren, preſented him with the 18 vols. of Labbe's councils, as an acknowledgment of his ſervices to that church.

(1) See the article of Juſtell.

(2) Gen. Dict. under our author's article.

at Oxford (l), by virtue of the Chancellor's letters [C]. Before the expiration of this year the King collated him, in March 1679-80, to a prebend in the church of Worceſter, into which he was inſtalled June 7 (m), 1680 [D]. In Auguſt the ſame year he was preſented by Dr Sancroft, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to the vicarage of All-hallows Barking, near the Tower of London; upon which, in December that year, he reſigned his fellowſhip at Lincoln college (n). In December 1681 he was made chaplain in ordinary to the King, who promoted him, in Auguſt 1683, to the deanery of Worceſter, into which he was inſtalled October 13 (o) following [E]. The biſhopric of Briſtol becoming vacant the next year, our Dean, by the recommendation of the Duke of Beaufort, was likely to ſucceed to it; but miſſing his opportunity (p), the King's death put an end to his proſpect of that and every other advancement: for though his church principles were very high, yet he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf too much by his zeal againſt Popery to be any favourite with King James II [F]. In May 1686 he reſigned the vicarage of Barking, and went to ſettle on his deanry, upon an offer by the Biſhop of Worceſter to give him the rectory of All-church, not far from that city, which he accepted (q). Upon the Revolution in 1688, refuſing to take the oaths to the new government, he fell under ſuſpenſion in Auguſt 1689, and was deprived the February following. He continued, however, in poſſeſſion till the beginning of May, when reading in the Gazette, that the deanery of Worceſter was granted to Mr William Talbot (r), he immediately drew up in his own hand-writing a claim of right

(l) Faſti Oxon. col. 212.

(m) Ath. Oxon. and Gen. Dict. as before.

(n) Idem.

(o) Idem.

(p) The King ſaid he would not offer him that ſmall biſhopric, though if he would accept of it, he ſhould hold his deanery in commendam with it. Idem.

(q) He was collated June 24, and inducted two days after. Idem.

(r) Father to Lord Chancellor Talbot. See his article.

[C] *The Chancellor's letters.*] The purport of theſe letters was, that he had been ſeveral years attendant upon the Duke of Lauderdale, in his Majeſty's ſervice in the kingdom of Scotland, as well as in England; that he had done remarkable ſervice to the church of England, during his abode in that other kingdom, and received ſeveral marks of honour from the late Archbiſhop of St Andrews and the clergy of Scotland (3).

(3) Wood's Faſti Oxon.

[D] *A Prebendary of Worceſter.*] He is ſaid to owe this preferment to two pieces he had publiſhed in 1680, one, intituled, *Ravillac redivivus*, being a narrative of the late tryal of Mr James Mitchel, a conventicle preacher, for an attempt upon the ſacred perſon of the Archbiſhop of St Andrews, &c. the other was intituled, The ſpirit of Popery ſpeaking out of the mouths of fanatic Proteſtants; or, the laſt ſpeeches of Mr John Kid and Mr John King, two Preſbyterian miniſters, who were executed for high treaſon at Edinburgh, Auguſt 14, 1679: to which is ſubjoined, A narrative of the murder of the Archbiſhop of St Andrews, from the records of the privy council. This fact had been ſo miſrepreſented by the faction in both kingdoms, and particularly at London by Dr Gilbert Burnet, that our author deſired leave of Lauderdale to write a true narrative of it from the records of the privy council, as they were ſent by order to his Grace. It was no ſooner publiſhed but all thoſe flying reports were ſilenced, though the diſperſers of them were not aſhamed. Both theſe pieces were publiſhed under the diſguiſe of a Scottiſh gentleman. But as ſoon as his Majeſty knew it was Dr Hickes, he took a particular liking to him, and not long after made him a Prebendary of Worceſter, againſt the powerful ſollicitations of the Duke of York, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Biſhop of London, for another very deſerving perſon (4). Our author had before publiſhed *A letter ſent from beyond the ſeas to one of the chief miniſters of the Non-conforming party, by way of reply to many particulars which he ſent to the author, in a letter of news uſeful for theſe diſtempered times, by a lover of the eſtabliſhed government both in church and ſtate*, 1674, 4to. It was afterwards reprinted under this title, *The judgment of an anonymous writer concerning theſe following particulars*; 1. *A law for diſabling a Papiſt to inherit the crown*; 2. *The execution of penal laws againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters*; 3. *A bill of comprehenſion: all briefly diſcuſſed in a letter ſent from beyond the ſeas to a Diſſenter ten years ago.* 2d edit. 1684. This letter was in reality an anſwer to his elder brother Mr John Hickes, a Diſſenting miniſter, bred up in Cromwell's time at the college of Dublin, and deeply infected with the principles of thoſe times, whom the Doctor always endeavoured to convince of his errors, but without ſucceſs, his brother perſiſting in them to his death, and at laſt, to the Doctor's great grief, ſuffered for his rebellion under the Duke of Monmouth; though, upon the Doctor's unwearied application and petition, the King would have granted him his life, but that he had been informed that this Mr Hickes was the perſon who had adviſed the Duke of Monmouth to take upon him the title of King. Upon the Duke's landing, the Dean knowing his brother's principles and inclinations, did his utmoſt endeavours to get him ſecured by the lieutenancy, but he could not be found.

(4) Gen. Dict.

[E] *Made Dean of Worceſter.*] This was at firſt oppoſed by the Earl of Halifax, who had been privately influenced againſt our author by Tillotſon and Burnet. But his Lordſhip finding all oppoſition fruitleſs, propoſed that Dr Hickes ſhould upon it quit all his other preferments; but the King, at the inſtance of the Earl of Clarendon, granted the patent without that conditional clauſe (5). A few months after he was made Dean, the Lord Keeper North told him, that he was commanded by the King to acquaint him that he did not intend he ſhould ſtay long at Worceſter, and therefore deſired he would apply himſelf to ſtudy the parliament rolls; becauſe the biſhops, for want of more knowledge in that matter, were, ſince the Reformation, of the leaſt influence of any members in the Houſe of Lords, whereas before that time they uſed to have the greateſt ſway there. Hereupon his Lordſhip preſented the Dean with Ryley's *Placita parliamentaria*, which is the firſt volume of the rolls, and told him, when he had read that, he ſhould have the uſe of the reſt in order from him. The Dean had read over the firſt and ſecond volumes in manuſcript, and half the third, when King Charles died, which made him lay aſide that ſtudy, knowing he could not expect to be a favourite in the next reign (6).

(5) This condition, it is ſaid, was put into the patent with a deſign to get him out of London, where for about two years paſt he had a greater intereſt than Tillotſon. Idem. Apparently from the information of an anonymous friend.

(6) Idem.

[F] *No favourite to King James II.*] Beſides what he had done before that King's acceſſion to the crown, the Doctor publiſhed, in 1686, *Speculum Beatæ Virginis, a diſcourſe on Luke* i. 28. *of the due praiſe and honour of the Virgin Mary, by a true Catholic of the church of England.* As alſo, *An apological vindication of the church of England, in anſwer to her adverſaries, who reproach her with the Engliſh hereſies and ſchiſms.* This diſcourſe was at firſt a ſermon preached in his pariſh-church, upon occaſion of his Majeſty's printing King Charles II's papers, the preaching of which occaſioned much talk in the town. The Sunday following being deſired by Dr Sherlock to preach for him at his lecture in St Dunſtan's in the Weſt, the Dean preached the ſame ſermon there to a crowded audience, which greatly increaſed the town-talk, and was odiouſly repreſented to the King; who thereupon commanded the Biſhop of Ely to bring the Dean to him at an hour appointed, and as ſoon as his Majeſty had notice they were come, he came out, and took them into his cloſet, where the Dean expecting ſome ſevere reproof from his Majeſty, carried with him ſeveral Popiſh pamphlets, to produce for his vindication: but his Majeſty only telling him he had been informed that the Dean called King Charles's papers, printed by his order, a ſcandalous libel, with other reproachful expreſſions; he replied, he hoped his Majeſty would not believe him capable of ſo treating any thing that came from his hands: upon which the King immediately ſaid, Indeed he did not believe it. But, to convince him of the genuineneſs of thoſe papers, he ſhewed him the originals, which the Dean obſerving to be interlined with King Charles's own hand, that was not unknown to him, he acknowledged them, upon ſight, for ſuch (7).

(7) Idem ibid.

to it, directed to all the members of that church, which, in 1691, he affixed over the great entrance into the choir, that none of them might plead ignorance in that particular (*s*). Expecting that the government would reſent this action, he privately withdrew to London, where and in other places he abſconded (*t*), till the 18th of May 1699, when the Lord High Chancellor Sommers, out of a regard to his uncommon parts and learning, procured an act of council, ordering the Attorney-general to enter a *noli proſequi* to all proceedings againſt him (*u*). In the mean time, he had been ſent by Archbiſhop Sancroft with a liſt of the deprived clergy, to confer with King James about the means of continuing the Epiſcopal ſucceſſion in England, which was thought by his party would otherwiſe be broken. The Doctor ſet out with this commiſſion in May 1693, and on his arrival at St Germains in France, had ſeveral audiences of the King, who complying with the deſign of appointing new biſhops, the Doctor returned to England, where he arrived on the 4th of February the ſame year, and on the eve of St Matthias, the conſecrations were performed by the deprived biſhops, Dr Lloyd of Norwich, Dr Turner of Ely, and Dr White of Peterborough (*x*), when our author was conſecrated Suffragan Biſhop of Thetford in Norfolk, in which dignity he continued all the remainder of his life [G]. He was a perſon very ſtrict in his principles of morality, chooſing to ſuffer any thing rather than violate his conſcience. Some years before his death he was grievouſly tormented with the ſtone, and at length his conſtitution, though naturally ſtrong, ſunk under that diſtemper, December 15, 1715, in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age, and on the 18th he was interred in St Margaret's church-yard Weſtminſter, near his fellow-ſufferer Mr Nathaniel Spinckes [*H*]. He was particularly ſkilled in the old northern languages, and in antiquities, and has given us ſome works in that way, which are ſtill held in the higheſt eſteem. He was deeply read in the primitive fathers of the church, whom he conſidered as the beſt expoſitors of the Scripture; and as no one better underſtood the doctrine, worſhip, conſtitution, and diſcipline of the Catholic church, in the firſt and pureſt ages of Chriſtianity, ſo it was his utmoſt ambition and endeavour to prove the church England perfectly conformable thereto. Such of our author's pieces as have not been already mentioned, either in this article or others (*y*), are taken notice of below [*I*].

(*s*) Lee's Life of Kettlewell.

(*t*) See the article of Biſhop Kennett.

(*u*) This was granted particularly to encourage him in writing his important work The dictionary of the old northern languages. See the preface to that work.

(*x*) At the Bp of Peterborough's lodgings at the Rev. Mr Giffard's houſe in Southgate. Gen. Hiſt. of England. The Lord Clarendon is ſaid to have been preſent.

(*y*) Viz. in the articles of Sam. Johnſon, Mr Nelſon, Tillotſon, Thoreſby, and Grabe.

HILL

[G] *He continued Suffragan Biſhop during the remainder of his life.*] Several years after his death, it was averred in print that the Doctor was once in the mind to take the oaths, and ſave his preferments, a report which, though inconſiſtent with his character all his life-time, yet may perhaps be thought by ſome to be countenanced, by the inſcription on his tomb-ſtone, written according to his own direction in his will, printed 1716, 8vo. It runs thus: *Depoſitum Georgii Hickes S. T. P. non ita pridem Coll. Linc. Oxon. Socii, & Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Wigornenſis Decani, qui obiit* 15 *die Decembris* 1715 It is true here is no notice taken of the Suffragan Biſhop, but neither would any ſuch mention have been ſuffered.

[*H*] *His fellow-ſufferer Mr Nathaniel Spinckes.*] This divine was born in 1653, at Caſtor in Northamptonſhire, and, after a private education, ſent to Trinity college Cambridge in 1669; but afterwards removed to Jeſus college, where he took both the degrees in arts, and going into holy orders, he became a chaplain to the family of Sir Richard Edgcomb, of Mount Edgcomb in Devonſhire, where he lived ſome time. About 1681 he was made chaplain to the Duke of Lauderdale, where he contracted an intimacy with our author, who was his fellow-chaplain. Upon the Duke's death, in 1683, he was appointed curate and lecturer of St Stephen's Walbroke, London, which places he held till 1685, when the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough conferred on him the Rectory of Peakirk in Northamptonſhire. While he was Rector here, he married a wife, who ſurvived him only a week. In 1687 he was made a Prebendary of Saliſbury, and the ſame year inſtituted to the Rectory of St Martin's in that city; but was deprived of all his preferments in 1690, for refuſing to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary. He lived till the 28th of July 1727, and wrote a great many pieces in favour of the Nonjuring ſeparation, and againſt thoſe who propagated different principles, particularly againſt Mr afterwards Biſhop Hoadley, whoſe meaſures of *ſubmiſſion to the civil magiſtrate* gave occaſion to his publiſhing two or three pamphlets. He was a man of learning, and particularly ſkilled in the Saxon language, in which way he was of uſe to our author. He wrote a book of devotion, which is good, eſpecially with thoſe of his own party, among whom he is ſaid to have been a biſhop.

[*I*] *A liſt of his works not before-mentioned*, &c.] Theſe are, 1. *A narrative of a ſtrange and ſudden apparition of an archangel at the Old Baily*, &c. 1680-1, a ſingle ſheet. This was occaſioned by an indictment by his churchwardens at Barking of him, for idolatry in worſhipping the image of that archangel. This egregious piece of malice was deſervedly expoſed by the Doctor, who ſhewed that the pretended archangel was nothing more than a ſymbol of the reſurrection, firſt made and ſet up in Cromwell's time upon the church clock, between the two figures of time and death, on the inſide of the Tower, though afterwards removed, and placed over the altar, on a certain occaſion, which is related in this narrative; whereupon the indictment was quaſhed. 2. *The caſe of infant baptiſm, in five queſtions*, 1683, 4to (8). 3. *The harmony of divinity and law, in a diſcourſe on Proverbs* xxx. 31. *about not reſiſting of ſovereign Princes*, 1684, 4to. This diſcourſe was the ſubject of three ſermons, preached on occaſion of Algernoon Sidney's dying ſpeech, and of the prevailing opinion then ſpread abroad by ſome lawyers upon the impeachment of the Earl of Danby, that the King could not pardon any perſon impeached by the Houſe of Commons, before his tryal, ſuch impeachment having the nature of an appeal for murder, which is at the ſuit of the party. 4. *The celebrated ſtory of the Theban legion no fable; in an anſwer to the objections of Dr Gilbert Burnet's preface to his tranſlation of* Lactantius de mortibus perſecutorum; written in 1687, but not publiſhed till 1714 (9), 8vo. 5. Reflections upon a letter out of the country to a member of this preſent parliament, occaſioned by a letter to a member of the Houſe of Commons concerning the Biſhops lately in the Tower, and now under ſuſpenſion, written in 1689, in 4to. ſubſcribed A. Z. The letter here anſwered is generally aſcribed to Dr Burnet, though that was denied ſoon after in print. 6. *Inſtitutiones grammaticæ Anglo-Saxonicæ & Mæſo-Gothicæ*, &c. Oxon. 1689, 4to. In this piece is inſerted a copy of the antient coronation oath of our Saxon kings, in which there is not the leaſt footſteps of the original contract much bandied at this time. 7. *A letter to the author of a late paper, intituled,* A vindication of the divines of the church of England, &c. in defence of the hiſtory of paſſive obedience, by Dr Fowler, 1689, 4to. 8. *A word to the wavering, in anſwer to Dr Gilbert's inquiry into the preſent ſtate of affairs*, 1689, 4to. 9. *An apology for the new ſeparation, in a letter to Dr* John Sharp *Archbiſhop of* York, *occaſioned by his farewel ſermon preached at St Giles's in the Fields, June* 28, 1691, edit. 1691, 4to. 10. *A*

vindication

(8) It is the 5th caſe in the 2d volume of the London caſes, edit. 1685, 4to.

(9) The reaſon whereof is given in the preface by Hilkiah Bedford.

vindication of ſome among ourſelves againſt the falſe principles of Dr Sherlock, in a letter to the Doctor, occaſioned by the ſermon which he preached at the Temple church on the 29*th of May* 1692. *In which letter are alſo contained reflections on ſome others of the Doctor's ſermons, publiſhed ſince he took the oath*, edit. 1692, 4to. The intended ſecond edition, with a large preface, was ſeized in the preſs (10). 11. *The pretences of the Prince of Wales examined and rejected, in a letter to a friend in the country, dated Nov.* 7, 1710. In this treatiſe all the arguments againſt the birth are ridiculed and confuted. 12. *Antiquæ literaturæ ſeptentrionalis, libri duo*, &c. Oxon. 1705. fol. This is our author's maſter-piece. 13. *A ſecond collection* (11) *of controverſial letters, relating to the church of England and the church of Rome, as they paſſed between Dr G. Hickes and an honourable Lady* (12), edit. 1710, 8vo. Before this piece is a large preface, where he vindicates the doctrines of a material ſacrifice in the Euchariſt, and himſelf from the aſperſions caſt upon him by Dr Wh. Kennett, Dr Hancock, and others, on account of that doctrine. 14. *Two treatiſes, one of the Chriſtian prieſthood, the other of the dignity of the Epiſcopal order*, &c. 1714, third edition enlarged, 2 vol. 8vo. About the latter end of 1714, he publiſhed a ſupplement of additions to this piece (13). 15. *A ſeaſonable and modeſt apology in behalf of the Rev. Dr G. Hickes, and other Nonjurors, in a letter to Thomas Wiſe, D. D.* edit. 1710, 8vo. Here he likewiſe defends his opinion of the Euchariſtic ſacrifice, and anſwers Dr Wiſe's calumny of the Nonjuring ſeparatiſts being inclined to Popery. Dr Wiſe publiſhing *The Chriſtian Euchariſt rightly ſtated*, our Dean replied, 16. in *A vindication of the Rev. Dr G. Hickes*, &c. edit. 1712, 8vo. 17. A collection of ſermons, containing ſeveral ſermons never before printed, edit. 1713, in 2 vols. 8vo (14). 18. *Epiſtola viri reverendi D. G. Hickeſii, S. T. P. ad D. Hans Sloane, M. D. et R. S. Secr. de varia lectione inſcriptionis quæ in ſtatua Tagis exaratur per quatuor alphabeta Hetruſca*, edit. in *Phil. Tranſ.* Nº 302. 19. *Some queries propoſed to civil, canon, and common lawyers*, edit. 1712, in a half ſheet folio, falſely aſcribed to Laſley, in an anſwer publiſhed to them in 1713 (15). After his death came out, 1. *The concluſion of the Catholic church, and the nature and conſequence of ſchiſm, ſet forth in a collection of papers written by the late Rt Rev. George Hickes, D. D.* edit. 1716, 8vo. 2. *The introduction, and ſome part of Mr Kettlewell's life prefixed to his works*, edit. 1719, folio. The life was printed likewiſe alone in 8vo. 3. *Dr Hickes's determination of two queſtions*, Firſt, Whether there ought to be a true ſacrifice in the church? Second, Whether there is any ſuch thing in the church of England, ſince the preſent liturgy eſtabliſhed at the Reformation? inſerted in a book intituled, *Two diſcourſes, wherein it is proved that the church of England bleſſeth and offereth the Euchariſtic elements*, &c. edit. 1732, 8vo. 4. *Some propoſitions concerning ſeparation*, &c. To which is annexed, *An anſwer to a Popiſh letter*, inſerted in a pamphlet intituled, *Three ſhort treatiſes never before printed: the firſt and ſecond by the late very Rev. Dr George Hickes; the third a letter againſt a Proteſtant marrying a Papiſt, by Mr Kettlewell*, edit. 1732, 8vo. Beſides theſe works, there are alſo many prefaces and recommendations written by our author, at the requeſt of others, either authors or editors, to give an account of which would be tedious (16). The Dean left alſo ſeveral ſermons in manuſcript, which are in a private hand, and may, perhaps, one time or other ſee the light.

P

(10) Dr Sherlock, in his own vindication, ſaid our author had betrayed private converſation, but being challenged to ſhew any one inſtance of ſuch treachery, he never made any anſwer.

(11) An account of the firſt collection is given in Mr Nelſon's article.

(12) The Lady Gratiana Carew, of Hadcomb near Exeter.

(13) With a prefatory diſcourſe againſt Tindal's rights of the Chriſtian church.

(14) To theſe two was added a third volume of *Poſthumous ſermons*, publiſhed by Mr Spinckes in 1726, 8vo.

(15) This, after ſeveral editions, came out with the title of *Seaſonable queries relating to the birth and birth-right of a certain perſon*, 1714, 8vo. the year of Queen Anne's death.

(16) the titles of them, to the number of 18, many be ſeen in the Gen. Dict.

HILL [Aaron], a poet and projector, was deſcended from a good family, and born in Beaufort-buildings in the Strand, London, Feb. 10, 1684-5. He was put to Weſtminſter-ſchool, but was obliged to leave it at the age of fourteen on account of his narrow circumſtances, occaſioned by the misfortune of his father (*a*). In this exigence, young as he was, he formed a reſolution of paying a viſit to the Lord Paget his relation, then ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, and accordingly embarked on board a ſhip bound to that port March 2, 1700. On his arrival, the ambaſſador received him with much ſurprize, wondering that one ſo much a youth ſhould run the hazard of ſuch a voyage to viſit a relation whom he only knew by character: however, compaſſionating his misfortune, and ſtruck with his adventure, genius, and ſpirit, his Lordſhip immediately provided for him a very learned eccleſiaſtic in his own houſe; and under his ſituation ſent him to travel into Egypt, Palæſtine, and a great part of the eaſtern country. With Lord Paget he returned home about 1703, and in this journey ſaw moſt of the European courts. He had ſcarcely obtained the age of manhood when he was deſired to accompany Sir William Wentworth in the tour of Europe; he travelled with that gentleman two or three years, and not long after his return took his ſeat among the ſons of Parnaſſus, by a poem which he publiſhed in 1709, with the title of *Camillus* (*b*): and being the ſame year made maſter of the theatre in Drury-lane, he wrote, at the deſire of the celebrated actor Mr Barton Booth, his firſt tragedy *Elfrid, or the Fair Inconſtant.* In 1710 he became maſter of the opera-houſe in the Hay-market, when he wrote an opera called *Rinaldo*, which met with great ſucceſs, the muſical part being compoſed by Mr Handel (*c*). His genius ſeems to have been beſt adapted to the buſineſs of the ſtage, and while he held the management, he conducted both theatres to the ſatisfaction of the public; but through ſome miſunderſtanding with the then Lord Chamberlain, he relinquiſhed it in a few months. Mr Hill was not only a poet, he was alſo a great projector. In 1715 he undertook to extract an oil from beach-nuts as ſweet as that from olives, and was at the expence of a patent for the purpoſe; but the attempt being found impracticable on account of the expence, the undertaking came to nothing (*d*). In 1716 he produced another tragedy called *The Fatal Viſion, or the Fall of Siam.* About the year 1718 he wrote a poem called *The Northern Star*, upon the actions of *Czar Peter the Great* [*A*]. In 1728 he made a journey into the north of Scotland, where he had been about two years before, having contracted with the York-buildings company for many woods of great extent in that kingdom, in the view of furniſhing timber for the uſe of the navy. But this project, like the former, coming to nought (*e*) [*B*], our projector,

(*a*) His father was a gentleman of Malmeſbury-Abbey in Wiltſhire.

(*b*) It was written in honour of the Earl of Peterborough, who had been General in Spain. See Dr Berkeley's article.

(*c*) It was the firſt that Mr Handel compoſed after he came to England. See his article.

(*d*) He wrote a particular account of it, which is publiſhed in his works.

(*e*) Through the ſame defect, the largeneſs of the expence.

[*A*] *Czar of Muſcovy.*] Several years after he was complimented with a gold medal from the Empreſs Catharine, purſuant to the Czar's deſire before his death. He was alſo to have wrote the life of that Monarch from his own papers, which were to have been ſent him for the purpoſe; but the deſign proved abortive by the Czarina's death, which happened quickly after.

[*B*] *This project coming to nought*.] He ſoon found ſome difficulties in this affair; when the trees were by his order chained together into floats, the ignorant Highlanders refuſed to venture themſelves on them down jector, after a ſtay of ſeveral months in the Highlands, left Scotland, and went to York, where he finiſhed a poem called *The progreſs of wit, being a caveat for the uſe of an eminent orator* [*C*]. In 1731 he had the misfortune of loſing his wife, to whom he had been married above twenty years: ſhe brought him nine children, and alſo a handſome fortune; he was greatly afflicted with the loſs [*D*], which yet did not ſo far break his ſpirits as to ſtop the current of his pen. It would be tedious to enumerate all the pieces printed by our author, in verſe and proſe. His laſt production was a tragedy called *Merope*, which was brought upon the ſtage in Drury-lane by Mr Garrick. There are ſome lines in the beginning of it, which may be conſidered as a prophecy of his own approaching diſſolution after, which was occaſioned by a very painful illneſs, borne for a twelvemonth with great calmneſs, and a reſigned behaviour. He died February 8, 1749, in the very minute, as it is ſaid, of the earthquake at that time. He was interred in the ſame grave with his wife, in the great cloyſter in Weſtminſter abbey, near the Lord Godolphin's tomb. A ſketch of his character is inſerted below [*E*].

down the river Spey, till he went himſelf to convince them there was no danger: however, in this paſſage he met with a great obſtacle in the rocks, which he found means to break to pieces (1), ſo that the paſſage became eaſy for the floats.

[*C*] *The progreſs of wit*, &c.] This was intended for Mr Pope, who had been the aggreſſor in the Dunciad, and as Mr Hill's friends ſaid, was made very uneaſy by it. The firſt eight lines are as follows:

> *Tuneful Alexis on the Thames fair ſide,*
> *The ladies play-thing, and the muſes pride,*
> *With merit popular, with wit polite,*
> *Eaſy tho' vain, and elegant tho' light,*
> *Deſiring and deſerving others praiſe,*
> *Poorly accepts a fame he ne'er repays.*
> *Unborn to cheriſh, ſneakingly approves,*
> *And wants the ſoul to ſpread the worth he loves.*

[*D*] *He was greatly afflicted with the loſs.*] He wrote the following epitaph for a monument he deſigned to put over her grave:

> *Enough, cold ſtone! ſuffice her long lov'd name;*
> *Words are too weak to pay her virtue's claim.*
> *Temples and tombs, and tongues ſhall waſte away,*
> *And pow'r's vain pomp in mouldring duſt decay.*
> *But ere mankind a wife more perfect ſee,*
> *Eternity, O time! ſhall bury thee.*

[*E*] *His character*, &c.] It is inſerted in the life of Handel, where that writer obſerves (2), 'that Mr 'Hill's character appears to have been almoſt as ſingular as his adventures. Born of a good family, 'and endowed with ſome natural talents, he might 'perhaps have arrived at that eminence to which he 'aſpired, could he have confined himſelf to any ſingle 'purſuit; but he was one of thoſe enterprizing ſpirits that attempt every thing, and for want of diſcerning their proper province, bring nothing to 'perfection. He travelled much, read much, and 'wrote much; and all as it ſhould ſeem to very little 'purpoſe. His intimate acquaintance with the moſt 'eminent perſons of an age ſo fruitful in *beaux 'eſprits*, inflamed his natural ardor to diſtinguiſh himſelf in the *belles lettres* (3). He fancied himſelf deſtined to be a great poet, and the high compliments 'he received from one who was really ſuch (Mr 'Pope) confirmed him in that error. From poetry 'to muſic the paſſage was natural and eaſy; but 'from compoſing dramas to be ſet to the extracting oil from beach-nuts, was a tranſition peculiar 'to ſuch a verſatile genius as Mr Hill.' His works came out in four volumes octavo (4), but are in no good eſteem. It is well obſerved that our author is too ſtrained and affected, both in his thoughts, and alſo in his manner of expreſſing them. P

HOADLY [Benjamin], was ſucceſſively Biſhop of Bangor, Hereford, Saliſbury, and Wincheſter. The life of this *pious and judicious Divine* (*a*) was conſiſtently ſpent in a perpetual exertion of the nobleſt faculties to the nobleſt end, the vindication of the religious and civil liberties of mankind in general, and of his country in particular. And at his death he left a monumental inſcription [*A*] written by himſelf, leſt his zealous

[*A*] *A monumental inſcription.*]

Hic juxta ſepultum eſt
Quicquid mortale fuit
BENJAMINI HOADLY, S. T. P.
Erat ille filius
SAMUELIS HOADLY,
Viri optimi et doctiſſimi, Eccl. Ang. Preſbyteri,
Scholæ privatæ per multos annos,
Poſteà Scholæ publicæ Norvicenſis informatoris, et
MARTHÆ PICKERING,
Viri Reverendi Benjamini Pickering filiæ.
Natus Weſterhamiæ in agro Cantiano
Die 14°. Nov. A. D. 1676.
In Aulam Sanctæ Cath. Cantabr. cooptatus
A. D. 1692, et ejuſdem Aulæ poſteà Socius.
In Eccleſia Sanctæ Mildr. de Poultrey, Londini,
Per decem annos ab A. D. 1701,
Concionator Pomeridianus.
Rector eccleſiæ Sancti Petri Pauperis, Londⁱ.
Per annos ſedecim ab A. D. 1704.
Rector etiam eccleſiæ de Streatham in com. Surriæ
Per annos tredecim ab A. D. 1710.
EPISCOPUS Bangorenſis conſecratus
Martii Die 18°. A. D. 1715.
Epiſcopus Herefordenſis confirmatus
Nov. die 3°. A. D. 1721.
Epiſcopus Sariſburienſis confirmatus
Oct. die 29°. A. D. 1723.
Epiſcopus Wintonenſis confirmatus
Sept. die 26°. A. D. 1734.
Uxores duxit
1. SARAM CURTIS,
Ex qua duos filios ſuſcepit,
Benjaminum in Med. Doctorem,
Et Joannem Dioc. Winton. Cancellarium.
2. MARIAM NEWEY,
Viri Reverendi Joannis Newey, S. T. P.
Et Decani Ciceſtrenſis filiam:
Feminas optimis animi dotibus ornatas,
Et amore ſummo illi conjunctiſſimas.
Obiit Apr. die 17°. A. D. 1761. Æt. 85.

On a ſmaller tablet under is,

Patri amantiſſimo,
Veræ Religionis ac Libertatis publicæ vindici,
De Se, de Patriâ, de genere humano optime merito,
Hoc Marmor poſuit
J. HOADLY, filius ſuperſtes.

friends

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(1) This was done by making fires and throwing great quantities of water upon them, when the river was low.

(2) Page 80.

(3) In that ſpirit he aſſiſted Joſ. Mitchel, a brother poet, in writing *The fatal extravagant*, acted in 1720, with ſome ſucceſs. Mitchel was always very needy, and being chiefly ſupported by Sir R. Walpole's bounty, was called his poet. A Pindarie ode by him upon muſic, is prefixed to Malcolm's piece upon that ſubject, edit. 1730, 8vo.

(4) With the life of the author prefixed, whence is extracted the preſent memoir.

(*a*) Burnet's Hiſt. Vol. II.

friends ſhould erect any memorial of him inconſiſtent with the peculiar modeſty of his life. He was the ſecond ſon of the Reverend Mr Samuel Hoadly [*B*], born at Weſtram in Kent November 14, 1676, and educated under his father's care, till he was admitted of Catherine-Hall, Cambridge (*b*), (under Mr Leng, afterwards Lord Biſhop of Norwich) where, as ſoon as he commenced M. A. he became tutor, and diſcharged that office two years with the higheſt reputation. [*C*] He took orders (*c*) under Dr H. Compton Lord Biſhop of London; and the next year quitting his fellowſhip (vacated, as is moſt probable, by his marriage) was appointed to the lectureſhip of St Mildred in the Poultry, in which he continued ten years; officiating at the ſame time for the reverend Mr Hodges, rector of St Swithin's, during his abſence at ſea as chaplain-general of the fleet in 1702 (*d*). Two years after (*e*) he obtained the rectory of St Peter's Poor, in Broad-ſtreet, London, in a great meaſure by the recommendation of the Reverend Dr William Sherlock [*D*], Dean of St. Paul's, to that chapter, of whom he always ſpoke as uniformly kind to him. His writings, publiſhed during the courſe of theſe laſt years, tending to the advancement of (*f*) natural and revealed religion, and to the (*g*) juſtification of the nobleſt principles of civil liberty, produced in the year 1709, a vote of the Houſe of Commons [*E*] in his

(*b*) Penſioner Feb. 18, 1691. B. A. January 1695-6. Elected Fellow Aug. 23, 1697. M. A. at the commencement. 1699. Col. Reg.

(*c*) Thoſe of Deacon Dec. 18, 1698. Of Prieſt Dec. 22, 1700.

(*d*) Preface to his 16 Sermons, 0754.

(*e*) 1704.

(*f*) Againſt Dr Francis Atterbury.

(*g*) Againſt Calamy, Blackall, and Atterbury. See the Catalogue of his Works hereafter inſerted.

[*B*] *Mr Samuel Hoadly*] Was the eldeſt of twelve children of the Reverend Mr John Hoadly, Chaplain to the garriſon of Edinburgh caſtle, by Mrs Sarah Buſhnel, whom he met with in the ſame ſhip, when the troubles of his country forced his family to New-England. He was born at Guilford in New-England September 29, 1643; came thence to Edinburgh April 14, 1655, where he had his ſchool education; and September 29, 1659, went to King James's College there. He left Scotland July 22, 1662, with the family, who ſettled at Rolvenden in Kent; whence, January 2, 1662-3, he went to Cranebrook, to teach the free-ſchool there, being little more than nineteen years of age. He married June 19, 1666, Mrs Mary Wood, who died November 25, 1668, in childbed of her ſecond daughter, ſtillborn. September 29, 1669, he married Martha daughter of the Reverend Mr B. Pickering, an eminent man at that time, and had been one of the aſſembly of divines, by whom he had nine children, of which the biſhop was the ſixth. He firſt ſet up his private ſchool in 1671, at Weſterham, in the ſame county, near which, at Halſtead, his brother Mr John Hoadly was Rector. He moved again 1678 to Tottenham High-Croſs in Middleſex; and thence, in May 1686, to Brook-Houſe in Hackney. From hence, in April 1700, he was called to preſide in the publick ſchool at Norwich, where his younger ſon John was ſeveral years his aſſiſtant, having been choſen under-maſter September 28 of the ſame year. He was very careful in the education of his ſons; 1. Samuel, born July 3, 1675, a moſt promiſing youth, who died in Univerſity College, Oxford, under ſeventeen years of age, having been ſcholar there near two years, and was buried in St Mary's church, under a ſtone engraven to his memory. His father lamented his loſs in very moving terms to his (1) friend Grævius, who at the ſame time laboured under the like calamity. 2. Benjamin, 3. John. He publiſhed while at Hackney *The natural method of teaching*, &c. which is eſteemed the beſt book of the kind, and hath borne eleven editions; and a ſchool edition of *Phædrus*, with ſhort notes. He had alſo made conſiderable progreſs in an exact Latin dictionary; in a proſody, and other parts of his ſcheme of *The natural method*, of which what he publiſhed was but one of four or five deſigned for the Engliſh, Latin, and Greek languages. It is remarkable that this excellent ſchool-maſter and critical ſcholar died April 17, 1705, without ever having had any preferment in the church. His Lordſhip's mother died January 13, 1702-3, and they both lie buried (together with Benjamin Hawkins, a grandchild by their daughter Frances) in St Luke's chapel, within the cathedral at Norwich. His youngeſt ſon John, born at Tottenham High-Croſs, Middleſex, September 28, 1678, was Chaplain to Biſhop Burnet, and by him made Chancellor, and Canon Reſidentiary, of the Church of Saliſbury, Archdeacon of Sarum, and Rector of St Edmund's in that city. In 1717 he was preſented by Sir Peter King, then Lord Chief Juſtice, to the rectory of Ockham in Surry; and afterwards made Canon of the church of Hereford by his brother, when Biſhop of that ſee. Theſe preferments he enjoyed till he was nominated in 1727 to the united ſees of Leighlin and Fernes in Ireland; but the firſt King George dying before the inſtruments had paſſed the offices, new ones were graciouſly expedited by his late Majeſty immediately on his acceſſion. On January 17, 1729-30, he ſucceeded Dr William King in the Archbiſhopric of Dublin; and on Primate Boulter's deceaſe, in October 1742, the late Duke of Devonſhire's father, then Lord Lieutenant, had made all ſolicitations needleſs within *an hour* after the news arrived. His expreſſion to the King was, *That he could not do without him*; and he was accordingly appointed Archbiſhop of Armagh, Primate and Metropolitan, &c. He married Mrs Anne Warre, and left one daughter, Sarah, ſtill living, married in his life-time to Bellingham Boyle, Eſq; of Rathfarnham near Dublin, nearly related to the late Speaker of the Houſe of Commons *. He died July 19, 1746, aged ſixty-eight, of a fever, caught by too aſſiduouſly attending on his workmen, and by his own deſire was buried at Tallaght, in the ſame vault with his lady and her mother; where he had erected a noble monument to himſelf, the moſt elegant as well as convenient epiſcopal palace in that kingdom, from the ruins of an immenſe caſtle of that name; but he raiſed a nobler in the hearts of the Iriſh, by indefatigably promoting the improvement of agriculture by his ſkill, his purſe, and his example. He publiſhed, 1. *A defence of Biſhop Burnet on the Articles, in anſwer to Dr Binckes's prefatory diſcourſe, &c.* 4to. 2. Another, *Thoughts on Biſhop Beveridge's writings* (2), or ſome ſimilar title, relating to the ſame ſubject, in an humorous way, in 8vo. 3. *A ſermon on the publick faſt*, 1704. 4. *An aſſize ſermon at Saliſbury*, 1706-7. 5. *A ſermon before the houſe of commons, on January* 30, 1707-8.

[C] *Higheſt reputation*] For his B. A. Degree, he was indulged with no leſs than ſeven terms (3), *ob graviſſimam valetudinem*; and ſo early had other reputable marks of diſtinction conferred upon him. While under-graduate he had the ſmall-pox in a deplorable manner, and now laboured under a bad ſtrain, which, ill managed by an unſkilful ſurgeon, would have coſt him his leg, had not ſerjeant Barnard undertaken to ſave it, contrary to the opinion of ſeveral eminent ſurgeons at the conſultation. He was a cripple all his life, uſing a cane when he appeared in publick, and crutches at home, and always preaching in a kneeling poſture on a ſtool. He was much an invalid all the former part of his life, and thought to be ſinking into a conſumptive habit till between thirty and forty, when his circumſtances enabled him to take the air daily in a chariot (which he purſued with an extreme exactneſs till a very few days before his death) he grew rather corpulent, and enjoyed a general good ſtate of health.

[*D*]. *The Reverend Dr William Sherlock*] The Dean had the generoſity not to take the merit of it to himſelf, but intimated to Mr Hoadly that Dr Fleetwood's good opinion had been of great ſervice to him. And to this it is ſuppoſed Mr Hoadly refers. See the Catalogue of his works N°. 1.

[*E*] *Vote of the Houſe*] ' Reſolved, 1. That the ' Reverend Mr. Benjamin Hoadly, Rector of St. Peter's Poor, London, for having (4) often juſtified ' the principles on which her Majeſty and the nation ' proceeded in the late happy Revolution, hath juſtly ' merited the favour and recommendation of this ' houſe. 2. That an humble addreſs be preſented ' to her Majeſty, that ſhe would be graciouſly pleaſed ' to

(1) The whole extenſive correſpondence of this great critick was in Dr Mead's poſſeſſion, among which are ſeveral letters of Mr S. Hoadly.

* Since created Lord Shannon.

(2) The exact titles of thoſe Tracts cannot now be eaſily procured.

(3) Univerſity Regiſter.

(4) The vote was paſſed Dec. 14, 1709, immediately after the publication of his book on Civil Government. See Cat. Journals of the Houſe of Commons.

his favour too honourable to be omitted. On February 13, 1710, he was preſented by Mrs Howland [*F*] to the rectory of Streatham in Surry, as a qualification for which he was honoured with a chaplainſhip to his grace Wriotheſley Duke of Bedford. On February 16, in the year 1715-16, he was admitted and ſworn King's Chaplain, having before been honoured with the degree of D. D. by Archbiſhop Wake [*G*]. He was appointed to the biſhoprick of Bangor on St Thomas's day 1715 *, and conſecrated (*i*) the 18th of March following †; with which he held both his livings in commendam. It was a very *ſingular* circumſtance (not to his diſhonour) that when he went to court to kiſs hands on the occaſion, he did not know the way up ſtairs; and when there, ſat in an outer room, till he was ſhewn into the preſence. On his Lordſhip's publiſhing in 1716 his *Preſervative againſt the Principles and Practices of the Non-jurors both in Church and State*; and March 31, 1717, preaching his famous ſermon on *the Nature of the Kingdom or Church of Chriſt* before the King (which was immediately printed by ſpecial command) ſo great offence was taken by the clergy at the doctrines therein delivered, that it was reſolved to proceed againſt him in Convocation as ſoon as it ſhould ſit. And here began the famous controverſy which bears his name. The *lower houſe* accordingly drew up their *repreſentation*, &c. but before it could be brought into the *upper houſe* that whole aſſembly was prorogued by a ſpecial order from the King [*H*] (*j*); nor was it permitted to ſit, or do any buſineſs, till the reſentment entirely ſubſided (*k*). In 1720 he reſigned the rectory of St Peter's Poor (*l*); and in 1721 was tranſlated into the ſee of Hereford ‡. During his ſhort continuance in this biſhoprick happened the trial of the Biſhop of Rocheſter (Atterbury), in 1723, in whoſe ſentence he moſt conſcientiouſly concurred, for reaſons beſt ſeen in the *remarks* on that event (*m*), which are univerſally aſcribed to him. Upon his tranſlation to the ſee of Saliſbury (*n*), he reſigned the rectory of Streatham, his moſt beloved retirement. Eleven years after, he was advanced, on the death of Biſhop Willis (whom he had alſo ſucceeded at Saliſbury) to the biſhoprick of Wincheſter (*o*), which he held near twenty-ſeven years; till on April 17, 1761, at his palace at Chelſea, in the ſame calm he had enjoyed amidſt all the ſtorms that blew around him, he died full of years and honours, beloved and revered by all good men ‖. [*I*] His uſeful labours in the cauſe of *religious* and *civil liberty* will be gratefully remembered as long as Great Britain ſhall be a nation. He was uncommonly fortunate in domeſtick life, having been married to two excellent women, in whom he was completely happy: 1. Mrs Sarah Curtis [*K*] (*p*), on May 30, 1701. 2. On July 23, 1745, Mary,

* Salmon's chronol. hiſt. under that year.

† In Ely chapel.

(*i*) Monumental Inſcription.

(*j*) Tindal's Continuation.

(*k*) Salmon's Hiſtorical Regiſter.

(*l*) Pariſh Regiſter.

‡ Confirmed Nov. 3. 7200. Monument.

(*m*) See the Catalogue, N° 45, 46.

(*n*) Confirmed Oct. 29, 1723. Monument.

(*o*) Confirmed Sept. 26, 1734. Monument.

(*p*) By Mr afterwards Dr Weſt, Prebendary of Wincheſter, and Archdeacon of Berks, at St. James's chapel.

‖ Ætat. 85.

‘ to beſtow ſome dignity in the church on Mr Hoadly, ‘ for his eminent ſervices both to the church and ſtate.’ The Queen anſwered (5), ‘ That ſhe would take a pro‘ per opportunity to comply with their deſires; which ‘ however ſhe never did.’ The member who made the motion was Anthony Henley, Eſq, father of the preſent Lord Chancellor, who though ſcarce known to Mr Hoadly, did it, no doubt, with the moſt kind intention towards him, and the beſt inclination to the cauſe of liberty which he defended; but without Mr Hoadly's knowledge, or any previous conſultation with him or his friends. On many accounts it gave him great uneaſineſs.

(5) Tindal's Continuation, Vol. 4. p. 153.

[*F*] *Mrs Howland*] ‘ I cannot but think it a due (ſays ‘ his Lordſhip) in point of gratitude to her memory, ‘ publickly to acknowledge this ſingular obligation to ‘ her, that in the year 1710, when *fury* ſeemed to be let ‘ looſe, and to diſtinguiſh *me* particularly, ſhe herſelf, ‘ unaſked, unapplied to, without my having ever ſeen ‘ her, or been ſeen by her, choſe, by preſenting me to ‘ the Rectory of Streatham, then juſt vacant, to ſhew, ‘ in her own expreſſion, that *ſhe was neither aſhamed* ‘ *nor afraid to give me that publick mark of her regard* ‘ *at that critical time* (6).’ To her he afterwards inſcribed his volume of ſermons on *The terms of acceptance*; and on May 1, 1719, preached her funeral ſermon in Streatham church (7). This excellent lady was relict of a very eminent and opulent merchant of London, and grandmother of the laſt and preſent Dukes of Bedford, the Ducheſs dowager of Bridgwater, and the dowager Counteſs of Eſſex.

(6) Pref. to vol. of ſerm. 1754.

(7) See Cat. N° 40, 24.

[*G*] *D. D. by Archbiſhop Wake*] As appears by the warrant of the Duke of Bolton, then Lord Chamberlain, wherein he is termed D. D. and from the 4th edit. of his ſermon *on the deluſions of many Proteſtants*, preached at St Peter's Poor, publiſhed in 1716 (as the printers affect) where he is called Benjamin Hoadly D. D. Rector of the ſaid church.

[*H*] *Order from the King*] ‘ I had no other *thought*, ‘ *deſire*, or *reſolution* (ſays his Lordſhip) but to *anſwer* in ‘ my *place* before the *ſame houſe* to which this accuſation ‘ was deſigned to be brought; but it was thought proper ‘ (out of a ſincere regard, as I verily believe, to the in‘ tereſt of our *conſtitution* in *church* and *ſtate*) to put a ‘ ſtop to the ſitting of the Convocation; which (becauſe ‘ it has been unkindly and induſtriouſly repreſented as ‘ the effect of my ſollicitation, and an argument of ‘ my fear, and what I fled to for *refuge*, I am obliged ‘ to declare before the whole world) was done not ‘ only without my ſeeking, but without ſo much as ‘ my knowledge, or even ſuſpicion of any ſuch de‘ ſign, till it was actually reſolved and ordered.— ‘ Of this—this defenſe (which I promiſed publickly ‘ as ſoon as poſſible) is, I hope, an unanſwerable ar‘ gument.’ He adds, ‘ The prorogation of the Con‘ vocation tends not to hinder *any light* from appear‘ ing, but the contrary. For the debate is by this ‘ means taken from the *bar* of *human authority*, and ‘ brought to that of *reaſon* and *ſcripture*; removed ‘ from a trial by *majority of voices* (which cannot be a ‘ trial to be contended for either by truth or by the ‘ church of England) and brought to that of *argument* ‘ only. And certainly no *Chriſtian* or *Proteſtant* can ‘ juſtly and conſiſtently find fault with this (8).’

(8) Pref. to his anſwer to the repreſentation drawn up by the committee, &c.

[*I*] *All good men.*] On the night before he was carried up to bed, as uſual, in perfect health; and in the middle of the night was ſeized with a vomiting, &c. the violence of which was put a ſtop to in about (9) an hour; after which he lay quiet till about eight o'clock the next evening, when his lady, who watched the whole time with the utmoſt attention by his bedſide, found him *dead*, not knowing the moment of his departure. Two winters before he had had a ſevere attack of St Anthony's fire, which his great natural ſtrength diſcharged; and it was imagined that another of the ſame kind, which nature exhauſted by age could not throw out, was the immediate cauſe of his death.

(9) Dr Taylor and Mr Hawkins attended him.

[*K*] *Mrs Sarah Curtis.*] Born 1676, about ſix months before his lordſhip, was excellent in the art of painting, as He was, in his younger days, in that of muſick. She was a ſcholar of Mrs Beale and her ſon Charles, who were bred under Sir Peter Lely. Many of her portraits would do honour to a profeſſor of the art; particularly a pair of ſmall whole lengths (10), of Mr Hoadly juſt after, and of his brother juſt before, they were in orders; and another of Biſhop Burnet in the family of ——— Michel, Eſq; who married one of his daughters, from which Mr Vertue made an excellent engraving.

(10) In poſſeſſion of Mrs Hoadly, the Biſhop's widow, in Hill-ſtreet.

daughter

daughter and coheireſs of Dr John Newey, Dean of Chicheſter (q). By his firſt lady he had three ſons Samuel (r), Benjamin, and John [L]. Only the latter ſurvived him, who never diſobeyed him till after his death, when he erected but a decent (s) monument to his memory, near the place of his interment in his cathedral of Wincheſter (t). He was ſo happy as to live long enough to reap the full (earthly) reward of his labours; to ſee his Chriſtian and moderate opinions prevail over the kingdom, in church and ſtate; to ſee the Non-Conformiſts at a very low ebb, for want of the oppoſition and perſecution they were too much uſed to experience from both, many of their miniſters deſiring to receive their re-ordination from his own hands, and many of their congregations not able to ſupport any miniſter amongſt them, or elſe receiving contributions from their brethren of London to that end; to ſee the general temper of the clergy entirely changed, the biſhops preferring few or none of intolerant principles, and the clergy claiming no inherent *authority*, but what is the natural reſult of their own good behaviour as individuals, in the diſcharge of their duty; to ſee the abſurd tenet of indefeaſible hereditary right, and of its genuine offspring an unlimited non-reſiſtance (demonſtrated by him to be founded neither in ſcripture nor reaſon) abſolutely exploded; and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the preſent royal family as firmly fixed in the hearts and perſuaſions of the people, as in the laws of God and the land. All perſonal prejudice (and there ſcarce ever was a man that had experienced more) he had entirely outlived; wherever he was *known*, it was changed to its oppoſite; and wherever but *ſeen*, it vaniſhed.

(q) By his worthy friend Dr. Peter Maurice, Dean of Bangor, at Farnham caſtle. She was born Sept. 9, 1708.

(r) Born Dec. 2, 1703, and lived only 10 months.

(s) Communicated by himſelf.

(t) Dr Akenſide has raiſed a more laſting one in his noble Ode to Benj. Ld Bp of Wincheſter, publiſhed in Dodſley's Miſc. Vol. VI. which, with his permiſſion, we have inſerted at the end of this article.

As the life of a learned and contemplative man is beſt known by his writings, and the occaſions of them, a Catalogue of his lordſhip's is added (much more perfect than we could hope for at this diſtance of time) which his own words will almoſt ſufficiently explain.

THE CATALOGUE.

N. B. The ſeveral pieces at all relating to each controverſy are reſpectively diſtinguiſhed; A. denoting that with Dr Francis Atterbury on the Foundation of Moral Virtue; B. the Bangorian; C. that on Conformity with Mr Calamy; E. that with the Biſhop of Exeter, and other pieces on the ſubject of Civil Government, in which Dr Atterbury afterwards joined.

1702. 1. *A Letter to the Reverend Mr Fleetwood, occaſioned by his Eſſay on Miracles.* (Reprinted in the volume of Tracts 1715. N°. 1.—This contains ſome *points*, relating to the ſubject of *miracles*, in which I differed long ago from an *excellent perſon* (u), now advanced, by his

(u) Bp of St Aſaph, afterwards of Ely.

[L] *Benjamin and John.*] Benjamin was born Feb. 10, 1705-6, educated (as was his younger brother) at Dr Newcome's at Hackney, and Benet College, Cambridge; the former being admitted Penſioner Ap. 8. 1722, under the worthy Abp Herring, then tutor there; and the latter, eight years after, Fellow-Commoner under the Rev. Mr Edward Beacon*, now Rector of Calbourne in the Iſle of Wight. Here he took a degree in phyſick §, and particularly applying to mathematical and philoſophical ſtudies, was well known (along with the learned and ingenious Drs David Hartley and Davies, both late of Bath, who with him compoſed the whole claſs) to make a greater progreſs under the blind profeſſor Saunderſon than any young gentleman then in the univerſity. When his late Majeſty was at Cambridge ‖, he was upon the liſt of gentlemen to be created Doctors of Phyſick; but, either by chance or management, his name was not found in the laſt liſt; and he had not his degree of M. D. till about a month after by a particular mandamus (11). Through this tranſaction it appeared that Dr Snape had not forgotten or forgiven the name of Hoadly; for he not only behaved to him with great ill-manners, but obſtructed him in it as much as lay in his power. He was F. R. S. very young, and had the honour of being made known to the learned world as a philoſopher, by *a letter from the Reverend Dr Samuel Clarke to Mr Benjamin Hoadly, F.R.S. occaſioned by the preſent controverſy among mathematicians concerning the proportion of velocity and force in bodies in motion.* He was made Regiſtrary of Hereford while his father filled that ſee, and was early appointed Phyſician to his Majeſty's houſhold, in which poſt he behaved with *ſingular honour*. He (12) married, 1. Elizabeth daughter of Henry Betts, Eſq; of Suffolk, counſellor at law, by whom he had one ſon, Benjamin, that died an infant. 2. Anne (13) daughter and coheireſs of the honourable general Armſtrong (14), by whom he left no iſſue. He died in the life-time of his father, Aug. 10, 1757, at his houſe at Chelſea, now Sir Richard Glyn's, which he had built ten years before. He publiſhed, 1. *Three letters on the organs of reſpiration, read at the Royal College of Phyſicians, London, A. D.* 1737, *being the Gulſtonian Lectures for that year. To which is added an Appendix, containing Remarks on ſome experiments of Dr. Houſton, publiſhed in the Tranſactions of the Royal Society for the year* 1736, *by Benjamin Hoadly, M. D. Fellow of the College of Phyſicians, and of the Royal Society London,* 1740. 4*to*. 2. *Oratio anniverſaria in theatro Col. Medicor. Londinenſium ex Herveii inſtituto habita, die* 18º *Oct. A. D.* 1742, *a Benj. Hoadly, M. D. Col. Med. et S. R. S.* 1742, eſteemed a very elegant piece of Latin. 3. *The Suſpicious Huſband*, a comedy, &c. by Dr Hoadly, London 1747, with a moſt handſome dedication to his Royal Maſter. This is as true a picture of the genteeleſt manners of the times as ever was drawn for the ſtage, and which will keep poſſeſſion of it, even after his dear friend (the original *Ranger*) ſhall have left it. 4. *Obſervations on a ſeries of electrical experiments.* By Dr. Hoadly, and Mr. Wilſon, F. R. S. 4to, 1756.

John, ſtill living, was born October 8, 1711, O. S. took a degree in law in 1735; and in 1747 (15) was honoured with that of L. L. D. (the firſt degree conferred) by the excellent Archbiſhop Herring. He (16) married Elizabeth daughter of James Aſhe, Eſq; of Saliſbury, by whom he hath no iſſue. He was appointed Chancellor of the dioceſe of Wincheſter November 29, 1735, and was ordained that (17) year by his father. He was honoured (and particularly by the genteel manner of it) by the late Prince of Wales, being immediately (18) appointed his Chaplain; and by the Princeſs dowager of Wales in like manner May 6, 1751. He was collated to the rectory of Alresford on Nov. 29, 1737; and to that of Overton (void by the death of Biſhop Clagget) Dec. 16, 1746, (ſine cure); and *inſtituted* to the rectory of St Mary's near Southampton June 9, 1743, on the preſentation of Martin Folkes, Eſq; &c. executors of the will of Archbiſhop Wake; his nephew, the preſent Dr Wake (in whoſe favour this option was bequeathed) not being then capable of orders (19). He was appointed to the Maſterſhip of St Croſs (ſine-cure) in May 1760; which preferments (all in the county of Hants) he now enjoys.

* June 15, 1730.

§ 1727, ſub fin.

‖ April 1728.

(11) A particular grace is alſo inſerted in the Univ. Regiſt. to preſerve his rank on this extraordinary occaſion, May 25, 1728.

(12) Nov. 6. 1733.

(13) June 4, 1747.

(14) A gentleman of high reputation in his profeſſion, particularly in the branch of engineering, and honoured with the friendſhip of the great D. of Marlborough. He died Apr. 15, 0742, ſurveyor-gen. of the Ordnance, chief engineer of England, col. of the royal regiment of foot of Ireland, quarter-maſter gen. and maj. gen. of his majeſty's forces.

(15) Jan. 4, 1747.

(16) Feb. 10, 1735-6.

(17) Deacon Dec. 7, Prieſt Dec. 21, 1735.

(18) Dec. 26, 1735.

(19) On this occaſion Mr Hoadly immediately reſigned the ſinecure of Wroughton, Wilts. in favour of the Rev. Mr Conant, a relation of Abp. Wake; and biſhop Hoadly ſoon after collated Mr Wake to the rectory of Knoyle, in the ſame county, both in his patronage as biſhop of Wincheſter.

merits, to one of the *higheſt ſtations* in the *church*. When it firſt appeared in the world, he had too great a ſoul to make the common return of *reſentment* or *contempt*, or to eſteem a difference of opinion, expreſſed with civility, to be an *unpardonable affront*. So far from it, that he not only was pleaſed to expreſs ſome good liking of the *manner* of it, but laid hold on an opportunity, which then immediately offered itſelf, of doing the *writer* a very conſiderable piece of ſervice. I think myſelf obliged, upon this occaſion, to acknowledge this in a publick manner; wiſhing that ſuch a procedure may at length ceaſe to be *uncommon* and *ſingular*. I ſhall only add, that as this was his reception of it at firſt, ſo he hath now given me leave to ſay, that this ſecond publication of it is neither unknown nor diſagreeable to him (*w*).

1703, C. 1. 2. *A Letter to a Clergyman in the Country, concerning the Votes of the Biſhops upon the Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity.* (Reprinted in the volume of Tracts 1715 N°. 2.)—This was written at a *time* when the *name* of the *church* was made uſe of, as I thought, to the great diſadvantage of the *church* itſelf, as well as of the moſt valuable and important parts of all religion. The particular *occaſion* of it was the unchriſtian treatment of many *excellent perſons* amongſt the *biſhops*, merely becauſe they could not think, as *others* of their brethren thought, &c.—I now reprint it,—becauſe being written at the time when I was engaged in removing the *chief objections* of our *diſſenting brethren* againſt *conformity*, I was willing it ſhould ſtand as an open proof that what I was then doing proceeded from a deſire of *union*, upon no other but the *Chriſtian principle* of *peace* and *love*, and that even my *youngeſt thoughts* upon theſe *ſubjects* could not enter into the contrary method of applying *civil encouragements* or *diſcouragements* in *religious* matters to the conſciences of men (*x*).

1702. 3. Mr Hoadly preached *two Sermons, concerning the Evils of which Chriſtianity hath been made the occaſion.* (Firſt printed in the volume of Tracts 1715.).—With the ſame ſort of view, to diſſuade all *Chriſtians* from mixing *religion* into their *worldly deſigns*, and alſo, to remove the worſt of *ſcandals* from *Chriſtianity* itſelf, which muſt otherwiſe ſuffer under the reproach of thoſe *evils*, of which, againſt its own deſign and tendency, it hath been forced to be the occaſion (*y*).

C. 2. 4. *The Reaſonableneſs of Conformity to the Church of England repreſented to the Diſſenting Miniſters, &c.* part 1.—ditto part 2. (Both printed 1703, and ever afterwards together. Reprinted with other tracts on the ſubject, 1720).—1. To vindicate the *conforming clergy*, by vindicating the *terms* of their conformity.—2. To ſatisfy thoſe who ſtill continue to diſſent from us (ſuch as Mr Calamy, &c.) whoſe ſeparation, though not accompanied with ſuch violence and heat, yet—is more unaccountable than that of thoſe, who are at a greater diſtance from us (*z*).

1704. C. 3. 5. *A Perſuaſive to Lay Conformity, or the Reaſonableneſs of conſtant Communion with the Church of England repreſented to the Diſſenting Laity.* (Reprinted with other Tracts 1720.)—This concerns only ſuch of the Diſſenters as judge conformity to the *church eſtabliſhed* to be in itſelf lawful. I have choſen to argue with them chiefly from the conſiderations of *peace* and *unity*, becauſe this method is moſt eaſy to be underſtood, and moſt likely to move all, who have any concern left for the honour of *Chriſtianity*, or the intereſt of the *Proteſtant cauſe* (*aa*).

1705. C. 4. 6. *A ſerious Admonition to Mr Calamy, occaſioned by the 1ſt part of his Defenſe of moderate Nonconformity. By B. H. M. A.*—To alter the manner of his treating the *cauſe* and *me*, to reduce the controverſy within its due bounds, and mix nothing with it, foreign or perſonal, either to amuſe or miſlead any perſon concerned, or unjuſtly to prejudice the reader againſt me. (Which takes up the chief room in Mr Calamy's defenſe).

1705. C. 5. 7. *A Defenſe of the Reaſonableneſs of Conformity to the Church of England, in anſwer to the Objections of Mr Calamy, in his Defenſe of moderate Nonconformity; with a Reply to his Poſtſcript in anſwer to the ſerious Admonition.* (Reprinted 1720, with Tracts on the ſubject.)

1705. C. 8. *An Acceſſion Sermon, preached March* 8, 1704-5. (Reprinted with the Meaſures of Submiſſion, &c. 1718, and again in the volume of Sermons 1754. N°. 3.)—When I thought it my duty to take that firſt opportunity, after my coming to (St. Peter's Poor) of declaring againſt the abuſes of that day. The printing of it was entirely owing to the requeſt of the chief pariſhioners who heard it. When it appeared I was much abuſed in a pamphlet, for what *they* thought ſo well of, by a *then* neighbouring *clergyman*, to whom I gave no anſwer, but by a private letter to a friend of his (*bb*).

1705. E. 1. 9. *A Sermon preached before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, &c. September* 29, 1705. (Reprinted with the Meaſures of Submiſſion the ſame year, and again in volume of Sermons 1754. N°. 4.)—at St. Laurence's, and was followed by a long controverſy. I was called to it by the accidental mention of me, by a friend, to Sir *Owen Buckingham*, then *Lord Mayor*, with whom I had not myſelf the leaſt acquaintance.—From the date of this ſermon, near *fifty years* ago, a torrent of *angry zeal* began to pour out itſelf upon me, which, though *for the preſent* indeed very diſagreeable, yet opened a way to ſuch *explications* of the doctrine of it, and *reaſonings* about it, as have produced what at the end makes me not to repent of having preached it (*cc*).

(*w*) Pref. to vol. of tracts, 1715.

(*x*) Pref. to vol. of tracts, 1715.

(*y*) Pref. to vol. of tracts, 1715.

(*z*) Preface.

(*aa*) Preface.

(*bb*) Pref. to vol. of ſerm. 1754.

(*cc*) Pref. to vol. of ſerm. 1754.

1705 E. 2. 10. *The Meaſures of Submiſſion to the Civil Magiſtrate conſidered. In a Defenſe of the Doctrine delivered in a Sermon preached before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of London, September* 29, 1705.

1706. A. 1. 11. *A Letter to the Reverend Dr Francis Atterbury, occcaſioned by the Doctrine delivered by him in a Funeral Sermon on* 1 *Cor.* xv. 19. *Aug.* 30, 1706. (Reprinted in the volume of Tracts 1715. Nº. 3.) *A ſecond Letter*, See Cat. Nº. 15.—Theſe Letters were deſigned to vindicate and eſtabliſh the happy tendency of *virtue* and *morality* to the *preſent* happineſs of ſuch a creature as *man* is; which I ever eſteemed, and do ſtill eſteem, a point of the *utmoſt importance* to the *goſpel* itſelf. It is with the ſame view that they are now reprinted (*dd*).

1707. C, 6. 12. *A brief Defenſe of Epiſcopal Ordination, &c. To which are added, a Reply to the Introduction of the ſecond Part, and a Poſtſcript relating to the third Part, of Mr Calamy's Defenſe of Moderate Nonconformity.* (Reprinted 1720, with the *Reaſonableneſs of Conformity*).

1708. E. 3. 13. *The Happineſs of the preſent Eſtabliſhment, and Unhappineſs of abſolute Monarchy, a Sermon preached at the Aſſizes at Hertford March* 22, 1707-8. (Reprinted in the 4th edition of the *Meaſures of Submiſſion*, and again in the volume of Sermons 1754. Nº 5.)

1708. E. 4. 14. *St. Paul's Behaviour towards the Civil Magiſtrate, a Sermon preached at the Aſſizes at Hertford July* 26, 1708. (Reprinted as the former, Nº. 6.)—Theſe Sermons were preached at the requeſt of the High Sheriff Sir Richard Houblon. The ſubjects 1. were pointed out to me too ſtrongly to be neglected, by the publick writings of that time; particularly thoſe of Mr Leſly (author of the *Rehearſal*, &c.) then much celebrated by many; 2. choſen by *me* on account of many paſſages relating to that apoſtle in the *political controverſies* in thoſe days very warmly handled, and therefore *not unſeaſonable.*

1708. A. 2. 15.* *A ſecond Letter to the Reverend Dr Francis Atterbury, in anſwer to his large Vindication prefixed to his volume of Sermons; with a Poſtſcript relating to his Doctrine concerning the Power of Charity to cover Sins.* (Reprinted in volume of Tracts Nº 4.)

1709. 16. *A brief Vindication of the ancient Prophets from the Imputations and Miſrepreſentations of ſuch as adhere to our preſent Pretenders to Inſpiration, in a Letter to Sir Richard Bulkeley, Bart.* (Reprinted in the volume of Tracts 1715, Nº 5.)—Written indeed at a time when I was engaged in thoughts of another nature. But this was not then judged to be a ſufficient excuſe by *thoſe*, who preſſed it upon me as a thing which that particular ſeaſon required.—And then I reſigned up what I had written to the diſpoſal of *thoſe*, who thought the *publication* of it might be of uſe to many, at that juncture.

1709. E. 5. 17. *Some Conſiderations humbly offered to the* (*ee*) *Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Exeter, occaſioned by his Lorſhip's Sermon preached before her Majeſty March* 8, 1708. (Reprinted in the volume of Tracts 1715, Nº 6.)

1709. E. 6. 18. *An humble Reply to the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Exeter's Anſwer; in which the Conſiderations offered to his lordſhip are vindicated, and an Apolgy is added for defending the Foundation of the preſent Eſtabliſhment.* (Reprinted in the volume of Tracts 1715, Nº 7.)—Theſe two pieces relate to a *ſubject*, in which the *Conſciences* and *Conduct* of the whole nation appeared to me to be exceedingly concerned. If what I have ſaid at the end of the (*ff*) ſecond of them, by way of *apology* for myſelf, be not ſufficient to juſtify me as an *Engliſhman*, a *Chriſtian*, and a *Divine*, in what I have done upon this *ſubject*, nothing that I can add will do it; and I muſt be content ſtill to ſuffer under a *character* which I have little deſerved, for my long-continued endeavours to defend thoſe *principles*, to which both the *Right* and *Poſſeſſion* of that illuſtrious family, in which the nation is now happy, are entirely owing (*gg*).

1709. Dated, according to the cuſtom of printers, 1710.) E. 7. 19. *The Original and Inſtitution of Civil Government diſcuſſed, viz.* 1. *An Examination of the Patriarchal Scheme of Government.* 2. *A Defenſe of Mr Hooker's Judgment, &c. againſt the Objections of ſeveral late Writers. To which is added, a large Anſwer to Dr F. Atterbury's Charge of Rebellion; in which the Subſtance of his late Latin Sermon is produced, and fully examined.*—The beginning and end of the *Apology* are here added, to ſhew the ſubject and importance of this controverſy, and the temper both of Mr Hoadly and his opponents.—(*hh*) My Lord, I am very ſenſible that it can by no means become me to follow your lordſhip in an *appeal* to her *excellent Majeſty*, or ſo much as to hope that any thing written by ſo unworthy a perſon can ever be thought worthy of the leaſt regard from *her*; but if, moved by your lordſhip's repreſentations, ſhe ſhould condeſcend ſo far as to enquire *what my crime is*, I am not ſo great an enemy to myſelf as not to wiſh, that ſhe may receive another and very different account of the matter, viz. 1. That my *crime*, with reſpect to the *goſpel* of *Jeſus Chriſt* is this, the endeavouring to prove that the *general precepts* of it, concerning the *duty* of *ſubjects*, ought not to be ſo interpreted as to lay *whole nations* under the neceſſity of ſubmitting to *univerſal ſlavery* and *ruin*; and this not attempted by me, till a *caſe* had actually happened in our own *nation*, which made it the ſubject of every *honeſt Chriſtian*'s enquiry; and not till the *contrary deciſions* of multitudes of *writers* had made the *conſciences* of many uneaſy in this point, and diſſatisfied with the *happy eſtabliſhment* founded upon a *practice* agreable to this *doctrine*. 2. That my *crime* with reſpect to her *Majeſty* and her *government* is this, the endeavouring to juſtify her conduct in that glorious part which *ſhe* bare in the late *Revolution*; to vindicate not only her *people*'s behaviour in the *ſubmitting* to her, but her own *honour* and *juſtice*, in *poſſeſſing* a *government* founded upon it; to reconcile the affections of her *ſubjects* to the baſis upon which it ſtands, that ſo they

(*dd*) Pref. to vol. of tracts, 1715.

*See No. 11. Cat.

(*ee*) Dr Offſpring Blackall.

(*ff*) See Nº 19.

(*gg*) Pref. to vol. of tracts, 1715.

(*hh*) See the humble Reply, &c. ſub fin.

they may not only *ſubmit*, but *approve*; not only *approve*, but *love*; not only *love*, but *zealouſly defend* it againſt all oppoſers; to demonſtrate that it is not ſettled upon *uſurpation* or *ſin*, but upon a lawful practice, and on that *conſent* which is the ſureſt band of a *manly obedience* in *ſubjects*, the firmeſt title of *ſovereignty* to *princes*, and ever ſecure of the ſupport of *God*'s *authority*, when it exerts itſelf after ſo unblameable and beneficial a manner. If the *caſe* were thus truly repreſented, I ſhould not fear that a *defender* of theſe *principles* could be eſteemed by *her Majeſty* an *enemy* to her *government*; eſpecially if it were added, that whilſt I have been aſſerting this *right* in a whole *nation*, I have taken the ſame opportunity of earneſtly recommending her excellent *conduct* to the affections of her *people*; that whilſt I have been doing the *former*, in order to ſecure the *foundation*, I have not failed to do the *latter*, for the ſecurity of *herſelf*, that ſo her *adminiſtration* might appear as lovely to her *ſubjects* as her *title* is *glorious* and unreproveable. &c.——At the end he adds,—But whatever my fate may be, however *others* may provoke your lordſhip to order or permit me to be treated, this ſolemn aſſurance I can give you, that as I have conſcientiouſly avoided every thing that might tempt me to forget that *decency* and *reſpect* which it is my duty to regard; keeping only to what the juſtification of myſelf and my *cauſe* hath made neceſſary; ſo no reſentment of the *paſt* or future ill-treatment of thoſe who write under the *covert* of your *great name*, ſhall ever provoke me, either by my own or any other hand, to return to your lordſhip, or to the meaneſt of them, the like to what I have experienced; or rob me of the ſatisfaction of *forgiving* what I dare not *imitate*. May *God Almighty* never lay to *their charge* what I have ſuffered from any! May the ſame good *God* crown your lordſhip, &c.

He was the reputed author of ſeveral occaſional little political pieces thrown out at this time, reprinted in one volume, and called,

1710. E. 8. 20. *A Collection of ſeveral Pieces printed in the Year* 1710. *London* 1718. viz. 1. *The true genuine Tory Addreſs.* 2. *The Voice of the Addreſſors.* 3. *Serious Advice to the good People of England, ſhewing them their true Intereſt and their true Friends.* 4. *The Thoughts of an honeſt Tory upon the preſent Proceedings of that Party; in a Letter to a Friend in Town.* 5. *The Jacobites Hopes revived by our late Tumults and Addreſſes; or ſome neceſſary Remarks upon a new modeſt Pamphlet of Mr Leſly's againſt the Government, intituled, The Good Old Cauſe, or Lying in Truth, &c. Obſervations.* 6. *The French King's Thanks to the Tories of Great Britain.* 7. *A Letter concerning Allegiance, written by the Lord Biſhop of London* (*ii*), *to a Clergyman in Eſſex, preſently after the Revolution, never before publiſhed; to which are added ſome Queries occaſioned by the late Addreſs of his lordſhip, and the Clergy of London and Weſtminſter; Publiſhed in the Gazette of Aug.* 24, 1710. 8. *Reaſons againſt receiving the Pretender, and reſtoring the Popiſh Line; together with ſome Queries of the utmoſt Importance to Great Britain.* 9. *The Fears and Sentiments of true Britons with reſpect to national Credit, Intereſt, and Religion.* 10. *A Letter of Advice to the Freeholders of England, concerning the Election of Members to ſerve in the enſuing Parliament.* 11. *The Election Dialogue between a Gentleman and his Neighbour in the Country, concerning the Choice of good Members for the next Parliament.* 12. *The Caſe of a Britiſh General, collected from ſeveral late celebrated Papers, and laid down in two plain Propoſitions, to his grace the Duke of Marlborough.*

1711. 21. *Several Diſcourſes on the Terms of Accceptance with God*, &c.—It hath been long my opinion that the bad lives of Chriſtians are not owing ſo much to their ignorance of what is truly evil and ſinful, as to a certain ſecret hope of God's favour, built upon ſomething ſeparated from the conſtant practice of all that is virtuous and praiſeworthy. This made me chooſe to ſpend ſome time in eſtabliſhing after the moſt unexceptionable manner the true grounds upon which only it is reaſonable to build our expectations of happineſs, and in demonſtrating the great danger and weakneſs of depending on any other methods (*kk*).

1713. 22. *Queries recommended to the Authors of the late Diſcourſe of Free-thinking.* (Reprinted in the volume of Tracts 1715, N° 8.)—I hope ſufficiently juſtifiable by the Occaſion *then* given for them, and may be *always* of uſe to all *impartial enquirers* into religion (*ll*).

1712-13. 23. *Four Sermons on the Duty of Enquiry, and the Extremes of implicit Faith and Infidelity*, preached Jan. 1712-13. (Firſt printed in his volume of Tracts 1715. Reprinted in the volume of Sermons 1754, N° 7, 8, 9 10.)—At my pariſh church (*mm*) on occaſion of the many writings publiſhed about that time, which ſeemed on one hand to attack the *Chriſtian religion* itſelf, and on the other, to diſcourage a free *examination* of it.—In theſe I have more at length handled the ſame ſubjects, and added what is of great importance to take mens minds off from all pretenſes to that *inconteſtable authority* and *implicit ſubjection*, which are the ſtrongeſt of all *bars* againſt inward and true religion. I ſhould be ſorry to find that, amongſt *Proteſtants*, it ſhould ſtand in need of any *apology* to refer men to *Chriſt* himſelf for the *fundamentals* of *Chriſt's religion*, and not to any *human conſtitution* whatſoever. If any perſons diſlike this method, let them try how well they can combat infidelity upon any *other* bottom; for my own part, I confeſs I know not how to do it (*nn*).

1714. E. 9. 24. He was the reputed author of *A Letter to a Friend in Lancaſhire, occaſioned by a Report concerning Injunctions and Prohibitions by Authority, relating to ſome Points of Religion now in debate* (*oo*)

1715. E. 10. 25. *The preſent Deluſion of many Proteſtants conſidered, a Sermon preached at St Peter's Poor, Nov.* 5, 1715. (Reprinted in the volume of Sermons 1754, N° 11.—Occaſioned by the *rebellion* then on foot, and the unaccountable conduct of *many Proteſtants* with relation

(*ii*) Compton.

(*kk*) Pref. addreſſed to the Pariſhioners of *St Peter's Poor.*

(*ll*) Pref.

(*mm*) Pref. to vol. of ſerm. 1754.

(*nn*) Pref. to vol. of tracts, 1715.

(*oo*) *Then rector of St Peter's Poor*, written in the Biſhop's hand in the title page of one copy.

lation to it, which ſufficiently juſtified the *title* given to the *ſermon*, when it was at the deſire of many, immediately printed (*pp*).

(*pp*) Pref. to vol. 1754.

He was the reputed author of

1715. 26. *A large Dedication to the preſent Pope* [*M*] (Clement XI.) *giving him a particular Account of the State of Religion amongſt Proteſtants, and of ſeveral other Matters of Importance relating to Great Britain.* Signed *Richard Steele.*

N. B. The vol. of tracts was publiſhed this year; but no notice is taken of it here, as we have quoted all the contents when firſt publiſhed.

1716. E. 27. *The Nature and Duty of a publick Spirit; a Sermon preached at St James's Weſtminſter, on St David's Day, March* 1, 1716, *&c.* (Reprinted in the volume of Sermons 1754, N° 13.)—The ſubject I thought particularly of importance at that time; and, I can truly ſay, was choſen without the leaſt thought of reflecting on any one man, or ſet of men, more than another; but entirely with a view to the duty of *all* equally, to have a ſacred regard to the good of the whole, and to ſacrifice all their paſſions to *that* (*qq*).

(*qq*) Pref. to vol. 1754.

1716. 28. *The Reſtoration made a Bleſſing to us by the Proteſtant Succeſſion; a Sermon preached before the King May* 29, 1716. (Reprinted in the volume of Sermons 1754, N° 12.)—At the requeſt of the then *Lord Almoner*, to whoſe care the ſermon of that day belongs.—The ſubject,—the *reſtoration* made a bleſſing by the *Proteſtant ſucceſſion*, which had then juſt taken place, muſt be allowed to be as pertinent to the *day*, as any that could poſſibly have been thought of (*rr*).

(*rr*) Pref. to vol. of ſerm. 1754.

1716. B. 1. 29. *A Preſervative againſt the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors both in Church and State, or an Appeal to the Conſciences and common Senſe of the Chriſtian Laity. By Benjamin Ld Bp of Bangor.*—The ſubject of the following papers is made up of three parts. The 1ſt relates to our preſent civil eſtabliſhment, and endeavours to ſtate the caſe between the *Proteſtant branches* of our *Royal Family* and the *Popiſh*. The 2d maintains the *right* in all *civil governments* to preſerve themſelves againſt perſons in *eccleſiaſtical offices*, as well as *others*. The 3d concerns the very *vitals* of *true religion*, and is in truth the cauſe between *Jeſus Chriſt* and thoſe who, profeſſing themſelves his *followers* and his *miniſters*, ſubſtitute *themſelves* in *his* place, and aſſume the *authority* of their great *legiſlator* and *judge* (*ss*).

(*ss*) Preface.

1717. B. 2. 30. *The Nature of the Kingdom or Church of Chriſt* [*N*]; *a Sermon preached before the King, Mar.* 31, 1717. (Reprinted in the volume of Sermons 1754, N° 14.)—Known too well by the many and publick *debates* occaſioned by it, to need any word about it here. At whoſe requeſt it was commanded to be publiſhed I know not; but I know, that it was not, either directly or indirectly, from any deſire of mine (*tt*).

(*tt*) Pref. to vol. of ſerm. 1754.

1717. B. 3. 31. *An Anſwer to the Reverend Dr Snape's Letter to the Biſhop of Bangor.*

1717. B. 4. 32. *Advertiſements in the Daily Courant of June* 28, 1717—*and in the Evening-Poſts of June* 29.

1717. B. 5. 33. *A Preface to Francis de la Pilloniere's Anſwer to Dr Snape's Accuſation, &c. by the Lord Biſhop of Bangor.*

1717. B. 6. 34. *A Letter to Dr Snape, by the Lord Biſhop of Bangor,—prefixed to Francis de la Pilloniere's Reply to Dr Snape's Vindication, &c.*

1717. B. 7. 35. *Some few Remarks on Dr Snape's Letter before Mr Mills's Book, by the Biſhop of Bangor, prefixed to Francis de la Pilloniere's third Defenſe, &c.*

1717. B. 8. 36. *A Poſtſcript to the Reverend Dr Sherlock Dean of Chicheſter, by Benjamin Lord Biſhop of Bangor.—Printed after a ſecond Letter to Dr Sherlock, being, &c. by A. Aſhley Sykes, M. A.*

1717. B. 9. 37. *An Anſwer to the Repreſentation drawn up by the Committee of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, concerning ſeveral dangerous Poſitions and Doctrines contained in the Biſhop of Bangor's Preſervative and Sermon, by Benjamin Lord Biſhop of Bangor.* (Two editions this year.)

[*M*] *Dedication to the Pope.*] This admirable piece of grave humour was publiſhed before Sir Richard's *Account of the ſtate of the Roman Catholick religion throughout the world.* It hath been ſaid that the great Swift looked upon this piece, and *The D—n of W—r ſtill the ſame*, with an evil eye, as if his province of wit were invaded; and that it was the occaſion of thoſe ill-natured lines, ſo injurious to poor Sir Richard, who was well known to retire before his ſad ſtroke, which deprived him of his faculties, ſolely upon the principle of juſtice to his creditors, and while he had a fair proſpect of ſatisfying all:

> So Steele, who own'd what others writ,
> And flouriſh'd by imputed wit,
> From perils of an hundred jails,
> Withdrew to ſtarve, and die in Wales *.

* See a libel on the Rev Dr Delany, &c.

[*N*] *The kingdom or church of Chriſt.*] Dr Snape's letter to the Biſhop of Bangor on this occaſion began the Bangorian controverſy; but it may be ſaid to take its riſe from the ſeizing a number of copies of (17) *a collection of papers* written by the late Right Reverend George Hickes, D. D. 1716, deſigned to inflame the people, and rekindle an expiring rebellion, raiſed by the *joint forces* of Papiſts, Nonjurors, and *Church of England men who had* ſworn *to the government.* This produced many defenſes of the church of England; but none ſuch as the beſt friends of the government and the Proteſtant religion could reſt ſatisfied with, till appeared theſe two pieces of the Biſhop. Theſe went to the root. He ſhewed from the plaineſt ſcriptures that Chriſt alone was king in his own kingdom, and ſole lawgiver;—that for his laws we muſt appeal to him, and his inſpired followers;—that he had declared his kingdom not to be of this world;—and that the ſanctions of it were of the ſame ſpiritual nature, not of this world;—and that conſequently all *encouragements* and *diſcouragements* of this world were not what Chriſt approved of, tending to make men of one *profeſſion*, not of one *faith*; hypocrites, not Chriſtians. Theſe tenets were looked upon, though falſely, as deſigned againſt all eſtabliſhments, and that of the church of England in particular; and the biſhop was attacked by the greateſt names in the church (18) for the beſt defenſes of both church and ſtate. Their real arguments and miſrepreſentations he ſolidly confuted; their ſlanders, calumnies, falſhoods he forgave; never a moment departing from the manly characters of the *Chriſtian divine* and the *accompliſhed gentleman*; making controverſy what he wiſhed it (19), and proved by his example it might be,—the *glory*, and not the ſhame, of *Chriſtianity*.

(17) See *An account of all the conſiderable pamphlets, &c. with occaſional obſervations by Philanagnoſtes Criticus*, 1719.

(18) Rev. Drs Snape, Sherlock, Hare, Potter, (Mr Law,) &c.

(19) Pref. to Civil Government.

1718. B. 10. 38. *An Anſwer to a Calumny caſt upon the Biſhop of Bangor by the Reverend Dr Sherlock, at the Concluſion of his new Book, intituled, A Vindication of the Corporation and Teſt Acts, by Benjamin Lord Biſhop of Bangor.*

1718. B. 11. 39. *An Anſwer to a late Book written by Dr Sherlock, intituled, The Condition and Example of our bleſſed Saviour vindicated, by Benjamin Lord Biſhop of Bangor.*

1718. Q. 1719. B. 12. 40. *The common Rights of Subjects defended, and the Nature of the Sacramental Teſt conſidered, in anſwer to the Dean of Chicheſter's Vindication of the Corporation and Teſt Acts, by Benjamin Lord Biſhop of Bangor.*

1719. 41. *A Sermon preached at the Funeral of Mrs Elizabeth Howland, in the Pariſh Church of Streatham in Surry, May* 1, 1719. See Note *F.* (Reprinted in the volume of Sermons 1754, N° 15.)

1720. B. 13. 42. *An Anſwer to the Reverend Dr Hare's Sermon, intituled, Church Authority vindicated, &c. with a Poſtſcript occaſioned by the Lord Biſhop of Oxford's (Potter) late Charge to his Clergy, by Benjamin Lord Biſhop of Bangor.*

He was the reputed author of

1720. B. 14. 43. *The D—n of W—r ſtill the ſame, or his new Defenſe of the Lord Biſhop of Bangor's Sermon, &c. conſidered as the Performance of a great Critick, a Man of Senſe and a Man of Probity.* (See note *M.*) *By an impartial Hand.*

1720-21. 44. *A Sermon preached before the Houſe of Lords at St Peter's Weſtminſter, on January* 30, 1720-21, *being the Anniverſary of the Martyrdom of King Charles I.* (Reprinted in the volume of Sermons 1754, N° 16.)—Publiſhed by order of the Houſe of Lords. It was not calculated to provoke, but to appeaſe the paſſions of men; and, as far as publickly appeared, it was received without any marks of much diſpleaſure againſt it (*uu*).

(*uu*) Pref. to vol. of ſerm. 1754.

He was the reputed author of

1722, 1723, 1724-5. 45. *Several Letters in the London Journal, ſigned* Britannicus (the Biſhop not author of all ſo ſigned) *from September* 15, 1722, *to January* 9, 1724-25.

1723. 46. *Remarks on Mr Kelly's Speech at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, &c. and Remarks on the late Biſhop of Rocheſter's (Atterbury) Speech at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, &c.* (both contained in ſome of theſe Letters) were ſeparately publiſhed in folio 1723 by *Britannicus.*

1724. 47. *A Charge to the Clergy of the Dioceſe of Saliſbury at the Primary Viſitation of, &c.*

1727. 48. *An Enquiry into the Reaſons of the Conduct of Great Britain, &c.*

1729. 49. *A Defenſe of ditto.*——At the end of this pamphlet he expreſſes himſelf on his favourite, as it is a moſt important, ſubject, in theſe honeſt terms:—I think myſelf obliged to do myſelf juſtice, particularly with regard to (ſome) papers in the *London Journal* which concerned the *liberty* of the *preſs*, by declaring, that I never either *ſaw* or *heard* of them *before* publication, or *read* them *ſince*, or any part of them, but what I found cited in *another paper*, which imputed them to me. And this I mention, not to cenſure what I have not read, unleſs as *others* have repreſented it, but becauſe I would not willingly ſuffer in the opinion of thoſe whoſe rights and liberties I have ſtudied through my life to defend, as at laſt betraying them in a point which ever appeared to me to be of the greateſt importance to them. My *principles* upon this ſubject are known both to the *higheſt* and *loweſt* of all I converſe with. I never had any ground to think that there was *any deſign* of making the leaſt alteration in the laws relating to this; nay, I have had the pleaſure to hear it utterly *diſowned.* And as for myſelf, if there be a *point* of liberty more than all others my favourite point, it ſtill is, as it has been ever ſince I could think, *this* of the *liberty* of the *preſs*. I can never think it a *reaſon* for laying any *reſtraint*, that *miniſters* are ill treated or abuſed. They that will have power, ought to be content with *this perquiſite*, which will always attend upon it. And ſhould I myſelf be the *ſubject* of *wit* and *ſatire* every *Saturday* throughout the year, this ſhall never make any alteration either in my *judgment* or *behaviour* with regard to this; but I will ſtill ſupport what hurts myſelf, becauſe I truly think it is the ſupport of the whole *liberty* we enjoy; and that the *fall* of this *one* particular inſtance of *liberty* will ſoon be followed by the *fall* of *others* (*ww*).——About this time he writes his ſentiments to Lady Sundon, in all the openneſs of friendſhip. What can be propoſed by the adminiſtration (ſays he) from the proſecution of printers and publiſhers, now again, after ſo many diſappointments, ſet on foot? I defy them to name any one inſtance (excepting the caſe of high treaſon) in which a proſecution of this ſort did not end to the prejudice of the adminiſtration, even where they ſucceeded in the ſentence for puniſhment, much leſs where they perhaps can never ſucceed, but muſt go on ſtill to be diſappointed, as they have been already. I wiſh they would conſider this experience, inſtead of conſulting their preſent anger. I am ſure I could preſently name them twenty inſtances of the truth of what I now ſay, and what I have often ſaid to *them* and *theirs* heretofore.

(*ww*) Defenſe of the Enquiry, &c. p. 38, 39.

1732. 50. *An Account of the Life, Writings, and Character of Dr Samuel Clarke* [*O*]. (Printed before Dr Clarke's volumes of Sermons.)

He

[*O*] *Dr Samuel Clarke.*] This laſting mouument to the memory of his great friend concludes in theſe modeſt and affectionate terms: 'Having thus paid this 'laſt duty to the memory of this excellent man, which 'I could not but eſteem a debt to ſuch a benefactor 'to the cauſe of religion and learning united; and as 'theſe works of his muſt laſt as long as any language 'remains to convey them to future times, perhaps I 'may flatter myſelf that this faint and imperfect account of him may be tranſmitted down with them.

'And

He was the reputed author of

1735. 51. *A plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament* [P] *of the Lord's Supper, &c. To which are added Forms of Prayer.*—As for the ſake of *one* ſort of *Chriſtians*, I never ceaſed to inculcate the Neceſſity of univerſal obedience to the will of God; that there might be no hope left to them of acceptance without this: ſo for the defenſe and ſupport of others in their *ſincere endeavours* to pleaſe God, againſt all thoſe uneaſy impreſſions of *ſuperſtition* which they had a right to be freed from, I made it my care to ſtate and explain the commands peculiar to *Chriſtianity*, from the firſt declarations of *Chriſt* himſelf and his *apoſtles*, in ſuch a manner, as that they might appear to *honeſt* minds to have as little tendency to create *diſtreſs* and *uneaſineſs* as they were deſigned in their firſt ſimplicity to have (xx).

1754. 52. *Sixteen Sermons formerly printed, now collected into one Volume, &c. To which are added Six Sermons upon public Occaſions, never before printed, &c. by Benjamin Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter.*

1755. 53. *Twenty Sermons, the firſt nine of them preached before the King in Lent, &c. by Benjamin Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter.*

1757. 54 *A Letter from the Biſhop of Wincheſter to Clement Chevallier, Eſq;* [Q], *&c.*

His

'And I hope it will be thought a pardonable piece 'of ambition and ſelf intereſtedneſs, if fearful leſt 'every thing elſe ſhould prove too weak to keep the 'remembrance of myſelf in being, I lay hold of his 'fame to prop and ſupport my own. I am ſure, as 'I have little reaſon to expect that any thing of mine, 'without ſuch an aſſiſtance, can live, I ſhall think 'myſelf greatly recompenſed for the want of any 'other memorial, if my name may go down to poſterity thus cloſely joined to his; and I may myſelf be 'thought of and ſpoken of in ages to come under the 'character of *the friend of Dr Clarke.*'—It may not be impertinent to add here, that the Biſhop, as well as his friend, was honoured with frequent conferences with Queen Caroline. Some pains had been taken to give both her and the late King (when Prince and Princeſs of Wales) falſe impreſſions of his character, and the tendency of his writings; and he owed the particular opportunities he was afterwards honoured with of clearing thoſe miſrepreſentations, to the moſt intimate friendſhip he had many years cultivated with the excellent (20) Mrs Clayton (afterwards Lady Sundon) who brought to the court, and through life preſerved there, one of the wiſeſt heads and one of the beſt hearts in the world.

[P] *Nature and end of the ſacrament.*] As this maſterly performance rationally limited the nature and effects of this *poſitive* rite to the words and actions of our Lord himſelf at the inſtitution of it, and to thoſe of St P. afterwards (the only certain inſpired accounts of it) it was conſequently unfavourable to the commonly-received opinions of its peculiar efficacies and benefits, and accordingly met with a very warm though weak oppoſition.—A new edition (the 5th) was printed off when Bp Warburton's *Rational Account*, &c. was publiſhed, 1761; and the publication was ſome time deferred, as the author deſigned to have added a poſtſcript on that occaſion; but his death prevented it, and we are informed no papers remain on the ſubject.

[Q] *Clement Chevallier, Eſq;*] This letter was occaſioned by the villainous attempt of one Bernard Fournier (a Popiſh convert, and Curate in Jerſey, who came into England to purſue an appeal to the Biſhop from proceedings in his court there) by a forged note over a frank of his Lordſhip's, to defraud him of no leſs a ſum than 8800l. For the ſecurity of himſelf and his family, the Biſhop was obliged to call Fournier and his note into chancery, where he obtained a judgment in his favour July 23, 1752, *That the note bearing date the 4th of September*, 1740, *ſet up by the defendant Fournier, againſt the plaintiff the Biſhop of Wincheſter, appears to be, and is, a groſs fraud and contrivance of the defendant Fournier.*—Together with all coſts of ſuit, viz. 157l. 13s. 2d. By this judgment he had it in his power to proſecute Fournier for forgery in any court of common law; but he would not take away the wretch's life, or be the occaſion of any farther *perjuries*; of which he had incurred the guilt in this, as well as in a former cauſe with the Dean of Jerſey, upon an action in the King's-bench, for forging four notes upon that Dean to the value of upwards of 1000l. but Fournier continuing to be troubleſome, and to enjoy (without any mark of remorſe or ſubmiſſion) the countenance of his old patron (a gentleman before eſteemed of good character) his Lordſhip found it neceſſary to publiſh this remarkable detail of the proceedings, and his reaſonings upon them.—This was an aſtoniſhing performance of a *divine* turned of eighty one years of age; and he received many compliments on *that* account, both by *viſits* and *letters*, from ſeveral of the greateſt lawyers of the age.

His Lordſhip has been reflected on, both on account of Fournier and Mr Pilloniere, as too eaſily prevailed upon to take deſigning men into his friendſhip and confidence. This weakneſs was far from being his character, as he was as remarkably acute in his judgment of men as of their arguments. He had no intercourſe at all with Fournier, but ſo far as to judge whether his appeal were well founded; and finding it not ſo, he gave him five guineas to help him home to his curacy. His compaſſion for Mr Pilloniere was founded on truths, which were never diſproved, and from which he (Pilloniere) never varied; but though he lived in his houſe he never was in his confidence. We will add here the account given by his Lordſhip of this poor man, in his anſwer to Dr Snape, who, for want of argument and candor, had accuſed the Biſhop of *harbouring a French Jeſuit*, viz. 'That 'Mr Pilloniere had renounced Popery, and embraced 'Proteſtant principles; and that being recommended 'to him as a ſcholar, he took him into his houſe for 'the ſake of his children's education.' And on occaſion of Fournier's villainy, the Biſhop adds this farther account of him in the preface to this letter. 'Fournier's affair has given occaſion to many to make 'very particular enquiries after another convert from 'Popery (I mean Mr Pilloniere) who once lived with 'me. With regard to his character and whole behaviour, it will not be improper to ſpeak a word or 'two about him, by which I may ſatisfy the curioſity 'of ſome, and rectify the miſtakes of others, who 'I find have confounded them. Mr Pilloniere was 'one of the Society of Jeſus, and a Prieſt: he came 'to England at the end of the year 1714; but not 'in ſuch haſte as to forget his inſtruments of orders*, 'or as if he was flying from juſtice. He was recommended by ſeveral learned and great men abroad to 'their friends here, and to me by the moſt unexceptionable perſons at home, as a man of parts, learning, and good character. What greatly confirmed 'the firſt good opinion of him was, that his own account of leaving that ſociety and the church of Rome 'was confirmed by every one, both friends and enemies at Paris, where the whole was ſo publick that 'it was known and atteſted by many travellers, 'who happened to be there at that time. In this account every ſtep by which he was gradually led to 'take his reſolution was laid before the world with ſo 'many minute particulars, that the deceit muſt have 'been diſcovered, if there had been any. And in 'his private converſation, he was from the beginning 'always ready, without reſerve, to name every place 'in which he had lived through his whole education 'and reſidence among the Jeſuits. I will not conceal 'from the reader that Mr Pilloniere did not, for ſome 'part of his time, behave towards me agreeably to 'his obligations. This I ſoon found was occaſioned

'by

(xx) Preface.

(20) This appears from his letters to that lady, *MS.*

* As Fournier did.

His Lordſhip concludes his preface to the volume of ſermons 1754 (which he then thought his laſt publication) in terms which may as juſtly be applied to his labours through life, as to that particular occaſion. ‘ If any ſhall judge (ſays he) from ſome diſcourſes in this volume, that I uſed to entertain my pariſhioners, in my Sunday diſcourſes, with political and controverſial points, they will be as much *miſtaken* as many others were heretofore *diſappointed*, who came to hear me with the ſame notion. The *Sermons* on the *Terms of Acceptance*, printed long ago, may beſt ſhew in how *plain* and how particular a manner I endeavoured to inſtruct thoſe in whom I was moſt nearly concerned.

‘ The only inferences in my own favour, which I wiſh to be drawn from what is now publiſhed, are, that I never omitted any one publick opportunity, in proper time and place, of defending and ſtrengthening the true and only *foundation* of all our *civil* and *religious liberties*, when it was every day moſt zealouſly attacked, and of doing all in my power that all the *ſubjects* of this *government*, and this *Royal family*, ſhould underſtand and approve of thoſe *principles* upon which alone their happineſs is fixed, and *without which* it could never have been rightfully eſtabliſhed, and muſt in time fall to the ground. And alſo that I was as ready, whenever occaſion was offered by the writings and attacks of *unbelievers*, and by the abſurd *repreſentations* of *others*, to defend a religion, moſt amiable in all its precepts, and moſt beneficial to *human ſociety*, in the only way proper, by ſhewing it in its native light, with which it ſhines in the *New Teſtament* itſelf, free from all the *falſe paint* with which *ſome*, or the undeſerved *dirt* with which *others*, have covered it.’

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by my not judging it proper for me to intereſt myſelf at all, by any ſollicitations of mine, for promoting and increaſing a collection of money, ſet on foot by ſome worthy gentlemen in his favour, without the leaſt motion from me; and this by degrees put an end to all correſpondence between us. After this he was very profuſe in giving away to others, in appearance of want, that competency which had been moſt kindly provided for him by his friends. By this weakneſs he ſoon found himſelf reduced to great neceſſities, and then accepted from me, through a friend's hands, a ſmall yearly allowance. At length, from the ſtudy of the mathematical and other uſeful branches of learning, he ſuddenly departed into the golden dreams of the loweſt chymical projectors. This change was ſucceeded by a ſort of religious madneſs; in which he was not content with his uſual great temperance, but brought himſelf to believe, that by the promiſes of God in ſcripture, a good man might by degrees come to live without taking any ſuſtenance at all. In this attempt he went to ſuch exceſs, that his conſtitution at laſt could not receive any nouriſhment from a contrary regimen. And by this management he brought himſelf to death in the midſt of imaginary viſions and nightly converſations with heaven.’

ODE

To the Right Reverend

BENJAMIN,

Lord Biſhop of WINCHESTER.

By Dr AKENSIDE.

I. 1.

FOR toils which patriots have endur'd,
For treaſon quell'd and laws ſecur'd,
In every nation Time diſplays
The palm of honourable praiſe.
Envy may rail; and faction fierce
May ſtrive: but what, alas, can Thoſe
(Though bold, yet blind and ſordid foes)
To gratitude and love oppoſe,
To faithful ſtory and recording verſe?

I. 2.

O nurſe of Freedom, Albion, ſay,
Thou tamer of deſpotic ſway,
What man, among thy ſons around,
Thus heir to glory haſt thou found?
What page, in all thy annals bright,
Haſt thou with purer joy ſurvey'd
Than that where truth, by Hoadly's aid,
Shines through the deep unhallow'd ſhade
Of kingly fraud and ſacerdotal night?

I. 3.

To him the Teacher bleſs'd
Who ſent religion, from the palmy field
By Jordan, like the morn, to chear the weſt,
And lifted up the veil which heaven from earth conceal'd,
To Hoadly thus He utter'd his beheſt:
“ Go thou, and reſcue my diſhonour'd law
“ From hands rapacious and from tongues impure:
“ Let not my peaceful name be made a lure
“ The ſnares of ſavage tyranny to aid;
“ Let not my words be impious chains to draw
“ The free-born ſoul, in more than brutal awe,
“ To faith without aſſent, allegiance unrepaid.”

II. 1.

No cold nor unperforming hand
Was arm'd by heaven with this command.
The world ſoon felt it: and, on high,
To William's ear with welcome joy
Did Locke among the bleſt unfold
The riſing hope of Hoadly's Name:
Godolphin then confirm'd the fame;
And Somers, when from earth he came,
And valiant Stanhope the fair ſequel told *.

II. 2.

Then drew the lawgivers around,
(Sires of the Grecian name renown'd)
And liſtening aſk'd, and wondering knew,
What private force could thus ſubdue
The vulgar and the great combin'd;
Could war with ſacred folly wage;
Could a whole nation diſengage
From the dread bonds of many an age,
And to new habits mould the public mind.

II. 3.

For not a conqueror's ſword,
Nor the ſtrong powers to civil founders known,
Were his: but truth by faithful ſearch explor'd,
And ſocial ſenſe, like ſeed, in genial plenty ſown.
Wherever it took root, the ſoul, reſtor'd
To freedom, freedom too for others ſought.
Not monkiſh craft the tyrant's claim divine,
Not regal zeal the bigot's cruel ſhrine
Could longer guard from reaſon's warfare ſage;
Not the wild rabble to ſedition wrought,
Nor ſynods by the papal Genius taught,
Nor St. John's ſpirit looſe, nor Atterbury's rage.

III. 1.

But where ſhall recompence be found,
Or how ſuch arduous merit crown'd?
For look on life's laborious ſcene:
What rugged ſpaces lie between
Adventurous virtue's early toils
And her triumphal throne! The ſhade
Of death, mean time, does oft invade
Her progreſs; nor, to us diſplay'd,
Wears the bright heroine her expected ſpoils.

III. 2.

Yet born to conquer is her power:
—O Hoadly, if that favourite hour
On earth arrive, with thankful awe
We own juſt heaven's indulgent law,
And proudly thy ſucceſs behold;
We attend thy reverend length of days
With benediction and with praiſe,
And hail thee in our public ways,
Like ſome great ſpirit fam'd in ages old.

III. 3.

While thus our vows prolong
Thy ſteps on earth, and when by us reſign'd
Thou join'ſt thy ſeniors, that heroic throng
Who reſcu'd or preſerv'd the rights of human kind,
O! not unworthy may thy Albion's tongue
Thee ſtill, her friend and benefactor, name:
O! never, Hoadly, in thy country's eyes,
May impious gold, or pleaſure's gaudy prize,
Make public virtue, public freedom vile;
Nor our own manners tempt us to diſclaim
That heritage, our nobleſt wealth and fame,
Which thou haſt kept intire from force and factious guile.

This article was communicated by the Biſhop's ſon, Dr John Hoadly, and, at his particular requeſt, is inſerted exactly as he compiled it, though not intirely agreeable to the plan of the *Biography*, with which the Doctor appears not to have been ſufficiently acquainted, no references being made to the places in that work, where his Lordſhip's opinions are ſet forth. It will therefore be neceſſary, in order to complete it according to the ſaid plan, to make the following additions: 1. An account of the Biſhop's controverſies with Dr Atterbury, with extracts from his pieces therein, are inſerted in Vol. I. p. 266 [*G*] and [*H*], 269 [*N*], and in 270 [*O*]. 2. His controverſy with Biſhop Blackall is noted to his honour in Vol. II. p. 802 [*C*]. 3. An account of his controverſy with Dr Calamy, Vol. II. p. 1111 [*D*]. 4. His letter to Mr (afterwards Biſhop) Fleetwood on Miracles, why not anſwered by that prelate, Vol. III. p. 1968 [*E*]. 5. An account of his controverſy with Dr Snape about ſome alterations ſaid to be made in the MS. of his ſermon upon *The nature of Chriſt's kingdom*, before it was printed, Vol. IV. p. 2830 [*K*]. 6. His defence againſt Dr Snape's cenſures, Vol. V. p. 3245 [*H*]. 7. His defence of a paſſage in his Perſuaſive to lay conformity, Vol. VI. part ii. 4088 [*L*]. 8. His interpretation of John vi. 35, 36. of imbibing and digeſting Chriſt's doctrine, corrected. 9. His agreement with Dr Waterland in the ſenſe of 1 Cor. x. 16, Vol. VI. part ii. 4166 [*F*]. 10. He reviſed and corrected the MS. of Sir Richard Steele's *Criſis* before it went to the preſs, Vol. VI. part i. 3827 [*Q*]. 11. He is charged with being at the bottom of a deſign to repeal the Corporation and Teſt Acts in 1719, Vol. VI. part ii. 4089 [*M*]. 12. He is cenſured in a viſitation ſermon by Biſhop Hare, Vol. VI. part i. p. 3975 [*RR*]. 13. His ſon Benjamin, M. D. in his comedy of *The ſuſpicious huſband*, copies the character of Kitely in Ben. Jonſon's *Every man in his humour*, Vol. IV. p. 2778 [*K*]. As to the Bangorian controverſy, in which his Lordſhip was drawn into a paper war with Dr Snape, Dr Sherlock, Dr Hare, and Biſhop Potter. Of the part relating to Dr Sherlock, a further account will be found in that prelate's article. Dr Potter's has been already noted in that Archbiſhop's memoir. Enough has been ſaid by his ſon of the controverſy with Dr Snape, who was bred at Eton ſchool, became head maſter of it, and at laſt was removed thence to the Provoſtſhip of King's college Cambridge, where he died ſeveral years ago. Our author's fourth antagoniſt in this diſpute, Dr Francis Hare, was in point of learning not inferior to the reſt; he was bred at Eton ſchool, and from that foundation became a fellow of King's college Cambridge, where he had the tuition of the Marquis of Blandford, only ſon to the illuſtrious Duke of Marlborough, who appointed him Chaplain-general to the army. He afterwards obtained the Deanery of Worceſter, and thence was promoted to the Biſhopric of Chicheſter, which he held till his death.

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* Mr. Locke died in 1704, when Mr Hoadly was beginning to diſtinguiſh himſelf in the cauſe of civil and religious liberty: Lord Godolphin in 1712, when the doctrines of the Jacobite faction were chiefly favour'd by thoſe in power: Lord Somers in 1716, amid the practices of the nonjuring clergy againſt the proteſtant eſtabliſhment; and lord Stanhope in 1721, during the controverſy with the lower houſe of convocation.

death. Beſides his writings in this controverſy, he was the author of ſeveral other learned works, particularly an edition of Terence, with notes, in 4to. The book of Pſalms in Hebrew, put into the original poetical metre, 4to. He alſo wrote ſeveral occaſional ſmaller pieces; but that which made the greateſt noiſe, was his pamphlet intituled *The difficulties and diſcouragements which attend the ſtudy of the Scriptures*, &c. in confirmation whereof, he repreſents the characters and caſes of Dr Clarke and Mr Whiſton (*). After his death, his works were collected and publiſhed in four volumes, 4to. Upon the whole it is obſervable, that our author, Bp Hoadly, on the preſent occaſion, acted a conſiſtent part, his doctrine in this ſermon being intirely agreeable to what he had before publiſhed in defence of occaſional conformity. However, it was alledged by his antagoniſts, and not, as I remember, expreſly denied by himſelf, that the diſcourſe was drawn up and printed in the view of facilitating a deſign then in agitation to repeal the Teſt Act.

(*) See their articles.

From this account of Dr Clarke, and his extraordinary veneration for that divine, it has been inferred that his Lordſhip inclined to Dr Clarke's doctrine concerning the Trinity; which indeed, though not improbable, yet it is evident, if he did ſo, that he knew how to diſtinguiſh between a private opinion and the practice of the church. It has been already ſhewn, that, when Biſhop of Saliſbury, he refuſed to admit Mr John Jackſon, even at Dr Clarke's requeſt, into a prebend of that church, without ſubſcribing the thirty-nine articles of religion (†).

(†) See Mr Jackſon's article.

His Lordſhip's *Plain account of the nature and end of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, &c. is not unjuſtly ſaid to have met with with much warm and weak oppoſition; but one exception is intimated to this remark: it is ſaid that the fifth edition was printed off when Biſhop Warburton's *Rational account*, &c. was publiſhed in 1761; and the publication was ſome time deferred, as the author deſigned to have added a poſtſcript on that occaſion; but his death prevented it, and we are informed no papers remain on the ſubject. As Biſhop Warburton's tract is allowed to be worth particular notice, a brief account of his reaſoning cannot be unacceptable: He obſerves, that our author's argument is compriſed in eight propoſitions, which being recited at full length, he maintains, that there is a fallacy in the fourth, which runs thus: *It cannot be doubted that he* (Jeſus) *himſelf ſufficiently declared to his firſt and immediate followers, the whole of what he deſigned ſhould be underſtood by it, or implied in it.* Now, I apprehend this (ſays Dr Warburton) to be the faulty link; and that all the connection it has with the propoſitions which precede and follow it, lies in the unperceived ambiguity of the terms SUFFICIENTLY DECLARED; which may either be *declared* by *expreſs words*, or on the other hand *declared* by *ſignificative circumſtances*, ſuch as reſpect the time, the occaſion, the mode of acting, or the manner of ſpeaking: for the communication of our thoughts is carried on as well by EXPRESSIVE ACTIONS as by WORDS AND SOUNDS, nor did the firſt bear a ſmall part in the converſe of the antients, eſpecially amongſt the Jewiſh people of all ages to the time in queſtion (‖). Hence he conludes; that this ſacrament was not ſimply a *memorial or remembrance of Chriſt*, as our author aſſerted, but that it was of the nature of a *feaſt upon the ſacrifice* (‡). Dr Warburton afterwards hence proceeds to invalidate our author's other arguments againſt the opinion of particular benefits being conveyed in this ſacrament; and upon the whole concludes, that each partaker receives the ſeal of pardon, and conſequently of reſtoration to his loſt inheritance.

(‖) See Divine legation, Vol. II. book iv.

(‡) An opinion which he expreſly borrows from Dr Cudworth.

HOLT [Sir JOHN], a very eminent lawyer, and Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, was the eldeſt ſon of Sir Thomas Holt, Knt. ſerjeant at law in King Charles the Second's reign, by Suſan his wife, daughter of John Peacock of Chawley, near Comnore, in Berkſhire. He was born Dec. 30, in 1642, at Thame in Oxfordſhire, and educated at Abingdon ſchool, while his father was recorder of that town. From this ſchool he was removed to Oxford, and was a gentleman commoner of Oriel college, under the tuition of Mr Francis Barry; but before he was of ſufficient ſtanding for a degree, he entered himſelf of Gray's-inn, and applying with great induſtry to the ſtudy of the law, he was called to the bar, and ſoon became a very eminent barriſter. Upon the impeachment by the Commons of the Earl of Danby, in 1678, the Lords appointed Mr Holt to be of his counſel [*A*]. Feb. 13, 1685, he was made Recorder of London; and April 22, 1686, or thereabouts, he was called to the degree of a ſerjeant at law. He diſcharged the recorder's office with much candour and applauſe for about a year and a half, when he was removed on the refuſal to give his hand toward taking away the Teſt [*B*]; but he was

[*A*] *He was choſen counſel for the Earl of Danby.*] The other council were Serjeant Raymond, father to that eminent lawyer the late Lord Chief Juſtice Raymond, and Mr Sanders, afterwards Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench; but the Commons, by a vote which was poſted round Weſtminſter-hall and the Parliament-houſe, prohibited the ſame upon the ſevereſt penalties (1).

(1) This prohibition might perhaps impreſs an opinion no ways favourable upon our lawyer, of the *ſex parliamenti*, which he afterwards laboured to reſtrain and keep within due bounds.

[*B*] *He refuſed to concur in taking away the Teſt.*] The act which makes it felony without benefit of clergy, for any ſoldier, taking pay in the King's ſervice in his wars beyond ſea or in Scotland, to deſert his officer, King James, in 1687, or about the latter end of 1686, would have extended to the army raiſed by him in time of peace to inſlave the nation, and becauſe our Recorder would not expound this law to the King's deſign, he was put out of his place, which he held by patent from the crown (2).

(2) Sir Edward Herbert, at the ſame time, and upon the ſame occaſion, was diſmiſſed from being chief juſtice of the King's Bench. The judges places being then held only *durante bene placito*.

choſen

choſen a member of the convention parliament called by the Prince of Orange in 1688; he was appointed one of the managers for the Commons at the conferences held with thoſe of the Lords about the abdication and the vacancy of the throne. This undoubtedly forwarded his advancement; May 4, 1689, he was made Lord Chief Juſtice of the Court of King's Bench, and at a meeting of the Governors of the Charter-houſe at Whitehall, on the ſeventh of the ſame month, he was choſen one in the place of Lord Chancellor Jeffries; he was alſo ſworn at Hampton court into the Privy Council, Auguſt 25th following. Upon the removal of Lord Chancellor Somers, in April 1700, King William preſſed Lord Chief Juſtice Holt to accept of the Great Seal; but he declined it, whereupon a temporary commiſſion was granted May 5th, the ſame year, to him, together with the two other Chiefs and the Maſter of the Rolls, and after a few days the Seal was given to Sir Nathan Wright. Upon the death of King William, he held the place of Chief Juſtice to be determined, and therefore politically declined exerciſing the ſaid office, whereupon Queen Anne in council gave orders for making out a new writ for him [*C*]. In 1708 he publiſhed the Reports mentioned below, with ſome notes of his own [*D*]. Thurſday, February 9, 1709, was the laſt time he ſat in court, and finding his health to decline, he made his will the ſame year (*a*): he had long laboured under a lingering illneſs, which ended in his death March the 5th following, at his houſe in Bedford-row, London, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age. His corpſe was conveyed to Redgrave in Suffolk (*b*), in which pariſh church it lies, under a moſt ſumptuous marble monument, repreſenting the figure of his Lordſhip in full proportion, ſitting upon a chair in his robes of juſtice, and under him the inſcription below [*E*]. His Lordſhip married Anne, daughter of Sir John Cropley, of Clerkenwell in Middleſex, Bart. by whom he had no iſſue, whereupon his real eſtate, which was very conſiderable, devolved to his only brother Rowland Holt, chief clerk for inrolling pleas in the Court of King's Bench [*F*]. His Lordſhip was always remarkably ſtrenuous in nobly aſſerting, and as vigorouſly ſupporting the rights and liberties of the ſubject, to which he paid the greateſt regard upon all occaſions, and never ſuffered the leaſt reflection tending to depreciate them, either to paſs uncenſured, or indeed without the ſevereſt reprimand. No Chief Juſtice perhaps ever continued in that office ſo long as Lord Chief Juſtice Holt did, his Lordſhip having maintained it twenty-two years ſucceſſively, with great reputation for his courage, integrity, and complete knowledge in his profeſſion; he applied himſelf with great aſſiduity to the functions of his important office; he was a perfect maſter of the common law, and as his judgment was moſt ſolid, his capacity vaſt, and underſtanding clear, ſo he had a firmneſs of mind, and ſuch a degree of reſolution, as could never be brought to ſwerve in the leaſt from what he thought to be law and juſtice. He had, upon ſeveral great occaſions, ſhewed an intrepid zeal in aſſerting the authority of the law, not fearing when he thought the law was with him, to incur the indignation of both Houſes of Parliament, which he incurred by turns. He was ſucceeded in the place of Lord Chief Juſtice by Serjeant Thomas Parker, afterwards Lord Chancellor, and Earl of Macclesfield, a lawyer of a very different character from that of Sir John Holt [*G*]. In 1764
came

(*a*) It is dated Sept. 4th that year.

(*b*) Some part of his real eſtate was purchaſed by him of the Barons of Redgrave, premier Baronets of England. His brother and heir ſettled there, and his nephew Rowland Holt is member of the preſent parliament, 1764, for the county of Suffolk, together with Th. Charles Bunbury of Milden-hall, a deſcendant from Sir Tho. Hanmer, of whom ſee ſome letters under the article of Dr Joſeph Smith, in Vol. V. of this work.

[*C*] An act had paſſed in King William's reign, impowering all perſons in offices of truſt, to act therein after his deceaſe as before for ſix months, unleſs otherwiſe diſplaced by the ſucceſſor, and particularly in the office of Chief Juſtice, which was then *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerit*, yet Sir John Holt held it to be determined by the demiſe of the King. Our Chief Juſtice apparently governed his conduct at this juncture, by that maxim of the civil law, that *abundans cautela non nocet*.

[*D*] *A report with ſome notes of his own.*] It was intituled, *A report of divers caſes in pleas of the crown, adjudged and determined in the reign of the late King Charles the Second, with directions for juſtices of the peace and others, collected by Sir John Keyling, Knight, late Lord Chief Juſtice of his Majeſty's Court of King's Bench, from the original manuſcript under his own hand. To which is added the report of three modern caſes,* viz. *Armſtrong and Lilley, the King and Plummer, the Queen and Mawgridge.*

[*E*] *The inſcription on his monument.*] It runs thus:

M. S.
JOHANNIS HOLT Equitis Aur.
Totius Angliæ in banco regio
Per XXI annos continuos
CAPITALIS JUSTITIARII,
Gulielmo Regi, Annæ Reginæ
Conſiliarii perpetui.
Libertatis ac legum Anglicarum
ASSERTORIS, Vindicis, Cuſtodis,
Vigilis, acris, et intrepidi.
Rolandus frater unicus et hæres
Optime de ſe merito
Poſuit.
Die Martii VTO MDCCIX ſublatus eſt ex oculis noſtris.
Natus XXX Decembris anno MDCXLII.

Another monument of his integrity and righteouſneſs as judge, was erected to his memory in the *Tatler*, No. XIV.

[*F*] *Chief clerk for inrolling pleas in the Court of King's Bench.*] The reverſion of this place having been granted by King Charles II. to his Majeſty's natural ſon the Duke of Grafton; and the ſame becoming vacant after the Duke's deceaſe in Sir John Holt's time, there was a conteſt at law between him and the young Duke of Grafton about the diſpoſal of it. But the matter was at length accommodated by the interpoſition of the King himſelf, who, though my Lord Chief Juſtice might have and had the right, engaged his Lordſhip to make a handſome allowance out of the profits to an orphan, who had loſt his father in the public ſervice of his country. My Lord, as aboveſaid, gave the place to his brother, who enjoyed it to the time of his death.

[*G*] His Lordſhip, by his will, bequeathed to his Lady who ſurvived him many years, an annuity of 700l. *per Ann.* for her life, in confirmation, as he there declares, of a deed made to her of the ſame ſum in his life time, charging all his real eſtate with the payment of it. He alſo bequeathed large legacies out of his perſonal eſtate to the children of his brother, whoſe grandſon, Rowland Holt, Eſq; is now poſſeſſor of the real eſtate, ſituated at Redgrave, and Knight of the ſhire for Suffolk. The other member is Tho. Charles Bunbury, of Barton in that county (3), an eſtate which he enjoys as deſcendant from a ſiſter of Sir
Thomas

(3) Son of the Rev. Sir Will. Bunbury, of Milden-hall, Suffolk, Bart.

came out in octavo *The life of the Right Honourable Sir John Holt, Knight, Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, containing ſeveral arguments touching the rights and liberties of the people, delivered by his Lordſhip in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne.* This piece has furniſhed the ſubſtance of the preſent article.

Thomas Hanmer, Bart. who is mentioned in this work under the article of Dr Joſeph Smith, in a letter to whom Sir Thomas having animadverted on the behaviour of Dr Warburton, the preſent Biſhop of Glouceſter, his Lordſhip procured the caſtration of that letter out of this work, where it was firſt printed: but the letter having been, before ſuch an unforeſeen caſtration, referred to by me in a ſubſequent article of the ſame volume, which thereby appeared to be imperfect for that reaſon, the caſtrated ſheet, with the letter, was reprinted in 1763, more perfect than before, with ſome notes by myſelf, for the uſe of this work.

P

HUTCHESON [Francis], an ingenious author, was the ſon of a Diſſenting miniſter in the north of Ireland, and was born Auguſt 8, 1694. After a proper education at the grammar-ſchool, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſuperior capacity, he was ſent to begin his courſe of philoſophy to a Preſbyterian academy in Ireland, but removed thence in 1710, and entered a ſtudent in the univerſity of Glaſgow in Scotland. Here he renewed his ſtudy of the Latin and Greek languages, and applied himſelf to all parts of literature, in which he made a progreſs ſuitable to his uncommon abilities; but chuſing to make divinity his profeſſion, he proſecuted that ſtudy at Glaſgow ſeveral years; after which he returned home, and entering into the miniſtry, was about to ſettle in a ſmall congregation of Diſſenters in the north of Ireland, when ſome gentlemen about Dublin invited him, about the year 1721, to ſet up a private academy there: he complied thereto, and met with much ſucceſs, notwithſtanding two ſeveral attempts made to a proſecution for taking upon him the education of youth, without qualifying himſelf by a ſubſcription of the eccleſiaſtical canons, and a licence from the Biſhop (a). In 1729 he accepted an invitation to be profeſſor of moral philoſophy at Glaſgow (b), where he paſſed the remainder of his life, in a manner highly honourable to himſelf, and ornamental to that univerſity. A firm conſtitution, and a pretty uniform ſtate of good health, excepting ſome few ſlight attacks of the gout, ſeemed to promiſe a longer life, yet he did not exceed the fifty-third year of his age at his death, which happened at Glaſgow in 1747. Soon after his ſettlement at Dublin, he married Mrs Mary Wilſon, a gentleman's daughter in the county of Langford, by whom he had a ſon, Francis Hutcheſon, who ſurvived him, became a doctor of phyſic, and publiſhed, from the original manuſcript of his father, *A ſyſtem of moral philoſophy, in three books*, Glaſgow 1755, in two volumes quarto (c); to which is prefixed, *Some account of the life, writings, and character of the author*, by the Reverend William Leechman, D. D. Profeſſor of Divinity in the ſame univerſity, to which I owe the materials of the preſent memoir. He wrote ſome other pieces, which are mentioned below [*A*].

(a) He eſcaped the miſchief intended by the influence of his friend Archbp King, an account of whom may be ſeen in this work, Vol. V.

(b) He procured from Primate Boulter of Armagh in Ireland, the donation of a yearly fund for an exhibitioner, to be bred to any of the learned profeſſions at Glaſgow.

(c) In the title page he is ſtyled L. L. D.

[*A*]. Theſe are, 1. *An enquiry into the ideas of beauty and virtue*, Dublin, 1725, 8vo. The late Lord Viſcount Moleſworth is ſaid to have taken great pleaſure in his converſation, and to have aſſiſted him with his criticiſms and obſervations upon this book before it came abroad; and it is obſervable that this Lord's particular acquaintance, the Earl of Shafteſbury, was of the ſame opinion which is maintained by our author in this treatiſe, that theſe ideas are thought not innate yet connate in the human mind (1). Our author received alſo the like favour from Dr Synge, Biſhop of Elphin (2). The firſt edition was publiſhed anonymous, but the merit of it would not ſuffer him to be long concealed. Lord Granville, then Lord Lieut. of Ireland, ſent his private ſecretary to enquire at the bookſellers for the author, and when he could not learn his name, he left a letter to be conveyed to him; in conſequence of which he ſoon became acquainted with his excellency, and was treated by him all the time he continued in his government with diſtinguiſhing marks of familiarity and eſteem. 2. *A treatiſe of the paſſions*, &c. Both theſe pieces have been often reprinted, and always admired, both for the ſentiment and language; even by thoſe who have not aſſented to the philoſophy of them, nor allowed it to have any foundation in nature. 3. Some papers of his, accounting for laughter in a different way from Hobbes, with ſome remarks on the Fable of the bees, were inſerted in the collection called *Hibernicus*'s *Letters*, publiſhed in 1734, 8vo. 4. Some letters in the London Journal 1728, ſubſcribed *Philaretus*, containing objections to ſome parts of the doctrine in *The Enquiry*, &c. occaſioned our author to give anſwers to them in theſe public papers. Both the letters and anſwers were afterwards publiſhed in a ſeparate pamphlet.

P

(1) See the Earl of Shafteſbury's article in this Supplement.

(2) There is an account of this prelate in Vol. VI. of this work.

HUTCHINSON [John], an Engliſh author, whoſe writings have made no inconſiderable noiſe in the learned world, was born at Spennythorn in Yorkſhire, *anno* 1674; and being deſigned by his father (a) for a ſtewardſhip for ſome gentleman or nobleman, gave him ſuch ſchool learning as the place afforded [*A*]. At the age of nineteen he went to be ſteward to Mr Bathurſt of Skutterſkelf in Yorkſhire, and from thence to the Earl of Scarborough, who would gladly have engaged him in his ſervice, but his ambition to ſerve the Duke of Somerſet would not ſuffer him to continue there, and he removed ſoon after into his Grace's ſervice. About the year 1700 he was called to London to manage a

(a) He was poſſeſſed of a ſmall eſtate of about 40l. *per Ann.*

[*A*] *Such ſchool learning as the place afforded.*] The remaining part of his education was finiſhed by a gentleman that boarded with his father, who is ſaid to have inſtructed him not only in ſuch parts of the mathematics as were more immediately connected with his deſtined employments, but in every branch of that uſeful ſcience; and at the ſame time furniſhed him with a competent knowledge of the celebrated writings of antiquity (1).

(1) Bibliotheca Biographia.

law-ſuit of conſiderable conſequence between the Duke and another nobleman, and during his attendance in town he contracted an acquaintance with Dr Woodward, who was the Duke's phyſician. Between 1702 and 1706, his buſineſs carrying him into ſeveral parts of England and Wales, he made many obſervations which he publiſhed in a ſmall pamphlet, under the title of *Obſervations made by J. H. moſtly in the year* 1706. In his travels he employed himſelf in collecting foſſils, and put his collection into the hands of Dr Woodward, upon the Doctor's promiſe to digeſt and publiſh them, with farther obſervations of his own; but the Doctor neglecting to perform his promiſe [*B*], ſuggeſted unfavourable notions of his intention to our author, who thereupon reſolved to wait no longer, but to truſt to his own pen; and that he might be the more at leiſure to proſecute his ſtudies, he begged leave of the Duke of Somerſet to quit his ſervice, acquainting him with the motives of his requeſt, and aſſuring him that he did not intend to ſerve any other maſter. The Duke, though a little piqued at firſt, yet on hearing the whole, not only granted his ſuit, but made him his riding purveyor, being at that time Maſter of the Horſe to King George I. As there is a good houſe in the Meuſe belonging to the office of purveyor, a fixed ſalary of 200l. *per Ann.* and the place a kind of ſinecure, Mr Hutchinſon's ſituation and circumſtances were quite agreeable to his mind, and he gave himſelf up to a ſtudious and ſedentary life; the firſt fruits of which appeared in 1724, when he ſurprized the world with his *Moſes*'s *principia*, Part I. [*C*] wherein he daringly adventured to oppoſe and explode the principle of gravitation eſtabliſhed by Sir Iſaac Newton. This was followed in 1727, by a ſecond part, which contains the *ſum and ſubſtance, or the principles of the ſcripture philoſophy* [*D*]. From this time he continued publiſhing a volume every year, or every other year, till his death, which indeed was apparently occaſioned by too intenſe an application to his ſtudies. He had been accuſtomed to make an excurſion for a month or ſo every year into the country for his health, and the neglect of this in purſuit of his ſtudies brought him into an ill habit of body, which prepared the way for its diſſolution. He contented himſelf with ſhort airings, which being performed upon an high-kept unruly horſe, gave him ſuch ſudden jerks, as occaſioned an overflowing in the gall, which was the immediate cauſe of his death [*E*]. He died Aug. 28, 1737. He was a genius *ſui generis*, of a very ſingular compoſition, as is evident from his writings, which ſhew that though he did not want parts [*F*] or learning, yet was his imagination ſo much diſturbed and ſo violent, as to lead captive his judgment, and inflame his temper, which breaks out into much ill language, and a ſpirit of perſecution and cruelty. And hence it came to paſs that he not only died unnoticed, but that little attention has been ſince paid to his works [*G*]. Yet he is not without his followers, and thoſe too among the learned. (§) [*H*].

(§) Witneſs the Rev. Mr Cate of Briſtol, the Hon. Duncan Forbes, Dr Hodges, D.D. Arthur Onſlow, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons; not to mention Mr Bates and Spearman, the editors of his works, and ſeveral others.

[*B*] *Dr Woodward neglected to perform his promiſe.*] Mr Hutchinſon complains in one of his books (2), that he was bereft, in a manner not to be mentioned, of his obſervations and collections; nay, even of the credit of being the collector: however what has been ſaid, that the large and noble collection which Dr Woodward bequeathed to the univerſity of Cambridge, was furniſhed by our author, muſt be taken with large grains of allowance (3).

(2) Mentioned in the next remark:

(3) See Dr Woodward's article.

[*C*] *Moſes*'s *principia*, *Part* I.] 'Tis here that he threw out ſome hints of what had paſſed between himſelf and Dr Woodward, whoſe natural hiſtory of the earth he ridicules, and his account of the ſettlement of the ſeveral ſtrata, ſhells, and nodules, by laws of gravity, which laws he tells him every dirty impertinent collier could contradict and diſprove by ocular demonſtration.

[*D*] *The principles of the ſcripture philoſophy.*] As Sir Iſaac Newton made a *vacuum* and gravity the principles of his philoſophy, our author on the contrary aſſerts that a *plenum* and the air are the principles of the ſcripture philoſophy. In the introduction to this ſecond part, Mr Hutchinſon hinted, that the idea of the Trinity was to be taken from the three grand agents in the ſyſtem of nature, fire, light, and ſpirit; theſe three conditions of one and the ſame ſubſtance anſwering wonderfully in a typical or ſymbolical manner to the three perſons of one and the ſame eſſence. This 'tis ſaid ſtruck the celebrated Dr Samuel Clarke ſo forcibly, that he ſent a gentleman to our author upon his performance, and deſired a conference with him on that propoſition in particular; which however Mr Hutchinſon, after repeated ſollicitations, thought fit to refuſe (4).

(4) Biblio. Biog. as before.

[*E*] *The immediate cauſe of his death.*] Dr Mead was with him the Monday before he died, and urged him to be bled, ſaying at the ſame time in a pleaſant way, I will ſoon ſend you to Moſes, meaning to his ſtudies, in alluſion to the title of *Moſes*'s *principia*; but Mr Hutchinſon taking it in another ſenſe, anſwered him in a muttering tone, *I believe Dr you will*, and diſmiſſing Mead, afterwards ſent for another phyſician (5).

(5) Idem.

[*F*] *He did not want parts.*] In 1712 he completed a machine of the watch kind for diſcovering the longitude at ſea, which was approved by Sir Iſaac Newton, i. e. the attempt. Mr Whiſton, in his *Longitude and latitude*, &c. ſays, he had very lately been ſhewn by our author, a very curious and inquiſitive perſon, a copy of a MS. map of the world, made about eighty years ago, taken by himſelf from the original; wherein the variation is reduced to a theory, much like that which Dr Halley has ſince propoſed, and in general exactly agreeing to his obſervations, but with this advantage, that therein the northern pole of the internal loadſtone is much better ſtated than it is by Dr Halley.

[*G*] *His works.*] They were publiſhed in 1748, in 12 vol. 8vo. by Mr Julius Bate (*), a zealous advocate of our author, who preſented him to the living of Sutton in Suſſex, the preſentation of which had been given to Mr Hutchinſon by the Duke of Somerſet (6).

(*) Aſſiſted by Rob. Spearman, Eſq;

(6) Idem.

[*H*] *He had his followers among the learned.*] This founder of a new religious ſect, not only maintained that all true philoſophy in general is contained in the Bible (7), as had been done by ſome other viſionaries before him, but that the covenant of grace is clearly typified by the cherubims in the prophet Ezekiel's viſion (8), under the old covenant of works. One of his firſt proſelytes was Mr Catcut, a clergyman of Briſtol, who, in a ſermon *Of the Elohim*, explains Ezekiel's viſion in theſe words, 'This then, 'ſays he, was the appearance; The head of a bull, 'a man, and lion together, and of an eagle; ſo 'they had three heads and four viſages; the bodies 'were all joined in one, by this ſignifying the unity 'of the eſſence, and the diſtinction of the perſons, 'and man taken into the eſſence by his perſonal 'union with the ſecond perſon, whoſe conſtant emblem was the lion, expreſſed by cherubim, a word 'compounded of *che*, *quaſi* a word of likeneſs, and

(7) Hebrew writings.

(8) Ezekiel, chap. i. x. and 4th ver. of the xi.

‘ *rubim*, the great ones, great in every reſpect, and in ‘ the higheſt degree; the animals ſeen in this appearance were RUBIMS, great ones among the creatures, the chief of the tame, the wild, and the ‘ winged kinds, ſo it was named *the ſimilitude of the* ‘ *great ones.*’ This explanation of the ſcholar was approved and defended by the maſter, who ſays it is certain that the hieroglyphical emblems were never pretended to be explained before, and ’tis certain they are explained now (9). We are further told, that beſides the certainty of this expoſition, the admiſſion of it is a capital article, of religion; that this of the cherubim exhibits the maker and performer of the covenant and oath, and that all religion was performed before theſe emblematical faces (10). And for the better conceiving the form of the cherubim, ſo very material to be known, Mr Hutchinſon cauſed a print of it to be engraved, repreſenting the two cherubims on the cover of the ark in the Holy of Holies, and above them the Shechinah, or divine glory, and below them the high prieſt ſprinkling blood toward the ark. This he inſerted in his *Glory and Gravity* (11), and ſays that both the Old and New Teſtament were wrote to explain, and are but references to, what was exhibited in the figure, and that all the heathen books do but aim at deſcribing the ſhadows of what was exhibited in it. He alſo gives the ſame print in his book intituled, *The covenant in the cherubim*, and in *Hebrew writings perfect.* And the editors of his works have prefixed the plate to ſeveral of the volumes, with this title, *The chriſtian covenant in hieroglyphics*, and have told us moreover in their preface to the ſaid works, ſome of which were wrote in explanation of this hieroglyphic, and moſt of them with a reference to it, that *cherubim* is one of the inconteſted explanations given by the author, and that they have the permiſſive power of all the Biſhops in our church, to make the cherubim ſo explained to be in hieroglyphics a ſacred image; to deſcribe, as far as figures could go, the aleim and man taken into their eſſence. This doctrine of the cherubim was examined in a maſterly manner, and with admirable temper and decorum ſhewn to be groundleſs, by the Rev. Dr Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumberland, and Prebendary of Durham (12), a moſt worthy ſon of a moſt worthy father, Archbiſhop of York.

(9) See his remarks upon Mr Bedford.

(10) His Treatiſe upon power eſſential, p. 50.

(11) p. 120.

(12) His works, *vol. vi. edit.* 1763, 8vo.

J.

JACKSON [JOHN], a learned philoſopher and divine, was the eldeſt ſon of the Rev. John Jackſon, firſt Rector of Senſey near Thirſk, and afterwards Rector of Roſſington and Vicar of Doncaſter in Yorkſhire, by Anne Revell his wife. He was born at Senſey, in the wapentake of North Allerton, in that county, April 4, 1686, and educated at Doncaſter ſchool under the famous Dr Henry Bland (*a*), who obſerving his proficiency often, left the inſtruction of the ſcholars to his care. Thus accompliſhed he was entered of Jeſus college Cambridge, towards the end of 1702; and from his reſidence at Midſummer following, he proſecuted the academical ſtudies with diligence, and learned Hebrew under the celebrated Simon Ockley (*b*). He proceeded A. B. at the uſual period, and in 1707 leaving the univerſity, he was appointed tutor to the children of Mr Simpſon, at Renſhaw in Derbyſhire. In the mean time the Rectory of Roſſington having been reſerved from the death of his father for him, by the corporation of Doncaſter, he took Deacon's orders in 1708, and performed the ſervice of that church, as far as his orders permitted, till 1710, when having completed his 24th year he was ordained Prieſt, and entered into the full poſſeſſion of that Rectory. But the parſonage houſe being gone to decay, he boarded at Doncaſter, and in 1712 married Elizabeth Cowley, daughter of John Cowley, Eſq; collector of exciſe there. Upon this marriage he entirely rebuilt the parſonage houſe at Roſſington, and went with his bride to reſide in it. In 1714 he commenced author, and publiſhed three anonymous letters in defence of Dr Samuel Clarke's *Scripture doctrine of the Trinity* [*A*]. From this beginning he perſevered in writing upon that controverſy, and the adjuncts thereof, almoſt the whole remainder of his life; and the prodigious number of his books abundantly ſhew him to be fully employed. Mr Tonſon the bookſeller, when in 1716 intending to publiſh a Bible with paraphraſe and notes by ſeveral hands, applied to him by Dr Clarke to undertake the comment upon the prophets, propoſing a handſome gratuity, he declined the offer [*B*], and the ſame year engaged in the cauſe of his friend againſt Dr Waterland [*C*]. In 1718 he went to Cambridge, in order to take his degree of A. M. but finding ſuch an oppoſition raiſed againſt it as he was not able to remove, he deſiſted from the purſuit (*c*). Preſently after his return he received a conſolatory letter from Dr Clarke, who alſo procured for him the Confraterſhip of Wigſton's hoſpital in Leiceſter, to which he was preſented in 1719 by Lord Lechmere, in whoſe gift it was as then Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaſter (*d*). Upon this promotion our author left Roſſington and removed to Leiceſter, which he was glad to do on account of his wife's bad ſtate of health. Beſides, as Confrater, he was alſo afternoon preacher

[*A*] *Dr Clarke's ſcripture doctrine of the Trinity.*] In the firſt of theſe letters he returns Dr Clarke thanks for his very learned and judicious book of the *Scripture doctrine*, &c. and adds, by God's grace, I owe the preſent ſettlement of my mind in (I doubt not) the true faith of the ever bleſſed Trinity. Theſe letters were ſo acceptable to the Doctor, that he wrote a reply, in which he begins thus; 'I am very thankful to God for the effect my endeavours (though not perſonally known to you) have had upon you, and I can never ſufficiently commend your courage in acknowledging it as you have done (1).' This correſpondence afterwards ripened into a thorough eſteem, ſo that Dr Clarke ever after, as appears by his letters, continued to addreſs our author in terms of the moſt cordial and affectionate friendſhip (2). In ſeveral letters he expreſſes an earneſt deſire to get him further preferment in the church. He aſſiſted him with books and obſervations upon them, and ſeveral of theſe he ſubmitted to his judgment.

[*B*] *He declined the propoſal.*] This year there paſſed ſeveral letters between him and Mr Whiſton, upon the ſubject of infant baptiſm, which he defends againſt that friend, as he does the lawfulneſs and validity of lay baptiſm to another friend and correſpondent. But whether in the laſt letter he had an eye or no to Dr Waterland does not appear, who once denied the validity of lay baptiſm; however, he afterwards changed his opinion (3).

[*C*] *He entered into the diſpute with Dr Waterland.*] In the courſe of this controverſy, which continued the beſt part of his life, he was conſtantly aſſiſted by Dr Clarke; but enough has been already ſaid of this controverſy (4), and I wiſh the reader may not think it even more than enough to give the titles of the books publiſhed in it by Mr Jackſon, as follows: 1. *A collection of queries, wherein the moſt material objections from ſcripture, reaſon, and authority, which have as yet been alledged againſt Dr Clarke's ſcripture doctrine of the Trinity, and the defences of it are propoſed and anſwered, &c.* by a clergyman in the country; with a dedication to Dr Clarke, who had peruſed and reviſed it the year before; and having made ſeveral alterations, particularly to ſoften the language, ſtrongly recommended the publication of it. In the preface he gives an account of the reaſon and manner of its publication, in anſwer to the account given of it by Dr Waterland, from which however he differs not in ſubſtance (5). 2. *A reply to Dr Waterland's defence of his queries, &c.* by a clergyman in the country, London, 1722, 8vo. 3. *Remarks on Dr Waterland's ſecond defence of ſome queries,* &c. *in a letter to the Doctor,* by Philalethes Cantabrigienſis, London, 1723, 8vo. 4. *Farther remarks on Dr Waterland's farther vindication of Chriſt's divinity:* by Philalethes Cantabrigienſis, London, 1724. 5. *A true narrative of the controverſy concerning the doctrine of the Trinity; being a reply to Doctor Berryman's hiſtorical account,* &c. by the author of the reply to Dr Waterland's defences, *&c.* London, 1725 (6). 6. *Novatiani Preſbyteri Romani opera quæ ſuperſunt omnia, etc.—— Studio Johannis Jackſon, eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Preſbyteri et de Wherwell in comitatu Hantoniæ prebendarii,* London, 1728. 7. *Chriſtian liberty aſſerted, and the Chriſtian Trinity vindicated againſt a book written by Dr Waterland,* and intituled, The importance of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity aſſerted, *&c.* by a clergyman in the country, 1734. 8. *Memoirs of the life and writings of Dr Waterland, being a ſummary view of the trinitarian controverſy for twenty years, between*

(*a*) Afterwards Head Maſter of Eton-ſchool, and Dean of Durham.

(*b*) Profeſſor of Arabic at Cambridge.

(*c*) Dr Clarke, in a letter to him on the occaſion, writes thus: 'It is of great ſervice to the Jacobite cauſe, to diſcourage ſuch perſons as you are. I ſhall particularly thank the then Chancellor and Dean Sherlock for being of a better ſpirit.'

(*d*) The ſame Chancellor had given Dr Clarke the Maſterſhip of that hoſpital about a year before.

(1) Theſe replies were printed with our author's letters in 1714.

(2) Their firſt perſonal acquaintance began at Lynn Regis in Norfolk ſome time afterwards.

(3) Communicated by Dr Nicholls, Rector of St Gyles, Cripple-gate, London.

(4) In Dr Clarke and Dr Waterland's articles.

(5) This piece it ſeems gave offence to ſome of his own flock or people in the neighbourhood.

(6) He alſo wrote a vindication of this piece, in anſwer to an anonymous animadverter, eſpecially as to the conſubſtantiality of the ſon, in his memoirs of the life of Dr Waterland.

preacher or lecturer of St Martin's church in that town. At the ſame time he did not neglect his flock at Roſſington (§), which he viſited for two or three months every year, and performed the paſtoral office there till the laſt year of his life. In 1720, May 30, he took out a licence from his dioceſan Dr Gibſon Biſhop of Lincoln, to qualify him for afternoon preacher or lecturer, in the pariſh of St Martins aforementioned. In 1721 and the following year, ſeveral preſentments were lodged againſt him in the Biſhop's court for preaching erroneous doctrines, as alſo in that of the Archdeacon of Leiceſter, Dr Trimnel, but he vindicated himſelf in ſo vigorous a manner, that theſe proſecutions were defeated. Yet after the caſe of the Arian ſubſcription was publiſhed by Dr Waterland, he reſolved, with his friend Dr Clarke, never to ſubſcribe the articles any more, by which reſolution he loſt, about 1724, the hopes of a Prebend of Saliſbury, which Biſhop Hoadly refuſed to give him without ſuch ſubſcription [*D*]. However, he had been preſented before to the private Prebend of Wherwell in Hampſhire by Sir John Friar, who made no ſuch objection to him, nor indeed did the place require ſuch qualification. In 1723 our author publiſhed, *The duty of ſubjects towards their governors, a ſermon preached before the Hon. Colonel Charles Churchill's regiment of dragoons, at their camp near Leiceſter, Aug.* 1723. In 1728 he publiſhed *The duty of a Chriſtian ſet forth and explained in ſeveral practical diſcourſes, being an expoſition of the Lord's prayer. To which is added, A diſcourſe on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper: for the uſe of families.* Upon the death of Dr Clarke, in May 1729, Mr Jackſon ſucceeded to the Maſterſhip of Wigſton's hoſpital, by the preſentation of the Duke of Rutland, then Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaſter (*); but either this or the following year was denied the uſe of the pulpit at St Martin's. In 1730 our author appeared in another diſpute, namely in defence of human reaſon [*E*]; and afterwards publiſhed two or three pieces more in ſupport of the ſame cauſe againſt Dr Gibſon's ſecond *Paſtoral letter*. In 1731 he attacked Tindal in remarks on a book intituled, *Chriſtianity as old as the creation*. In 1733 he publiſhed, *An anſwer to a book intituled,* Things divine and ſupernatural conceived by analogy, with things natural and human (*e*). In 1735 he publiſhed, *A diſſertation on matter and ſpirit, with ſome remarks on a book, intituled,* An inquiry into the nature of the human ſoul (*f*). In 1736 he printed, *A narrative of the caſe of the Rev. Mr Jackſon's being refuſed the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at Bath* (*g*). In 1742 our author had an epiſtolary debate with his friend Mr W. Whiſton, concerning the order and times of the high prieſts. In 1745 our author entered the liſt againſt Mr Warburton [*F*], the preſent Biſhop

(§) He kept a curate upon it.

(*) He held it all his life after, he repaired and made ſeveral additions to the maſter's houſe, he alſo repaired the hoſpital, and by degrees increaſed the pay of the poor people from 2s. 10d. to 3s. a week.

(*e*) Suppoſed to be written by Dr Brown, Bp of Cork.

(*f*) Written by Mr Baxter.

(*g*) It was done in a very public manner by Dr Coney.

between the Doctor and a clergyman in the country, &c. London, 1736. 9. *A confutation of the fifth of Mr Moor's propoſitions of natural and revealed religion, which relates to the doctrine of the Trinity. In a letter to a clergyman* (7). *To which is added a letter to Dr Waterland,* London, 1738.

(7) This clergyman was Dr James Foſter, the famous Socinian.

[*D*] *Biſhop Hoadly refuſed him a Prebend without ſubſcription.*] Mr Jackſon gave an account of this refuſal in a letter dated at Leiceſter, June 10, 1730. 'I was abroad, ſays he, when yours came hither, 'and received it at my return home the other day— 'The cauſe of my not being made a Prebend of Sarum, was my refuſing to comply with the Biſhop's 'demand (made by Dr Clarke) of ſubſcription. I 'never talked with the Biſhop myſelf about it, but 'Dr Clarke did ſeveral times, and told me more 'than once that the Biſhop would give me a Prebend 'on the terms of ſubſcription, but not otherwiſe. 'Dr Sykes told me to the ſame purpoſe when I was 'laſt at London. Dr Clarke had, as he told me, 'urged the Biſhop that the law did not require ſubſcription, which I thought might have prevailed 'with him who had written againſt *impoſitions*. But 'the Biſhop's anſwer was, that all others ſubſcribed, 'and it would not look well in his books to admit 'one without ſubſcription, though he would not ſay 'that the law required it. This is the true ſtate 'of my caſe, as I had it from Dr Clarke.' The Biſhop's denial is more remarkable, conſidering how often he had intimated his diſlike of all ſuch ſubſcriptions, eſpecially by the pieces he wrote in. The Bangorian controverſy, during which too our author had publiſhed The grounds of civil and eccleſiaſtical government briefly conſidered; to which is added, A defence of the Biſhop of Bangor againſt the objections of Mr William Law (*a*); a ſecond edition of which was printed in 1718.

[*E*] *A diſpute in defence of human reaſon.*] The firſt tract is intituled, *A plea for human reaſon, ſhewing the ſufficiency of it in matters of religion: In a letter to the Right Rev. the Biſhop of London,* London, 1730. He ſets out thus: 'My Lord, Having carefully peruſ'ed your Lordſhip's ſecond *Paſtoral letter to the people of your dioceſe,* occaſioned by ſome late writing, 'in which your Lordſhip ſays it is aſſerted, that rea'ſon is a ſufficient guide in matters of religion, with'out the help of revelation, I find your Lordſhip to 'oppoſe that principle univerſally, without regard 'to man's having or not having opportunities of 'knowing the revealed will of God; nay, aſſerting 'and teaching your people, that reaſon of itſelf is an 'inſufficient guide in matters of religion without any 'limitation; conſequently that it is inſufficient after 'men, who by God's providence have no other guide, 'have made the beſt uſe of their reaſon, which in 'their cumſtances they were able to do.' The reader will eaſily ſee the unfairneſs of this repreſentation of the Biſhop's doctrine, which indeed is ſo palpably notorious, that one can hardly forbear imputing it to a reſentment at his Lordſhip's eſpouſing, as he ſtrenuouſly did, the opinion and doctrine of Dr Waterland upon the Trinity. The other pieces in this diſpute were, 1. *A defence of the plea of human reaſon, being a reply to a book intituled,* A plea for divine revelation, in a letter to the Rt. Rev. the Lord Biſhop of London, London, 1731. 2. *Calumny no conviction, being a vindication of the plea for human reaſon, againſt the aſperſions of a book under the name of John Brown,* London, 1731. 3. *The ſecond part of the plea for human reaſon,* &c. London, 1732.

[*F*] *He entered the liſt with Mr Warburton.*] That gentleman having publiſhed remarks upon the author's pieces mentioned above, he publiſhed *The be-*

(*a*) This learned author came into the world in the cloſe of the laſt century, was bred at Cambridge, where he took both his degrees in arts; ſometime after which he became tutor to a gentleman's ſon at Putney near London, and at length was invited to a gentlewoman's houſe (if I miſtake not in Glouceſterſhire) where he continued till his death, April 9, 1761 (*), having publiſhed 1. *Three letters to the Biſhop of Bangor.* 2. *Remarks on the fable of the bees,* &c. 3. *A practical treatiſe of Chriſtian perfection.* 4. *A ſerious caſe to a devout and holy life.* 5. *The abſolute unlawfulneſs of ſtage entertainments.* 6. *The caſe of reaſon,* &c. *in an anſwer to Chriſtianity as old as the creation.* 7. *A demonſtration of the errors in Bp Hoadly's plain account of the ſacrament.* 8. *The grounds and reaſons of Chriſtian regeneration.* 9. *An anſwer to Dr Trapp's diſcourſe of the folly,* &c. *of being righteous over much.* 10. *An appeal to all that doubt or diſbelieve the truths of the goſpel.* 11. *The ſpirit of prayer,* &c. 12. *The way to divine knowledge,* &c. (†). 13. *The ſpirit of love,* &c. 14. *A confutation of Dr Warburton's divine logation of Moſes.* 15. *A collection of letters,* &c. 16. *Of juſtification by faith and works,* &c. 17. *An humble addreſs to the clergy.*

(*) Lond. Mag.

(†) Preparatory to a new edition of the works of Jacob Behmen, and the right uſe of them.

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Biſhop of Glouceſter, upon his *Divine legation of Moſes*, in anſwer to which he printed *The belief of a future ſtate proved to be a fundamental article of the religion of the Hebrews, &c.* This gave riſe to a controverſy, which was carried on with much indecent language on both ſides till the year 1749, when our author publiſhed *Remarks on Dr. Middleton*'s *free inquiry into the miraculous power ſuppoſed to have ſubſiſted in the Chriſtian church after the days of the apoſtles.* From this to the year 1752, our author did not employ the preſs at all, but that year came out his capital work, intituled, *Chronological antiquities*, &c. in 3 vols. 4to. This was his laſt performance at the preſs. He afterwards made many collections and preparations for printing an edition of the *New Teſtament* in Greek, with *Scholia* in the ſame language, and would have inſerted all the various readings, had not the infirmities of age, which came upon him ſome years before his death, prevented him from finiſhing this deſign. His bodily ſtrength declining for ſome years, and the faculties of his mind gradually decreaſing (of which he ſeemed but too ſenſible) he became incapable of cloſe application to ſtudy; but ſtill his thirſt after knowledge continued to his death, which happened on Thurſday May 12, 1763. By his wife, who died before him in the latter end of December 1760, he had twelve children, four of which, one ſon and three daughters, are now (1764) living. John the ſon is a batchelor: The eldeſt daughter married Mr John Green of Leeds, merchant, by whom ſhe had two daughters, who died young: The ſecond daughter married Mr Billam, apothecary at Leeds, and by him has a ſon and daughter living: The third, Elizabeth, married Mr Abbot of Sutton near Leiceſter, but has no children. Among the numerous offspring of our author's teeming genius, ſeveral have eſcaped notice in the courſe of this memoir, a liſt of which may be ſeen below [*G*].

lief of a future ſtate proved to be a fundamental article of the religion of the Hebrews, &c. *occaſioned by ſome ſevere reflections on the author and his writings, contained in the ſecond part of Mr Warburton's remarks*, &c. London, 1746. In an anſwer to this Mr Warburton publiſhed A Preface to *A critical enquiry into the opinions and practice of the ancient philoſophers*, &c. Hereupon came out by our author, *A farther defence of the ancient philoſophers, againſt the miſrepreſentations of a critical enquiry prefaced by Mr Warburton*, London, 1747. The critical enquiry, though wrote by another perſon, yet being publiſhed by Mr Warburton, our author thereupon makes this animadverſion, 'We have, 'ſays he, before us two *Soſias*, one *exoteric*, and the 'other *eſoteric*, but neither of them has any the leaſt 'pretence to *Mercury*.' This was followed by a treatiſe of our author's, intituled, *A treatiſe on the improvements made in the art of criticiſm, collected out of the writings of a celebrated hypercritic; by Philocriticus Cantabrigienſis*, London, 1748. Mr Warburton having made ſome remarks on this piece, Mr Jackſon publiſhed the following reply; *A defence of a late pamphlet called, A treatiſe on the improvement made in the art of criticiſm, being an anſwer to ſome remarks made upon it*, London, 1749.

[G] *A liſt of his other pieces.*] Theſe are, 1. *A defence of human liberty, in anſwer to the principal arguments which have been alledged againſt it, and particularly to Cato's letters on that ſubject; in which defence the opinion of the antients concerning taſte is alſo diſtinctly and largely conſidered*; the ſecond edition; to which is added, *A vindication of human liberty, in anſwer to a diſſertation on liberty and neceſſity, written by A. C. (Anthony Collins) Eſq*; London, 1730, 8vo. 2. *The exiſtence and unity of God proved from his nature and attributes, &c. to which is added an appendix, wherein is conſidered the ground and obligation of morality*; London, 1734. This piece being attacked by Mr Edm. Law, our author anſwered him in 3. *A defence of a book intituled, The exiſtence and unity of God*, &c. *in anſwer to a book lately publiſhed by Mr Law, and intituled*, An inquiry into the ideas of ſpace, time, immenſity and eternity, as alſo the ſelf exiſtence, neceſſary exiſtence, and unity of the divine nature, *with an appendix in anſwer to* A diſſertation upon the argument a priori, *annexed to Mr Law*'s *book*, London, 1735, 8vo. 4. *Several letters to the Rev. Mr Jackſon, from William Dudgeon, a gentleman in Berwickſhire, with Mr Jackſon*'s *anſwers to them, concerning the immenſity and unity of God*, &c. London, 1737, 8vo. Beſides the ſeparate books and pamphlets, amounting to the number of 36, I muſt not forget to add his anſwer to a note printed at the end of a new edition of the firſt volume of Mr Warburton's Divine legation of Moſes, a quarter of a ſheet inſerted in a ſheet of *Additions to his chronology*: alſo two detached pieces in the periodical paper, called *The old Whig*, No. 33 and 39, acknowledged by himſelf. Laſtly, notes containing alterations, corrections, and additions to his *Chronology*, which, together with an account of the materials he collected for his intended edition of the New Teſtament in Greek, are inſerted in an appendix to *Memoirs of the life and writings of the late Rev. Mr* JOHN JACKSON, *Maſter of* WIGSTON's *hoſpital in Leiceſter*, &c. London, 1764, 8vo. from which the preſent article is extracted. P

JAMES [THOMAS], a learned book-divine and critic, was born about the year 1571, at Newport in the Iſle of Wight, and being put to Wincheſter-ſchool, became a ſcholar upon the foundation, and thence in his courſe a fellow of New college Oxford in 1593 (*a*). He took his firſt degree in arts May 3, 1595, and commencing A. M. Feb. 5, 1598 (*b*), he publiſhed at Oxford in 4to. the following year, *Philobiblion Ricardi Dunelmenſis*, with an appendix of the Oxford MSS. He dedicated this piece to Sir Thomas Bodley, who was then building his library, and reſolved to appoint him keeper of it when finiſhed. In the interim Mr James proceeded in the ſame ſpirit to publiſh *A catalogue of all the MSS in each college library in both univerſities in* 1600, 4to. (*c*). Two years after he was made the firſt librarian to Bodley's library (*d*), and in 1605 he printed *Catalogus librorum in Bib. Bodleiana*, 8vo. and not long after applied himſelf to examine the ſtate of all the public libraries in England [*A*]. May 16. 1614, he commenced D. D. (*e*), and was promoted to the Subdeanery of Wells by the Biſhop of that See. About the ſame time the Archbiſhop of Canterbury alſo preſented him to the Rectory of Monge-

(*a*) Athen. Oxo. vol. i. col. 537.

(*c*) It does not ſay a catalogue of thoſe in the public library of Oxford. It is recommended by Joſeph Scaliger, in an epiſtle to Rich. Thompſon.

(*b*) Faſti. Oxon. col. 49 and 154.

(*d*) He was confirmed in it by the univerſity in 1602. Wood's Athen as before.

(*e*) He accumulated both degrees in divinity. His brother, Edward James, commenced D. D. at the ſame time. He died before Thomas, and his nephew Richard wrote an epitaph for him. Idem. Faſti, Oxon. vol. i. col. 297.

[*A*] *He examined all the public libraries in England.*] Mr Camden ſpeaks of him about this time thus (1): 'He is, ſays he, a learned man, and a true lover of 'books, wholly dedicated to learning, who is now 'laboriouſly ſearching the libraries of England, and '*purpoſeth that for the public good, which will be 'of great benefit to ſtudents.*'

(1) Britan. edit. 1607. in com. Monmouth.

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ham in Kent, beſides other benefices. Theſe favours were undeniably ſtrong evidences of his diſtinguiſhed merit, being conferred upon him without any application on his part. In 1620 he was made a juſtice of the peace, and the ſame year he reſigned the library keeper's place, and betook himſelf more intenſely to his ſtudies; of what kind theſe were we learn from himſelf [*B*]. In the convocation held at Oxford in 1625, of which he was a member, he moved to have commiſſioners appointed to collate the MSS of the Fathers in all the libraries in England, with the Popiſh editions, in order to detect the forgeries in theſe laſt [*C*]. And this project not meeting with the deſired encouragement, he was ſo thoroughly perſuaded of the great advantage it would be both to the Proteſtant religion and learning, that, arduous as the taſk was, he ſet about executing it himſelf, and made a progreſs in it, as appears from his works (*f*), and no doubt would have proceeded much farther, had not he been prevented by his death, which happened about the 59th year of his age, in Aug. 1629, at his houſe in Holywell, Oxford. He was interred in New college chapel, where no monument being erected to his memory, the want of it is ſupplied by Mr Wood, who tells us, he left behind him the character of being the moſt induſtrious and indefatigable writer againſt the Papiſts that had been educated at Oxford ſince the reformation (*g*). The ſame antiquarian likewiſe obſerves that he wrote a letter to Archbiſhop Uſher, informing his Grace that he had a kinſman, who by his direction was writing *Becket*'s life, wherein it ſhould be plainly ſhewn both out of his own writings and thoſe of his time, that he was not as he is eſteemed an arch-ſaint, but an arch-rebel, and that the Papiſts have been not a little deceived by him (*h*). This kinſman was his nephew RICHARD JAMES, who was born as well as himſelf at Newport, about 1592, and admitted ſcholar of Chriſt-Church college Oxford from that of Exeter, Sept. 23, 1608 (*i*), proceeded A. B. Oct. 12, 1611, and A. M. Jan. 24, 1614 (*k*), and became probationer Fellow Sept. 30, 1615 (*l*), about which time he entered into holy orders, and was a frequent preacher [*D*]. About 1619 he travelled through Wales into Scotland, and thence to Shetland, Greenland, and into Ruſſia, of which he wrote obſervations the ſame year. He proceeded B. D. July 7, 1624 (*m*), and not long after aſſiſted the celebrated Selden in compoſing his *Marmora Arundeliana*, publiſhed in 1628 (*n*). He was alſo very ſerviceable to Sir Robert Cotton and his ſon Sir Thomas, in diſpoſing and ſettling their noble library: and with the former of theſe (who was no friend to the prerogative) he was committed cloſe priſoner by order of the houſe of Lords in 1629. During his confinement he compoſed a copy of verſes in Engliſh, which he prefixed to a copy of all the printed works of his own original compoſition, bound in one volume, and preſented it to the Bodleian library ſome time before his death (*o*), which was occaſioned by a quartan ague, brought upon him by a too intenſe application to his ſtudies in Dec. 1638. He died in Sir Thomas Cotton's houſe, near Weſtminſter-hall, and was interred on the ſeventh of that month in St Margaret's church adjoining. He left forty-five MSS of his own compoſing or collecting, all in his own hand writing, which coming into the hands of Thomas Greaves (*p*), were placed in the Bodleian library. Mr Wood ſays he was noted by all that knew him, to be a very good Grecian, poet, an excellent critic, antiquary, divine, and admirably well ſkilled in the Saxon and Gothic languages; though humorous, he was of a far better judgment than his uncle, and had he lived to his age, would have ſurpaſſed him in publiſhed books.

[*B*] *The bent of his ſtudies.*] I have of late, ſays he (in a letter dated May 1624, to a friend) given myſelf to the reading only of MSS, and in them I find ſo many, and ſo pregnant teſtimonies, either fully for our religion, or againſt the Papiſts, that it is to be wondered at. And in another letter to Archbiſhop Uſher, the ſame year, he aſſures the primate he had reſtored 300 citations, and reſcued them from corruptions, in thirty quires of paper (2). He had before written to his Grace upon the ſame ſubject, in a letter dated Jan. 28, 1623, where he obſerves that in *Sixtus Senenſis*, *Alphonſus de Caſtro*, and *Antoninus*'s *Summæ*, there were about 500 baſtard brevities, and about 1000 places in the true authors which are corrupted; that he had diligently noted, and would ſhortly vindicate them out of the MSS, being yet only conjectures of the learned.

[*C*] *To detect the forgeries in theſe laſt.*] We may form a more than probable conjecture of his plan from a paſſage in the laſt cited letter to Uſher: ‘I have, ſays he, gotten together the flower of the Engliſh divines, who would voluntarily join with me in the ſearch. Some fruits of their labours, if your Lordſhip deſires, I will ſend you up. And might I be ſo happy as to have other twelve thus beſtowed, four in tranſcribing orthodox writers, whereof we have plenty, that for the ſubſtantial points have maintained our religion (40 or 50l. would ſerve) four to compare old prints with the new; four others to compare the Greek tranſlations by the Papiſts, as Vedelius has done with Ignatius, wherein he has been ſomewhat helped by my pains; I would not doubt but to drive the Papiſts out of all their lurking-holes. But alas my Lord, I have not encouragement from our Biſhops. Preferment I ſeek none at their hands, only 40l. or 60l. a year for others is that I ſeek, which being gained, the cauſe is gained, notwithſtanding their brags in their late books. Mr Briggs, ſays he in the ſame letter, will ſatisfy you in this, and ſundry other projects of mine, if they miſcarry not, for want of maintenance. It would deſerve a prince's purſe. If I was in Germany, the ſtate would defray all charges. Cannot our eſtates ſupply what is wanting? If every churchman that has 100l. a year and upwards, lays down but a ſhilling for every hundred towards theſe public works, I will undertake the reprinting of the *Fathers*, and the ſetting forth of five or ſix orthodox writers, comparing of books printed with printed or written; collating of Popiſh tranſlations in Greek; and generally whatſoever ſhall concern books or the purity of them, I will take upon me to be a *Magiſter S. Palatii* in England, if I be thereunto lawfully required.’

[*D*] *And was a frequent preacher.*] Mr Wood having mentioned two Latin ſermons *ad clerum in Acad. Oxon.* one printed in 1625, the other in 1633, 4to. beſides five Engliſh ſermons preached and printed within that time, tells us, That of three ſermons preached before the univerſity, one concerning the *Obſervation of Lent* was without a text, according to the moſt ancient manner; another againſt the text; and a third beſide it (3). I need not ſay that this ſhews him to have been a perſon of ſome humour.

(*f*) Mr Wood has given a catalogue of theſe amounting to upwards of 20. The principal of which is, *A treatiſe of the corruption of the fathers*, &c. edit. 1711, 4to.

(*g*) Athen. Oxon. vol. 1. col. 538.

(*h*) Parr's collection of letters at the end of Uſher's life. The MS is intituled *Decanonizatio Thomæ Cantuarienſis et ſuorum*, containing 160 folio pages.

(*i*) Wood, col. 616.

(*k*) Faſti. Oxon. vol. 1. col. 188 and 197.

(*l*) Athen Oxon. vol. 1. col. 615.

(*m*) Idem. col. 228.

(*n*) Mr Selden in the preface, ſtiles him *vir multijugæ eruditionis ſtudiique indefatigabilis*.

(*o*) Theſe were, beſides the ſeven ſermons beforementioned, *Poemata quædam in mort. clariſſ. viri Roberti Cotton, et Thomæ Allen*, edit. 1633, 4to. and an Engliſh tranſlation of *Minutius Felix*'s *Octavius*, edit. 1636, 12mo. with a copy of verſes of his compoſition, written in a ſpare leaf before the firſt of them.

(*p*) See an account of this learned gentleman under the article of his brother John Greaves.

(2) Letters annexed to Parr's life of Uſher, p. 66 and 77.

(3) One of his ſermons is intituled, *The hiſt. of preaching; or concerning the Apoſtles preaching and ours*, 1 Cor. ix. 16. Lond. 1630, 4to.

That nothing was wanting but a Sinecure or Prebend, either of which, if conferred upon him, Hercules's labours would have ſeemed a trifle [*E*].

[*E*] *Hercules*'s *labours would have ſeemed a trifle.*] The antiquary ſeems to have had his eye upon the letter which our author's uncle wrote to Archbiſhop Uſher above-cited, where having mentioned his nephew's writing Becket's life, he recommends him to that prelate in theſe terms: 'This kinſman of mine, as well as myſelf, ſhould be right glad to do any ſervice to your Lordſhip in this kind. He is of ſtrength, and well both able and learned to effectuate ſomewhat in this kind; critically ſeen both in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; knowing well the languages, both French, Spaniſh, and Italian; immenſe beyond all other men in reading of the MSS; of an extraordinary ſtile in penning; ſuch a one as I dare balance with any prieſt or Jeſuit in the world of his age, and ſuch a one as I could wiſh your Lordſhip had about you; but *paupertas inimica bonis eſt moribus*, and both fatherleſs and motherleſs, and almoſt (but for myſelf) I may ſay (the more is his pity) friendleſs.'

JOHNSON [JOHN], a learned divine, and author of *The unbloody ſacrifice*, was born December 30, 1662, at Friendſbury near Rocheſter in Kent, of which place his father, Thomas Johnſon, A. M. was Vicar (*a*); but dying about three years after the birth of this only ſon, he was carried by his mother to Canterbury, and put to the King's-ſchool in that city (*b*), where he made ſuch a quick proficency, that he was ſent to Magdalen college Cambridge, March 4, 1677, at fifteen years of age; whence after taking the degree of A. B. he removed to Bennet college April 19 1682, upon his nomination to a ſcholarſhip of Archbiſhop Parker's foundation by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, being recommended for a ſtudious and induſtrious youth. About two years after he entered into Deacon's orders, and became Curate to Mr Thomas Hardreſs, Rector of Upper and Lower Hardres near Canterbury (*c*). He commenced A. M. in July 1685 [*A*], and being ordained Prieſt (*d*) December 19, 1686, was collated by Archbiſhop Sancroft, the 9th of July 1687, to the Vicarage of *Bocton ſubtus le Bleyne*, with the adjoining one of *Hern-Hill*, not far from Canterbury [*B*]. He complied to the revolution in 1688, and preached a remarkable ſermon at Feverſham, on Luke xvii. 32. *Remember Lot*'s *wife*, wherein he ſet forth the great danger of looking back; with another in the ſame ſpirit at the cathedral of Canterbury againſt *hypocriſy*, which gave great offence to ſome of the Prebendaries, and occaſioned a ſort of inhibition of that pulpit. October 24, 1689, he married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Jenkin, Gent. of the iſle of Thanet [*C*], who brought him five children. In 1694 he publiſhed, with his name, *The caſe of pluralities and non-reſidence rightly ſtated* (*e*). This was written with a good deal of ſpirit and ſmartneſs, and brought upon him the reproaches of many of the clergy; but his prudent and exemplary behaviour under it, recommended him to the favour of Archbiſhop Teniſon, who pitched upon him as a proper perſon for the great and laborious cure of St John Baptiſt or Margate, in the iſle of Thanet, upon the ceſſion of Mr Stephens in 1697; and becauſe the benefice was ſmall, for his further encouragement therein he added the vicarage of Apuldre, with the chapel of Eboney, on the borders of Romney Marſh, of little leſs value than 200l. *per Ann.* He ſerved the former ſome years with great diligence, and gained the affection of the pariſhioners, who treated him with equally great kindneſs.

(*a*) He was a native of Kent, admitted of Bennet college 1652, commenced A. M. 1659, entered into both orders 1660, and was inſtituted to this vicarage before the end of the year. Maſters's hiſt. of Corpus-Chriſti college Cambr. p. 318.

(*b*) That excellent teacher Mr Lovejoy was then maſter of this ſchool.

(*c*) Brett's life of our author. His mother ſettled at Canterbury for the education of her children, this ſon and one daughter, and to be near a ſmall eſtate ſhe had at Burnham in that neighbourhood. She was daughter of Francis Drayton, A. M. rector of Little Chart, in this dioceſe.

(*d*) By Biſhop Sprat. Maſters.

(*e*) It was written againſt Wharton's defence of pluralities: 'tis ſaid the Queen (Mary) was ſo well pleaſed with it, that had ſhe lived much longer, ſhe would have rewarded the author.

[*A*] *He commenced A. M. in July 1685.*] Happening on this occaſion to common place in the college chapel, Dr Spencer, the maſter, was ſo much pleaſed with his exerciſe, that he prevailed with the ſociety to pre elect him into a fellowſhip on the 16th of this month; but none becoming vacant before he was otherwiſe provided for, he was never admitted (1).

[*B*] *Not far from Canterbury.*] Here he found two Roman Catholic families ſettled (Hawkins and Petit of Colkins) of good eſtates, who upon a Prince of their religion coming to the throne, entertained great hopes of its being eſtabliſhed, and were not wanting in their endeavours to that purpoſe. This put him upon ſtudying the Popiſh controverſy, in order to guard his pariſhioners againſt their artful inſinuations (2).

[*C*] *He married a daughter of Thomas Jenkin.*] She was half ſiſter to Dr Robert Jenkin, maſter of St John's college Cambridge, who was born there in 1656, and after a proper education at Canterbury-ſchool, was ſent to St John's college Cambridge, of which ſociety he firſt became fellow, and afterwards maſter. In the interim having entered into holy orders, Dr John Lake, who was tranſlated from the ſee of Briſtol to Chicheſter in 1685, made him his chaplain, and collated him to the precentorſhip of that church in 1688, but refuſing, as well as his patron, to take the new oaths of allegiance after the revolution (3), he loſt that preferment, and retiring to his fellowſhip at St John's, where no notice was taken of his non-compliance, he proſecuted his ſtudies without interruption, the fruits whereof he gave to the public in ſeveral learned treatiſes, as 1. *An hiſtorical explanation of the authority of councils*, 1688, 4to. 2. *The reaſonableneſs and certainty of the Chriſtian religion*, 2 vol. 8vo. third edition in 1708. This is his maſter-piece. 3. *Defenſio Auguſtini adverſus Johan. Phereponi animadverſiones*, *Cantab.* 1707, 8vo. and again at London in 1728, 8vo. it is written againſt Le Clerc. 4. *Remarks on ſome books lately publiſhed*, viz. Baſnage's hiſtory of the Jews, Whiſton's eight ſermons, Locke's paraphraſe and notes on St Paul's epiſtles, and Le Clerc's bibliotheque choiſie, Lond. 1709. 5. *An Engliſh tranſlation of the life of Apollonius Tyaneus, from the French of Tillemont.* It was his merit, accompanied with a happy temper, that procured him the maſterſhip of his college in 1711, upon the deceaſe of Dr Gower, whom he alſo ſucceeded as Margaret profeſſor of divinity. Upon the acceſſion of King George I. the act requiring all perſons to take the oaths being put ſtrictly into execution, Dr Jenkin not only complied thereto, but proceeded to eject thoſe among the fellows that refuſed. In this laſt ſtep, though he acted with reluctance againſt his friends, and purely in obedience to the indiſpenſible injunctions of the government, yet he was made uneaſy by the ſufferers on that account. From this time he began to decline, and in ſome years both his memory and underſtanding became ſo much impaired, that he ſunk by degrees into a ſecond childhood, and at length grew diſabled from performing the neceſſary offices of his place. In this unhappy condition he was removed into Norfolk, his brother Mr Henry Jenkin being rector of Tilney in that county (4), where he continued till his death, which happened in April 7, 1727.

(1) Maſters, p. 319.

(2) Idem, ibid.

(3) He wrote a book which came out in 1689, intituled, *Dr Lake*'s *legacy*, tending to prove the doctrine of paſſive obedience to be a characteriſtic note of the true church. Lewis's hiſt. of the iſle of Thanet.

(4) Brett's life of Johnſon.

But as his ſons grew up (*f*), reſolving to take upon himſelf the care of their inſtruction, together with two or three other children, the ſons of particular friends, he found the burden of the curacy too great for that employ, and the proſecution of his ſtudies, induced by theſe and other family reaſons, he ſollicited and obtained the leave of his patron to give it up, and went to reſide on the latter in 1703 [*D*]. He ſeemed at firſt to be much pleaſed with the removal, as to a place where he could follow his ſtudies uninterrupted. But this ſatisfaction was not of long continuance. He found neither his family inconveniencies removed, nor the air to agree with his conſtitution, which although ſtrong and robuſt before, was now broken with ſickneſs; wherefore upon the vacancy of the vicarage of Cranbrook, ſituated in a better part of the country, he petitioned his patron, and ſucceeded therein by the interceſſion of friends, after Mr Bull had declined it April 13, 1707. But this proved a ſnare to him. The baleful tide of party, which then begun to run very high through the nation, did not fail to infect this pariſh; and the differences among the gentlemen of the neighbourhood was the more inflamed by their diſagreement in religious opinions. There were not wanting among the people great numbers of Sectaries: Preſbyterians, Anabaptiſts, Quakers, &c. abounded. In this ſituation the Vicar thought himſelf obliged to oppoſe the Diſſenters, and to ſide with thoſe that called themſelves the church. In ſhort, Dr Sacheverell became his idol, and he forſook all his former friends and acquaintances [*E*]. The convocation meeting, together with the new parliament in 1710, Mr Johnſon was choſen a Proctor for the dioceſe of Canterbury (*g*), as he was again in 1713, which year he publiſhed *The unbloody ſacrifice and altar unveiled and ſupported, with a prefatory epiſtle to the Biſhop of Norwich* [*F*]. In this treatiſe he paid a ſingular deference to the judgment of Dr Hickes; his attachment to whom brought him not only to have a mean opinion of the articles and liturgy of the church of England, but he began likewiſe (to the no ſmall amazement of his old friends) to entertain unfavourable thoughts of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, for which he had been ſo zealous at the revolution; and even to impugn the King's ſupremacy, by refuſing to read the cuſtomary prayers on the acceſſion of King George, on the firſt of Auguſt 1715. For this he was complained of to Dr Greene [*G*], then Archdeacon of Canterbury, his old and indulgent friend, who thereupon

[*D*] *He went to reſide at Apuldre.*] Before he left Margate, being appointed to preach at the Archbiſhop's viſitation at Minſtre in 1702, he printed a ſmall tract in half a ſheet called *The miniſter's admonition to thoſe who have not been confirmed*, and was engaged in vindicating the tranſlation of the pſalter in the liturgy of the church of England againſt Mr Baxter and others. This work, wherein he had ſome aſſiſtance from his friend Mr Lewis (*), he finiſhed at Apuldre after much labour and pains, and printed it with his name under, the title of *Holy David and his old Engliſh tranſlators cleared*, &c. in 1706. This was highly commended by Dr Hickes, although his ſkill in the Hebrew was called in queſtion by Mr Clavering (5). His next employment was that of drawing up the clergyman's *Vade mecum*. This was firſt printed in 1705, and again in 1707, both anonymous, but met with ſo favourable a reception from the public, that he publiſhed a ſecond volume in 1709; in the preface to which he firſt broached his notion of the Euchariſt, being juſtly called a ſacrifice. This was cenſured by Dr Trimnell Biſhop of Norwich, in a charge to his clergy the ſame year, which highly offended our author.

[*E*] *He forſook all his former acquaintance.*] Mr Lewis ſays he would ſcarce be commonly civil to them, and obſerves that what contributed to irritate him farther, was the Archbiſhop's refuſal of a ſix preacher's place in the cathedral of Canterbury (6), who gave him however 30l. towards the repair of his pariſh church, for which he was ſolliciting ſubſcriptions.

[*F*] *The unbloody ſacrifice unveiled and ſupported.*] In explaining the nature of the Euchariſt profeſſedly, according to the ſentiments of the Chriſtian church in the four firſt ages, he was thought by many to drop ſome notions favouring the corporal preſence and ſacrifice of the maſs, while the church of England was repreſented as deficient in the adminſtration of the ſacrament. This piece made a great noiſe, and received ſeveral anſwers, but none ſo accurately wrote as that by Dr Daniel Waterland, in his archidiaconal charge, publiſhed in 1736.

[*G*] *Dr Greene.*] This worthy divine was the ſon of Thomas Greene, of St Peter's Mancroft in Norwich, by Sarah his wife, and born there in 1658. He had his education in the free-ſchool of that city till July 8, 1674, when he was ſent to Bennet-college, whereof he afterwards became a ſcholar, and in 1680 fellow and tutor (7). His firſt ſtep from the college was into the family of Sir Stephen Fox, father of the preſent Lord Holland, who made him his domeſtic chaplain by the intereſt of Dr Teniſon, who ſoon after his promotion to the ſee of Canterbury, took him under the ſame relation into his own palace, and collated him April 2, 1695, to the vicarage of Minſtre, in the iſle of Thanet, and procured for him the maſterſhip of his college May 26, 1687 (8). To the ſame patron he was likewiſe obliged for a prebend in the cathedral of Canterbury, into which he was inſtalled in May 1702, as alſo for the rectory of Adiſham cum Staple, in Kent, to which he was collated 28th October, 1708, and for the archdeaconry of Canterbury, into which he was inſtalled the next month, having been choſen before one of the proctors for the clergy in convocation for the dioceſe. Upon theſe preferments he quitted the vicarage of Minſtre, as he did the rectory of Adiſham upon his inſtitution in Feb. 1716, to the vicarage of St Martin's in the Fields, Weſtminſter (9). This he held in commendam with the Biſhopric of Norwich, to which he was conſecrated Oct. 8, 1721, and was tranſlated thence to that of Ely, Sept. 24, 1723, and alſo the maſterſhip of his college, the good government whereof he ſeems to have had much at heart. Soon after he became maſter, he introduced the uſe of public prayers in the chapel immediately after the locking up of the gates, which has been continued ever ſince. Several other uſeful regulations were made in his time concerning ſcholarſhips, their chambers and the library; as alſo in regard to diſcipline and exerciſes. He reſided as much as he could, and when he was obliged to be abſent, took care to ſecure his privileges by an act of chapter of 14th April, 1710, importing that no order or decree made by the maſter and fellows ſhould be reverſed or altered in the abſence of the maſter. In the univerſity he was choſen Vice-chancellor in 1699, and again in 1713, out of the uſual courſe, when notwithſtanding this office was obtruded upon him at a very inconvenient ſeaſon, and 'tis thought with no good deſign, yet in a great variety of buſineſs in his public courts, as well as in viſitations of private colleges, in reſtoring their ſtatutable diſcipline, and in a defence of their juſt rights and privileges, he diſcharged the truſt repoſed in him with great integrity, impartiality, and pru-

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(*f*) He had by his wife two ſons beſides three daughters.

(*g*) This year, in anſwer to Dr Hancock on the Sacrament, he publiſhed *The propitiatory oblation in the holy euchariſt, ſtrictly ſtated from ſcripture, antiquity, and the communion ſervice of the church of England*; to which he added a poſtſcript in anſwer to the Biſhop of Norwich's charge, but without his name to avoid offence.

(*) See his article in this work.

(5) Afterwards Dr Clavering, profeſſor of Hebrew at Oxford, and Biſhop of Peterborough.

(6) Their office is to preach there on Holydays, for which they have a ſtipend of 25l. *per Ann.* with a houſe, and one ſixth of an acre of wood. Maſters, as before.

(7) He proceeded A. B. in 1679, A. M. 1682, B. D. 1690, D. D. by the Abp's faculty, and to the ſame degree by grace of the univerſity in 1695.

(8) The ſame year he reſigned his fellowſhip in favour of Mr Elias Sydall, afterwards Biſhop of Glouceſter. The maſter of the college (Dr Stanley) paying him the compliment of taking him to the chapter with him, for the choice of his ſucceſſor.

(9) To this he was preſented by Abp Teniſon's Truſtees for the diſpoſal of his options, of whom he himſelf was one.

upon ſummoned him to appear before him on Nov. 24th following, which he accordingly complied with; when his anſwer was, *That it was his humble opinion it was at every clergyman's diſcretion whether he would uſe that form or not*; and upon Archbiſhop Teniſon's death the proſecution was dropt out of tenderneſs. This gave Mr Johnſon and his friends more confidence; and after handing about many MS copies of his defence, at length he printed it with the title of *The caſe of a Rector's refuſing to preach a viſitation ſermon at the Archdeacon's command*, in 1721. It was reckoned however a very ungrateful return for Dr Green's lenity, and other perſonal kindneſſes; and his ſucceſſor Dr Bower perceiving it, began that very year the proſecution afreſh, which ended in Mr Johnſon's ſubmiſſion, and delivering up to the Archbiſhop [Wake] (who in conſideration of his great worth and learning treated him with tenderneſs) all the copies of his defence that were unſold, as well as promiſing to print no more. This muſt be no ſmall mortification to a man of his haughty ſpirit, who pretended never to conſult his own ſafety, nor take any care not to dye a martyr; which yet his ſubmiſſive letters to the Archbiſhop effectually confute (*b*). In 1717 he publiſhed *The unbloody ſacrifice*, &c part II (*i*). In 1720 he put forth *A collection of eccleſiaſtical laws, canons*, &c. *concerning the church of England*, in 2 volumes 8vo. deſigned as a continuation of the *Vade mecum* (*k*); and by reaſon of the many Anabaptiſts in his pariſh, he wrote for their uſe, *An admonition to the unbaptized*, &c. and provided withal a font large enough for dipping them if required, but it does not appear ever to have been made uſe of. Mr Lewis conjectures, that the ſubmiſſion he was obliged to make for refuſing to obſerve the occaſional faſts, and printing the reaſons for his diſobedience, together with the death of his only ſon [*H*], which happened about the ſame time, had ſuch an ill effect upon his health, as brought him to his grave on 15th December 1725. He adds moreover that it was this learned man's foible, as of many others, to hold thoſe in the utmoſt contempt who differed from him in his opinions, which he attributes in ſome meaſure to his ſtrong attachment to his own ſpeculations, and to his having been too little converſant with mankind to be patient of contradiction. Archbiſhop Wake uſed to ſtile him *doctus et ſuperbus*, while Dr Brett and the friends of that party are immoderate in their commendations of his learning and diligence in his paſtoral office, exemplary converſation, and agreeableneſs as a companion; inſomuch that what was ſaid of Mr Bingham, they think may be juſtly applied to him, *qui patriarchatum in eccleſia meruit, parochus obiit.* He was interred probably by his own directions in the church-yard of Cranbrooke, cloſe to the wall of the veſtry, and over it was erected an altar-tomb of grey marble, with only this inſcription, JOHN JOHNSON, Vicar; but on a monument of white marble within the veſtry, is another in Latin. He was ſurvived about two years by his mother, who had lived a widow above ſixty years, and to the age of ninety; but the loſs of her ſon was prudently concealed from her by his only ſurviving daughter Mary, who erected his monument, and publiſhed two volumes of his poſthumous ſermons and diſcourſes, wherein his favourite notions are very prevalent. Beſides the tracts already mentioned, he was the author of *The Chriſtian's overthrow prevented and conqueſt given*, in a ſermon before the

prudence; and being called to preſide in the divinity diſputations at the public commencement that year, he acquitted himſelf therein with credit, and beyond expectation, conſidering how unaccuſtomed he had been to the matter, art, and language of ſuch exerciſes, having lived moſt of his time abroad in the world. Nor did he gain leſs credit to the univerſity by the hoſpitable and obliging manner in which he entertained all kind of ſtrangers from all parts of the kingdom, as well as their ſiſter Oxford. After the death of Queen Anne, he appeared remarkably zealous for her ſucceſſor, who gave him the following year an earneſt of future favours, in the appointment of one of his domeſtic chaplains. After the reception of thoſe favours, he ſtill, in his exalted ſtation, remembered his college; he preferred many of its members, and in 1729 gave 200l. for procuring Queen Anne's bounty towards augmenting the curacy, he once had, of St Benedict. He married Catherine, ſiſter to Biſhop Trimnel (and happy was he in the choice of ſo excellent a woman) by whom he had two ſons and ſeven daughters. Thomas, fellow of Bennet and Jeſus college, and regiſter of the dioceſe of Ely, and in 1753 rector of Cottenham, prebendary of Ely, and chancellor of the church of Litchfield: Charles, barriſter at law in 1753, regiſter of the dioceſe, and ſteward of the church of Ely: Catherine died young: Ann married to Charles Clarke, barriſter at law, and afterwards baron of the Exchequer: Margaret to the Rev. Mr Frankland, ſon of the then late Dean of Ely: Elizabeth, in 1753, unmarried: Catherine married Allix, Eſq; ſon of the then Dean of Ely: Sarah married to the Rev. Mr Fulham, Rector of Compton in Surry, Archdeacon of Landaffe, and Canon of Windſor: Mary the youngeſt died ſingle. The Biſhop, after having made a handſome proviſion for this numerous family, died in 1738, above eighty, and was buried on the ſouth ſide of the preſbytery of his own cathedral, where an elegent marble monument was erected to his memory, with a Latin inſcription, to which we refer (10), with Dr Richardſon (11), for his character. He publiſhed five ſermons on various occaſions, between 1715 and 1727 incluſive, beſides *The ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper explained to the meaneſt capacities*, London, 1710, 12mo. *The principles of religion explained for the inſtruction of the weak*, London, 1726, 12mo. and *Four diſcourſes on the four laſt things*, &c. London, 1734, 12mo. of which there has been a new edition ſince, with ſeveral alterations and additions.

[*H*] *The death of his only ſon.*] After inſtructing him in claſſical learning himſelf, as aforementioned, ſufficient for the univerſity, he ſent him in 1704 to Bennet college, before he was fifteen years of age, where he took the degree of A. B. at very little expence, through the kindneſs of Dr Green the maſter, with whom the father had been acquainted when chaplain to the Archbiſhop, and Vicar of the adjoining pariſh of Minſtre, and who ever after retained an affectionate regard for him. This ſon, after proceeding A. M. removed to St John's college, where by his uncle's intereſt he obtained a fellowſhip, and after taking the degree of B. D. was preſented by the univerſity to the rectory of Standiſh in Lancaſhire, of the value of 500l. *per Ann.* which however he had no ſooner got quietly poſſeſſed of than he died of a fever, the conſequence of breaking his leg about Chriſtmas 1723, leaving his father inconſolable for his loſs (12). He was one of five children, four of whom died before him, *viz.* John; Thomas, who was alſo of Bennet college, and died in London; Margaret, who died in her infancy; and one other Margaret, whoſe grave is cloſe to that of her father's (13).

(*b*) Theſe are preſerved among the MSS given by his Grace to the library of Chriſt-Church college, Oxford.

(*i*) The firſt part of which it gave him great ſatisfaction to ſee a ſecond edition called for in 1714, notwithſtanding the many impotent pamphlets, as he called them, wrote againſt it.

(*k*) Moſt of theſe had been before publiſhed in Collier's eccleſiaſtical hiſtory.

(10) It is inſerted in Maſters, p. 182, from whence this account is taken.

(11) In his edition of *Godwin de præſulibus Angliæ*.

(12) Maſters, p. 320.

(13) The inſcription upon his monument.

Queen (Anne) 1705, 4to. as alſo *The reaſons why vice ought to be puniſhed, but is not*, in one at the aſſizes at Maidſtone, 17th March 1707: another preached at Canterbury-ſchool feaſt in September 1716, with a preface, ſhewing that alphabetical letters were never uſed before the time of Moſes, and that he firſt learned the alphabet from God. This, with *The primitive communicant*, *The explanation of Daniel*'s LXX *weeks*, &c. was reprinted by Dr Brett, with his life prefixed, 1748, 8vo. *(I)*.

[*I*] *His life by Dr Brett.*] This gave birth to another life of him, drawn up and ſaid to be collected from his own writings, by John Lewis (14), which he intended to have publiſhed, had not Sir Peter Thompſon (15), to whoſe peruſal he ſubmitted it, diſſuaded him. In an advertiſement prefixed, he avers the collections are honeſtly made, and that the life is written as Mr Johnſon lived it, and that it was drawn up to do juſtice to the memory of ſome worthy men ſince dead, who have been groſly miſrepreſented in a particular and inaccurate account of Mr Johnſon, by an indiſcreet zealot (viz. Dr Brett) in the General Dict. vol. vi.

(14) An account of whom is inſerted in this work, vol. v.

(15) A fellow member of his in the ſociety of antiquarians, who communicated the MS to Mr Maſters.

JONES [Inigo]. Since this article was printed off, the public has been favoured with *The anecdotes of painters*, &c. by Mr Walpole, where ſpeaking of Inigo Jones, he informs us that in 1620 he was employed in a manner very unworthy of his genius: King James, ſays he, ſet him upon diſcovering, that is gueſſing, who were the founders of Stone-henge. His ideas were all romanized; conſequently his partiality to his favourite people, which ought rather to have prevented him from charging them with that maſs of barbarous clumſineſs, made him conclude it a Roman temple. It is remarkable, that whoever has treated of that monument, has beſtowed on it whatever claſs of antiquity he was peculiarly fond of; and there is not a heap of ſtones in theſe northern countries from which nothing can be proved, but has been made to depoſe in favour of theſe fantaſtical hypotheſes. Where there was ſo much room for viſions, the Phoenicians could not avoid coming in for their ſhare of the foundation; and for Mr Toland's part, he diſcovered a little Stone-henge in Ireland, built by the druideſs *Gæalcopa* (who does not know the druideſs Gæalcopa)? who lived at Iniſoen, in the county of Donegal.

In the reſtoration of St Paul's cathedral, Jones made two capital faults: he firſt renewed the ſides with very bad Gothic, and then added a Roman portico, magnificent and beautiful indeed, but which had no affinity with the ancient parts that remained, and made his own Gothic appear ten times heavier. He committed the ſame error at Wincheſter, thruſting a ſcreen in the Roman or Grecian taſte into the middle of that cathedral. He was indeed by no means ſucceſsful when he attempted Gothic. The chapel of Lincoln's-Inn has none of the characteriſtics of that architecture; the cloyſter beneath ſeems oppreſſed by the weight of the building above. The authors of the life of Jones place the erecting of the Banquetting-houſe in the reign of King Charles, but it appears from the account of Nicholas Stone, that it was begun in 1619, and finiſhed in two years. Several plates of the intended palace have been given, but Mr Walpole thinks from no finiſhed deſign. The four great ſheets are evidently made up from general hints, nor could ſuch a ſource of invention and taſte as the mind of Inigo, ever produce ſo much ſameneſs; the ſtrange ſort of cherubims on the towers at the end are prepoſterous ornaments, and whether of Inigo or not, bear no relation to the reſt; the great towers in the front are too near, and evidently borrowed from what he had ſeen in Gothic not in Roman buildings; the circular court is a pictureſque thought, but without meaning or utility. The whole fabric, however, was ſo glorious an idea, that one forgets for a moment, in the regret for its not being executed, the confirmation of our liberties, obtained by a melancholy ſcene that paſſed before the windows of that very Banquetting-houſe.

In 1623 he was employed at Somerſet-houſe, where a chapel was to be fitted up for the Infanta, the intended bride of the Prince. The chapel is ſtill in being. The front of Somerſet-houſe to the river, and the water-gate, were erected afterwards on the deſign of Inigo, as was the gate at York-ſtairs.

His fee as ſurveyor was eight ſhillings and four pence a day, with an allowance of 46l. a year for houſe-rent, beſides a clerk and incidental expences; what greater rewards he had are not upon record.

Mr Walpole is of opinion, that the celebrated feſtivals of Lewis XIV were copied from the ſhews (*) exhibited at White-hall. Lord Burlington had a folio of theſe ſolemnities by Inigo's own hand, conſiſting of habits, maſques, ſcenes, &c. Laniere and Feraboſco compoſed the ſymphonies. In proceeding, having mentioned the quarrel between Jones and Ben Jonſon, another perſon, ſays he, who ſeems to have born much reſentment to Jones, was Philip Earl of Pembroke. In the Harleian library there is an edition of Stone-henge, which formerly belonged to that Earl, the margin whereof were full of abuſe of Jones and others. Earl Philip's reſentment was probably occaſioned by ſome diſagreement while Jones was employed at Wilton; there he built that noble front in a grotto, at the end of the water. Wilton is one of the principal objects in the hiſtory of arts and the Belles Lettres: Sir Philip Sidney wrote his Arcadia there for his ſiſter; Vandyck drew many of the race; Holbein and Jones imagined the buildings; Earl Thomas completed the collection of pictures, and aſſembled that throng of ſtatues; and the laſt, Earl Henry, has ſhewn by a bridge deſigned by himſelf, that had Jones never lived, Wilton might yet have been a *villa* worthy of ancient Rome.

(*) Or maſques.

The works of Inigo Jones are not ſcarce; Surgeon's-hall is one of his beſt works(†). One of the moſt admired is the arcade of Covent-garden, and the church. Two ſtructures, ſays Mr Walpole, of which I want taſte to ſee the beauties. In the arcade there is nothing remarkable; the pilaſters (in the front of the houſes) are as arrant and homely ſtripes as any plaſterer would make: the barn roof over the portico of the church ſtrikes my eyes with as little idea of the dignity or beauty, as it could do if it covered nothing but a barn. It muſt be owned that the defect is not in the architect, but in the order—Whoever ſaw a beautiful Tuſcan building?—Would the Romans have choſen that order for a temple? The expence of building that church was 4500l.

(†) This has been ſince taken down, and a new one built upon a plan of Lord Burlington.

Ambreſbury in Wiltſhire was deſigned by Jones, but executed by his ſcholar Web. Jones was one of the firſt that obſerved the ſame diminution in pilaſters as in pillars. Lindſay-houſe in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, which he built, owes its chief grace to this ſingularity. In 1618 a ſpecial commiſſion was iſſued to the Lord Chancellor, the Earls of Worceſter, Pembroke, Arundel, and others, to plant and reduce to uniformity Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, as it ſhall be drawn by way of map or ground-plot by Inigo Jones, ſurveyor general of the works. That ſquare is laid out with regard to ſo trifling a ſingularity, as to be of the exact dimenſions of one of the pyramids: this would have been admired in thoſe ages, when the *Keep* at Kenelworth-caſtle was erected in the form of a horſe-fetter, and the eſcurial in the ſhape of St Laurence's grid-iron.

Coleſhill in Berkſhire, the ſeat of Sir Matthew Pleydell, built in 1650, and Cobham-hall in Kent, were Jones's. He was employed to rebuild Caſtle Aſhby, and finiſhed one front; but the civil war interrupted his progreſs there, and at Stoke-park in Northamptonſhire. Shafteſbury houſe, now the London Lying-in hoſpital, on the eaſt ſide of Alderſgate-ſtreet, is a beautiful front. The Grange, the ſeat of Lord Chancellor Henley in Hampſhire, is intirely of this maſter: it is not a large houſe, but by far one of the beſt proofs of his taſte: the hall, which opens to a ſmall veſtibule with a cupola, and the ſtair-caſe adjoining, are beautiful models of the pureſt and moſt claſſic antiquity.

The gate of Beaufort-garden at Chelſea, deſigned by Jones, was purchaſed by Lord Burlington, and tranſported to Chiſwick, where in a temple are ſome wooden ſeats, with lions and other animals for arms, not of his moſt delicate imagination, brought from Tart-hall. He drew a plan for the palace at Newmarket, but not that wretched hovel that ſtands there at preſent. One of the moſt beautiful of his works is the Queen's houſe at Greenwich. The firſt idea of the hoſpital is ſaid to have been taken by his ſcholar Web from his papers.

Inigo taſted early the misfortunes of his maſter: he was not only a favourite, but a Roman Catholic. In 1646 he paid 545l. for his delinquency and ſequeſtration. Whether it was before or after this fine is uncertain, that he and Stone the maſon buried their joint ſtock of ready money in Scotland-yard, but an order being publiſhed to encourage the informers of ſuch concealments, and four perſons being privy to the ſpot where the money was hid, it was taken up and reburied in Lambeth-marſh.

Grief, misfortunes, and age, put an end to his life at Somerſet-houſe July 21, 1651.

JUSTELL [Henry], a learned French refugee, was born at Paris in 1620, and being the ſon of Chriſtopher Juſtell, a gentleman of rank, was educated in a genteel way, made a diſtinguiſhed figure in the literary republic, and after his father's death was made ſecretary and counſellor to the *grand monarque* Lewis XIV. In this ſtation he was a remarkable encourager of learning, not only to thoſe of his own country, but foreigners, who during their abode at Paris made his houſe their uſual reſort. Mr Juſtell always profeſſed a particular reſpect for the Engliſh, and had an acquaintance with many eminent ſcholars of our nation. Among theſe were, as hath been already mentioned (*a*), Mr Locke and Dr Hickes, by the latter of whom he ſent the original manuſcript in Greek of the *Canones eccleſiæ univerſalis*, publiſhed by his father Chriſtopher Juſtell [*A*], and other choice MSS, to be preſented to the univerſity of Oxford, where ſo handſome a benefaction was received with all the reſpect due to its merit by that learned body, who in return honoured the benefactor with the degree of LL. D. by diploma [*B*] June 23, 1675 (*b*). The preſent was apparently made in the view of paving his way to follow it. He grew uneaſy with the public adminiſtration of affairs at home. He foreſaw the intended revocation of the Edict of Nants, and even mentioned the very time of that perſecution of the

(*a*) Under their reſpective articles.

(*b*) Wood's Faſti Oxon, vol. ii. col. 199.

[*A*] *Chriſtopher Juſtell.*] This gentleman was born at Paris March 5, 1580; having excellent parts, and a ſtrong bent to letters, he made a great progreſs therein at ſchool; after which applying to the ſtudy of the councils and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, he publiſhed the piece above-mentioned. He held a literary correſpondence with the moſt learned men of his time, as Archbp Uſher, Saumaiſe, Blondel, Sir Henry Spelman, and ſeveral others till his death, which happened at Paris in 1649, leaving the character of knowing more of the middle age than any man of his time (1). Beſides the *Code* already mentioned, he publiſhed in 1645, *The genealogical hiſtory of the houſe of Auvergne*; as alſo divers collections of Greek and Latin canons from ſeveral MSS, which formed the *Bibliotheca juris canonici veteris*, publiſhed at Paris in 1661, in 2 vol. fol. by his ſon Henry William, and Voet.

(1) Moreri ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *His degree of Diploma.*] Mr Wood declares him (2) to be a moſt noted and learned man, and, as the public regiſter faith, *Non modo omni ſcientiarum et virtutum genere per ſe excelluit, verum etiam parentis optimi et eruditiſſ. Chriſtoph. Juſtelli, doctrinam et merita ornando atq; excolendo, ſua fecit.*

(2) In his Faſti as above.

Proteſtants to Dr Hickes in 1674, eleven years before it happened (*c*) [*C*]. Thus forewarned he withdrew from Paris in 1687, came to London, where he was well received, and in 1686 was appointed deputy keeper of the King's library at St James's. In this ſtation he behaved with a commendable diligence, drew up a catalogue of the printed books and MSS in the library, and continued in poſſeſſion of his place till his death, which happened in 1692 (*d*), aged 72 years (*e*).

[*C*] *Eleven years before it happened.*] There is ſomething ſo remarkable in this affair, that it is worth inſerting at length from the account of it by Doctor Hickes (3). That gentleman in his travels abroad making a conſiderable ſtay at Paris, ſet apart one day in the week for viſiting Mr Juſtell, who always received him in the moſt obliging manner, and converſed with the utmoſt freedom. In one of theſe viſits, after ſome diſcourſe about the Proteſtant churches, obſerved by Dr Hickes to be in many places demoliſhed, notwithſtanding the edict of Nantes, which Mr Juſtell excuſed as no violation of that edict, ſince they had been irregularly erected after the publication of it, he proceeded thus: 'Alas, Sir, as I am 'wont to talk in confidence with you, ſo I will tell a 'ſecret ſcarcely known to any one beſides myſelf: 'our extirpation (meaning the Proteſtants) is decreed; 'we muſt all turn Papiſts or be baniſhed our country: 'I tell it you becauſe I intend to come into England, 'where I have many friends; and that when I come 'to ſee you among the reſt, you may remember that 'I told it you. Upon this I aſked him how long it 'would be before this ſad perſecution would be executed; he anſwered, within four or five years at 'moſt; and remember, ſays he again, that I foretold 'the time.' After he had been a while at London, he made a viſit to the Doctor at his houſe on Tower-hill, where preſently after the common forms of congratulating one another, he ſaid, 'Sir, don't you re'member what I told you of the perſecution we have 'ſince ſuffered, and of the time when it would begin; 'and now you ſee all has accordingly come to 'paſs (4).'

(*c*) Which was not till Oct. 22, 1685. L'Advocat's dict. portat. under Lewis xiv.

(*d*) See the article of Patrick Young, in remark [*H*].

(*e*) Moreri ſays he died 24th Sept. 1693, at the age of 73. Dict. vol. v. edit. 1740, in 8 vols. folio.

(3) In a letter to a friend.

(4) It was about the time that the *Bill of Excluſion* was thrown out of the Houſe of Lords.

KNELLER

K.

This article is taken from our painter's life inſerted in *The Art of Painting*, &c. Lond. third edit. 8vo.

KNELLER [Sir Godfrey], an eminent painter, who flouriſhed and died in England, though he was born, in 1646 (*a*), at Lubeck, a city of Holſtein in Denmark, where his father, Zachary Kneller, was chief ſurveyor to that Prince [*A*]. He deſigning his ſon for ſome military employ, reſolved to give him a ſuitable education; and after ſeeing him ſufficiently inſtructed in the Latin tongue, he ſent him to Leyden, where he ſtudied fortification. But his genius leading him ſtrongly to the pencil, he began to draw figures in the hiſtorical manner, and ſoon made ſuch improvements that way, as engaged his father to change his firſt intention for that of painting. In which view he was removed to Amſterdam, and placed under the care of Rembrandt [*B*], then the moſt famous painter in Holland. The diſciple, however, not reliſhing his maſter's guſto, where exact deſign and true proportion were wanting, his father ſent him into Italy, at the age of ſeventeen, and committed him to the care of a near relation. He ſtudied at Rome under the favourable influence of Carlo Marat and the Chevalier Bernini, and began to acquire fame in hiſtory painting (*b*). He then removed to Venice, where he received great marks of civility from the *Donati*, the *Gartoni*, and many other noble families, for whom he drew ſeveral hiſtories, portraits, and family pictures, by which his fame was conſiderably increaſed in that city. This, however, could not detain him there; by the importunity of ſome friends he was prevailed upon to come to England, where his merit ſoon made him known at court. He was made principal painter to King Charles II. and, by the recommendation of the Duke of Monmouth, he drew his Majeſty's picture more than once (*c*). The King alſo ſent him into France, to draw the picture of the Grand Monarch, where he had the honour likewiſe of drawing moſt of the royal family, for which he received conſiderable preſents from that great promoter of arts and ſciences; but this could not influence him to ſtay long in that kingdom, although it happened at the death of his patron Charles II. At his return he was well received by King James and his Queen, and conſtantly employed by them till the Revolution; after which he continued principal painter to King William, who dignified him with the honour of knighthood (*d*); the univerſity of Oxford alſo conferred on him the degree of D. C. L. Nov. 9, 1695 (*e*); and the Emperor Leopold created him a Knight of the Empire [*C*] by

(*a*) It is collected from his monument, cited below.

(*b*) He had firſt ſtudied architecture, and particularly anatomy, which diſpoſed him to reliſh the antique ſtatues, and to improve by them.

(*c*) His Majeſty uſed to come and ſit to him at his houſe in Covent-Garden, particularly diverted by his witty converſation, an inſtance of which is ſeen in Dr Ratcliffe's article.

(*d*) Neither this king nor queen ever ſat to any other perſon.

(*e*) Catalogue of Oxford degrees.

[*A*] *His father*, &c.] The old gentleman's father, our painter's grandfather, had an eſtate near Hall in Saxony, where he lived in great eſteem among ſeveral Princes of Germany, eſpecially with Count Mansfelt and the Biſhop of Hall; to the former of whom he was ſurveyor general of his mines, and inſpector of his revenues. He had one ſon by his wife, who was of the family of Crowſon, on whom he beſtowed a liberal education at the univerſity of Leipſic, from whence he removed into Sweden, being employed by Queen Eleanor, dowager of the great Guſtavus Adolphus, with whom he was in great favour. He afterwards ſettled and married at Lubeck.

[*B*] *Rembrandt.*] This Flemiſh painter, ſurnamed Van Rein (1); was the ſon of a miller, and born near Leyden in 1600, who had him only taught to read. His turn lay powerfully towards painting, and one Leſman, a tolerable good painter, of Amſterdam, was his maſter; but he owed all the ſkill in his profeſſion to the ſtrength of his own genius. We muſt not expect to find correctneſs of deſign, or a guſto of the antique in his works; he had old pieces of armour, old inſtruments, old head-dreſſes, and abundance of old ſtuff of various ſorts, hanging up in his workſhop, which he called his antiques (2). His ſole aim was to imitate living nature, ſuch as it appeared to him; and the living nature which he had continually before his eyes being of the heavy kind, it is no wonder that he ſhould imbibe as he did the bad taſte of his country. He formed a manner intirely new and peculiar to himſelf, and drew abundance of portraits with wonderful ſtrength, ſweetneſs, and reſemblance. Even in his etching, which was dark (3), and as particular as his ſtyle in painting, every individual ſtroke did its part, and expreſſed the very fleſh as well as the ſpirit it repreſented. The union and harmony in all his compoſitions are ſuch as we ſeldom find in other maſters. He underſtood the charo oſcuro in the higheſt degree: his local colours are a help to each other, and appear beſt by compariſon; and his carnations are as true, as freſh, and as perfect as Titian's. He was a ſingularity in his behaviour as well as in his painting: he was a humouriſt of the firſt order, though a man of ſenſe and fine genius. He affected an old-faſhioned ſlovenly dreſs, and loved mean and pitiful company, though he had acquired wherewithal to keep the beſt; of which being told by ſome of his friends, he anſwered, 'When I have a mind to unbend or refreſh my mind, I ſeek not honour ſo much as liberty.' And this humour he indulged, till (as it not unfrequently happens) he reduced his fortunes to a level with the pooreſt of his companions. He died at Amſterdam in 1668. He married in Holland, and engraved his own and his wife's portrait together. There are extant about 280 prints of his drawing, his own portrait is in ſeveral of them. Three or four of the dates ſhew that he was at Venice in 1635 and 1636.

[*C*] *A knight of the empire.*] The patent was ſent him by Count Wratiſtan, then the Emperor's ambaſſador in England. There was an acknowledgment made in it of the ſervices of his anceſtors to the houſe

(1) He took this ſurname from the place of his birth in a village ſituated on an arm of the Rhine, which runs thro' Leyden.

(2) Yet he was very curious in getting Italian prints and drawings, of which he had a noble treaſure, tho' he made little or no uſe of them.

(3) He did not always like to have his prints worked off on white paper, ſeveral are done on paper faintly ſtained, chiefly on China paper, which is of a reddiſh tint, and theſe proofs are very much ſought after by the curious.

by patent in 1700, preſented him with a rich gold chain and medal, and ſent him to draw the Elector of Bavaria's picture at Bruſſels. At length he began to change his ſtyle and manner of colouring, and to imitate Reubens, whom he judged to have come neareſt to nature in that reſpect of any other [*D*]. King George I. created him a Baronet of Great Britain, which he enjoyed only a few years, being taken off in a very advanced age towards the end of that reign [*E*]. He always lived in the greateſt eſteem and reputation, abounding no leſs in wealth than ſplendor, and in both far ſurpaſſing any of his predeceſſors. He ſpent the latter part of his time at Whitton near Hampton-court, where he built a houſe after a complete manner, and furniſhed it, in all reſpects, accordingly. His ſingular humanity and addreſs, added to the pleaſantry of his converſation, together with his ſkill in muſic and languages, recommended him to the friendſhip and familiarity of many noble perſons, particularly the Duke of Devonſhire, the Earl of Leiceſter, the Earl of Dorſet, and many others. Beſides the honours already mentioned, he was admitted a Gentleman of the Privy-chamber to King William, Queen Anne, and King George I. and was Deputy Lieutenant of the county of Middleſex, and in the commiſſion of the peace for that and other counties, in ſeveral reigns. Moſt of the nobility and gentry of Great Britain had their pictures drawn by him, from which a great number of mezzotinto and other prints were engraved. His pictures in public places are mentioned below [*F*].

of Auſtria, and he was inſcribed by it in the number and ſociety of noblemen, with all the privileges of ſuch as have enjoyed the ſame honour for four deſcents paternal and maternal.

[*D*] *He imitated Reubens's colouring.*] But not in his deſigning. Sir Godfrey being very exact in his draught, no painter ever excelled him in a ſure outline, and graceful diſpoſal of his figures, nor took a better reſemblance of a face, which he ſeldom failed to expreſs in the moſt handſome and agreeable turn of it, always adding to it a mien and grace ſuitable to the character and peculiar to the perſon he repreſented.

[*E*] *He died towards the end of that reign.*] In the north iſle of Weſtminer abbey, where he was buried, there is a noble marble monument erected to his memory, with this inſcription:

M. S.

Godfredi Kneller, Equitis Romani Imperii & Angliæ Baronetti, Pictoris Regibus Carolo II. Jacobo II. Gulielmo III. Annæ, & Georgio I. qui obiit 26 Oct. 1723. ætat. 77.

Beneath are theſe lines, written by Mr Pope:

Kneller, by heav'n and not a maſter taught,
Whoſe art was nature, and whoſe pictures thought;
When now two ages he had ſav'd from fate
Whate'er was beauteous, and whate'er was great,
Reſts crown'd with princes honours, poets lays,
Due to his merit, and bright thirſt of praiſe.
Living, great nature fear'd he might outvie
Her works; and dying, fears herſelf to die (4).

[*F*] *His pictures in public places.*] They are theſe: King William on a white horſe, at Hampton-court; the celebrated beauties of his times, there alſo; the King of Spain Charles III. afterwards Emperor, when he was in England, at Windſor; a Chineſe convert there, a whole length; the Duke of Glouceſter, Queen Anne's ſon, at the lower houſe built by her Majeſty there; King George, at Guildhall London; Dr Wallis, and his own picture, in the ſchool gallery at Oxford; his own ſtair-caſe at Whitton, moſt part of it drawn by himſelf, the reſt by *La Guerre*; a family piece for the Duke of Bucks; Queen and the Duke of Glouceſter; the Kit cat club, at Mr Tonſon the bookſeller's ſeat at Barn-Elms; Sir Iſaac Newton, Lady Mary Wortley Montague.

It is ſomewhat remarkable of this painter, that he had the honour to draw ten crowned heads, namely, four Kings of England and three Queens, the Czar of Muſcovy while he was in England, Charles III. King of Spain, and the French King Lewis XIV. beſides ſeveral Electors and Princes. He painted alſo the heads of all the Engliſh Admirals, which are done very indifferently, and are, among many others, ſo many glaring proofs that he did not always conſult his fame, but often his gain; he could finiſh from the beginning three or four of theſe pieces in one day. P

(4) Mr Pope, it is confeſſed, was far from excelling in monumental inſcriptions, and this in particular is univerſally condemned. The two laſt lines are a literal tranſlation of the two laſt lines of Cardinal Bembo's Latin verſes upon Raphael's monument, and is a ſacrifice of common ſenſe to fulſome adulation.

◆

KNOT [Edward], a learned Engliſh Jeſuit, born at Pegſworth, near Morpeth in Northumberland, in 1580; and bred to the church, he took prieſts orders, and entered among the Jeſuits in 1606, at the age of twenty-ſix years. He taught divinity a long time at the Engliſh college at Rome, and was a rigid obſerver of that diſcipline himſelf, which he as rigidly exacted from others. He was afterwards appointed ſub-provincial of the province of England; and after he had exerciſed that employment out of the kingdom, he was ſent thither to perform the functions of provincial, and was twice honoured with that employ. He aſſiſted as provincial at the general aſſembly of the order of the Jeſuits held at Rome in 1646, and was elected one of the definitors [*A*]. Returning to England, he died at London, January 4, 1656, and was buried next day at St Pancras church near that city. The warm controverſy he held againſt Mr Chillingworth (*a*), was of ſingular ſervice in perpetuating his memory, and is the only reaſon of giving him a place in theſe memoirs. Beſides the pieces in that diſpute, he wrote *Monita utiliſſima pro patribus miſſionis Anglicanæ*, 'Moſt uſeful advices for the fathers of the Engliſh miſſion.' But this book was not printed, for political reaſons, which, ſays Mr Des Maizeaux (*b*), from whom the preſent memoir is extracted, are eaſy enough to be conceived.

(*a*) See Mr Chillingworth's article.

(*b*) In his Life of Chillingworth.

[*A*] *Elected one of the definitors.*] He was undoubtedly well qualified for that office. His works ſhew him to be a perſon of great acuteneſs in reaſoning, and to have no contemptible ſhare of learning. Accordingly, we find him repreſented by his party to be a man of low ſtature, but of very great abilities, *Vir magnis animi dotibus humili in corpore præditus* (1). P

(1) *Bibliotheca patrum ſocietatis Jeſu.*

KUSTER [Ludolph], a learned critic, who flouriſhed ſome time in England, was born in February 1670, at Blomberg, a ſmall town in the county of Lippe in Weſtphalia, where his father, Ludolph Kuſter, was a magiſtrate. He was admitted very young under his elder brother, who taught polite literature in the college of Joachim at Berlin; and having ſoon made a diſtinguiſhed progreſs in his ſtudies, he was appointed, upon the recommendation of Baron Spanheim, tutor to the two ſons of the Count de Schwerin, prime miniſter of the King of Pruſſia, who, upon our author's quitting this ſtation, procured for him from that King a penſion of four hundred livres; he had likewiſe the promiſe of a profeſſorſhip of polite learning in the college of Joachim; but till that ſhould be vacant, he reſolved to travel abroad, being then no more than twenty-five years of age. He went firſt to Francfort upon the Oder, where he ſtudied the civil law for ſome time [*A*], and thence to Antwerp, Leyden, and laſtly to Utrecht, where he ſtaid a conſiderable time, and wrote ſeveral works [*B*]. Having collected ſome money by this means, and by reading lectures upon the public law to the German noblemen, he left Utrecht in 1699, and croſſed the ſea to England; from whence he went to France in the beginning of the next year, in order to collate *Suidas*, with three manuſcripts in the King's library. With theſe he returned to England about the end of the year, and in four years finiſhed his edition of that Greek lexicon, which was printed in 1705, in three volumes folio, at Cambridge (*a*), where he was honoured with the degree of L. L. D. and had many advantageous offers to continue in that univerſity, which, however, he was obliged to wave, being recalled to Berlin, to be inſtalled in the fore-mentioned promiſed profeſſorſhip. This was performed, but finding his patrons retired from court, and his ſalary precarious, chiefly on account of his principles, which inclined to Arianiſm, ſo that meaſures were taken to make him uneaſy, he retired to Amſterdam, where he publiſhed *Iamblicus*, *Porphyrius*, and *Anonymus apud Photium de vita Pythagoræ*, in 1707, 4to. at the ſame time he alſo reprinted Dr Mills's *New Teſtament* (*b*), and publiſhed *Ariſtophanes* in Greek and Latin, both in 1710, folio, as alſo ſome additional remarks upon *Suidas*. His banker failing, he was reduced to extreme poverty, and happening at that very juncture to be invited to Paris by his old friend Abbé *Bignon*, he was prevailed on, in 1713, to join himſelf to the Gallican church [*C*], where he was promiſed all the favour and diſtinction any convert could expect. The French King rewarded him with a penſion of two thouſand livres, and he was preſently admitted a member of the Royal Academy of Inſcriptions. In 1714 he ſent Mr *Waſſe* a preſent of his book *De vero uſu verborum mediorum*, &c (*c*). He afterwards preſented the ſame friend with ſome queries upon *Heſychius*, on whom, before he had left England, he had made about five thouſand emendations. His queries were not over difficult, and from thence Mr Waſſe gueſſed his health to be much impaired; which proved true, for after being let blood five or ſix times for a fever, he died October 12, 1716, of an abſceſs in the pancreas, being only forty-ſix years of age. Upon opening his body, there was found a cake of ſand round the lower region of his belly. This ſeems to be occaſioned by his ſitting in a manner double, and writing on a very low table, ſurrounded with three or four circles of books placed on the ground. He had a clear head, cool and proper for debate; his behaviour was quiet and inoffenſive, and I am perſuaded, ſays Mr Waſſe, the laſt error of his life was almoſt the only one, and will, by charitable perſons, be placed in good meaſure to the account of his deplorable circumſtances: for if oppreſſion, which only affects a part, will, why ſhould not the loſs of all one's fortunes, purchaſed with ſo much labour, *make a wiſe man mad?* The ſame writer repreſents him as a tall, thin, pale man, ſeemingly unable to bear fatigue, but was, nevertheleſs, indefati-

(*a*) In the title page he ſtyles himſelf *Profeſſor humaniorum literarum in Gymnaſio Berolinenſi.*

(*b*) Kuſter prefixed a preface, which is followed by a letter of Le Clerc concerning Dr Mills's work. See that Doctor's article, Vol. V. p. 3103. remark [C].

(*c*) It was printed that year at Paris.

[*A*] *Francfort upon the Oder.*] Here he publiſhed *Hiſtoria critica Homeri* in 1696, 8vo. under the name of *Neocorus*, which in the Greek ſignifies *a ſexton*, as *Kuſter* does in High Dutch. The book ſhews a great extent of reading, but nothing more. He found afterwards himſelf, that he had commenced author too ſoon.

[*B*] *Several works at Utrecht.*] Theſe came out ſeparately, and were intituled *Bibliotheca librorum collecta, à L. Neocoro*, Utrecht, 5 tomes, 8vo. It was continued from April 1697 to the end of 1699. There was alſo publiſhed in Holland, under the name *Grævius*, and with the title of *Nova cohors muſarum*, a ſmall tract of Kuſter, written in 1699, for the inſtruction of ſome young noblemen.

[*C*] *He joined the Gallican church.*] So ſays Mr Waſſe; but we have a different account of all this from Le Clerc, who tells us: That the firſt profeſſor of the college of Joachim dying, our author imagined that the date of his appointment, which he carried as high as the moment of his departure, and new title that he had obtained of the King's librarian, gave him a claim to that poſt of honour, he accordingly reſented the giving it, though to a profeſſor prior to him. At the end of the year the treaſurer, who paid the profeſſors, demanding a fee out of his ſtipend, Kuſter refuſed to allow it; and exclaiming the ſecond time againſt it as an injuſtice, propoſed at laſt to reſign his places for a ſum of money. The treaſurer taking him at his word, he received ten thouſand livres, and returned to Holland; and going to Amſterdam, after boarding there ſome time, he took a houſe. He had gained ſome money by his edition of *Suidas*, and was aſſiſted by ſome of his relations; but the expence of living at Amſterdam put him upon removing to Rotterdam, in the view of living cheaper, though he found himſelf miſtaken. He went ſome time after to Antwerp, to confer with the Jeſuits with regard to his doubts about religion, and being proſelyted by them to Popery, he abjured the Proteſtant way, July 25, 1713, in the church of the Noviciate, belonging to the Jeſuits. On the other hand, Mr Waſſe tells us, that Kuſter declared to him how he had not been obliged to make a formal recantation, or condemn the Reformed by any expreſs act of his, but merely to conform,

Sed non eſt nobis tantas componere lites.

gable,

gable, and of an uncommon application to letters [*D*]. He formed himſelf under Grævius. He was a profound admirer of Dr Bentley, and, like him, uſed to relax and forget his labours at Cambridge over a bottle, in the poetical way, or in converſing upon antiquities, coins, inſcriptions, and obſcure paſſages of the antients. Sometimes he performed on the ſpinnet at the muſic club, and was accounted a good maſter. His chief companions there were Dr Syke and Joſhua Barnes the Hebrew and Greek profeſſors, beſides Davies, Needham, Oddy, and Mr Waſſe, from whoſe letter before cited, and Le Clerc, this article is chiefly extracted.

[*D*] *An uncommon application to letters.*] He was a great maſter of the Latin tongue, and wrote well in it, but his chief excellence lay in Greek, to which he almoſt entirely devoted himſelf. He conſidered the hiſtory and chronology of Greek words (theſe were his uſual expreſſions) as the moſt ſolid entertainment of a man of letters. Upon this account he deſpiſed all other parts of learning; and Mr Themiſeul relates in his Letters, that this zealous grammarian meeting one day with Mr Bayle's *Commentaire philoſophique* in a bookſeller's ſhop, he threw it down, and ſaid, 'This is nothing but a book of reaſoning:' *non ſic itur ad aſtra* (1). It is certain that he took another way to fame, as is ſeen in his works, ſome of which have been already mentioned; the reſt are, 1. *Diatriba L. K. in qua editio Suidæ Cantab. contra cavillationes J. G.* [Gronovii] *defenditur*, publiſhed in Biblioth. choiſie, tome xxiv. and again, with the title of *Diatriba Anti-Gronoviana*, at Amſterdam 1712, 8vo. 2. *De muſæo Alexandrino diatriba*, in Gronovius's collection of Greek antiquities, tome viij. 3. *Picturæ antiquæ ſepulchri Naſoniorum, &c. ex Italica linguæ in Latinam tranſtulit L. Neocorus*, edit. in Grævius's Roman antiquities, tome xii. 4. *Epiſtola in qua præfatio quam V. C. J. P.* [Jacobus Perizonius] *noviſſimæ diſſertationi ſuæ de ære gravi præpoſuit, refellitur*, Leyden 1713, 8vo. 5. *Explication d'ancienne inſcription Greque envoyee de Smyrne*, inſerted in Memoirs de Trevoux for September 1715. 6. *Examen criticum editionis noviſſimæ Herodoti Gronovianæ*, inſerted in Le Clerc's *Bibl. ancienne et moderne*, tome v. p. 383, & ſeq. 7. Our author alſo publiſhed a ſpecimen of a new edition of Robert Stephens's *Theſaurus*, with great improvements, in La Roche's Memoirs of literature, Vol. V. p. 298, & ſeq. 8. Three Latin letters upon criticiſm to Mr Waſſe, which are in the General Dictionary.

(1) Memoirs de Trevoux Mars 1717. Nouvelles Lettres du 19 Dec. 1716 et du 9 Jan. 1717.

L.

LELY [Sir Peter], an eminent painter of the Engliſh ſchool; though a native of Germany, and born in Weſtphalia in 1617; after learning the rudiments of his art at the Hague, he was put under the care of De Grebber [A]. His natural bent of genius lay to landſkips with ſmall figures, as likewiſe hiſtorical compoſitions, which he followed intirely till his coming to England, whither the particular encouragement given by King Charles I. to his art drew him, in 1641. He had not been long here before he found it expedient to quit the choice of landſkip and hiſtory for face-painting, which was more encouraged (a); he therefore turned his ſtudy that way, and ſucceeded ſo well therein, that in a ſhort time he ſurpaſſed all his contemporaries in Europe. The perpetual throng of buſineſs in which he became involved, hindered him from going to finiſh his ſtudies as he deſired in Italy; but the gains thereof furniſhing him with money, he reſolved to make himſelf amends, by getting a collection of the beſt drawings, prints, and paintings of the moſt celebrated Italian hands. This he ſet about ſo induſtriouſly, that at length he completed his deſign, and may well be ſaid to have had the beſt choſen collection of any of his time. The advantage he reaped from this expedient, ſufficiently appears by that wonderful ſtyle of the pencil, which he acquired by his daily converſing with the works of thoſe great men. In his correct draught and beautiful colouring, but more eſpecially in the graceful airs of his heads, and the pleaſing variety of his poſtures, together with the genteel and looſe management of his draperies, he excelled moſt of his predeceſſors, and will be a laſting pattern to all ſucceeding artiſts. However, *quiſque ſuos patimur manes*; no artiſt is without his defects; Lely preferred, almoſt in all his faces, a languiſhing air, long eyes, and a drowſy ſweetneſs peculiar to himſelf, for which the critics account him a manneriſt [B]. He alſo retained a little of the greeniſh caſt in his complexions, not eaſily forgetting the colours he had uſed in his landſkips; but this fault, how true ſoever at firſt, it is well known he left off in his latter days. It is certain his works are in great eſteem abroad, as well as here. The various beauties done by his hand ſufficiently evince his

(a) Philip Earl of Pembroke recommended him to Charles I. whoſe picture he drew when priſoner at Hampton-court.

[A] *The diſciple of De Grebber.*] We have no particular account of this De Grebber. From his diſciple's firſt practice, it is probable that his chief talent lay in ſmall hiſtory and converſation pieces, in which another of his diſciples, Egbert Hemſkirk, excelled, who flouriſhed in England, though a native of Haerlem in Holland. He became very eminent for painting drolls, after the manner of *Brower*. His groſs and comical genius ſucceeded for a long while among us. In moſt of his converſations you may ſee the picture, and read the manners of the man at the ſame time; but as to the painting part, there is little fault to be found with it, unleſs ſometimes with the foulneſs of his colouring. His drunken drolls, his wakes, his quakers-meetings, and ſome lewd pieces, have been in vogue among the waggiſh collectors, and the lower rank of *virtuoſi*. He went in this kind a great way, but, after all, fell far ſhort of Brower, Teniers, and the reſt of his *noble forerunners*, in the ſtudy of ſot's paradiſe. He often introduced his own picture among his drolls, by means of a looking-glaſs he had upon his pallet. He was a man of humour, and for that valued by Wilmot Earl of Rocheſter, for whom he painted ſeveral pieces. He died in London about the year 1704, leaving behind him a ſon, whom he had inſtructed in his way.

[B] *He is reckoned a manneriſt.*] One of Sir Peter's diſciples, Mr William Gibſon, made it his chief endeavour to imitate his maſter's manner, in copies from whom lay his beſt excellency; he alſo imitated his maſter in collecting valuable pieces, and purchaſed the greateſt part of Sir Peter's collection after his death. He became an excellent limner, and drew great numbers of portraits for many of the beſt rank. He was a great encourager of his art. He died of a lethargy in London, and was buried at Richmond in Surrey, in 1702, at fifty-eight years of age. He was nephew to Mr Richard Gibſon, commonly called the *Dwarf*, and partly inſtructed by him, who was an eminent maſter in the time of Sir Peter Lely, to whoſe manner he devoted himſelf, and whoſe pictures he copied to admiration. Being page to a lady at Mortlake, and obſerving he had a particular genius for drawing, ſhe put him to De Cleyn to learn to draw; and he had the honour to inſtruct in it the late Queen Mary, when Princeſs of Orange (1), and her ſiſter Queen Anne. He painted both in oil and water colours, but chiefly the latter. He was greatly in favour with King Charles I. (to whom he was page of the back-ſtairs) inſomuch, that his Majeſty gave him a wife in marriage, who was likewiſe a dwarf. On the wedding Mr Waller made that copy of verſes, which begins thus:

Deſign or chance make others wive,
But nature did this match contrive;
Eve might as well have Adam fled,
As ſhe deny'd her little bed
To him, whom heaven ſeem'd to frame
And meaſure out this only dame, &c.

He alſo received ſome conſiderable favours from Philip Earl of Pembroke, who was his patron. He drew Oliver Cromwell ſeveral times; and died in Covent-garden ſoon after the Revolution, at ſeventy-five years of age, lying buried in that church.

(1) He went to Holland to wait on her Highneſs for that purpoſe.

diſtinguiſhed merit (*b*). He frequently did the landſkips in his own pictures after a different manner from all others, and better than moſt artiſts were able to do. He was likewiſe a good hiſtory painter, as many pieces now among us can ſhew. His crayon draughts are alſo admirable; and thoſe are commonly reckoned the moſt valuable of his pieces, which were all done intirely by his own hand, without any other aſſiſtance [*C*]. He was much favoured by King Charles II. who made him his principal painter, knighted him, and would frequently converſe with him, as a perſon of good natural parts and acquired knowledge; ſo that it is hard to determine whether he was the more complete painter or gentleman. He was well known and much reſpected by people of the greateſt eminence in the kingdom; and at length became enamoured of a beautiful Engliſh lady, whom he married. He purchaſed an eſtate at Kew in the county of Surrey, whither he often retired in the latter part of his life, and where ſome of his family were remaining in 1706. He died of an apoplexy in London in 1680, and in the year of his grand climacteric. A marble monument, with his buſt carved by Gibbons, and an inſcription by Mr Flatman [*D*], was erected to his memory, in Covent-garden church, where he was interred. It is worth obſerving, that Sir Peter had a rival in one *Henry Gaſcar*, a French face-painter, encouraged here by the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth, whoſe picture he came over to draw. Many others following her example, employed him; ſo that he got a great deal of money in England in a ſhort time; nor could our wiſe nation then ſee the difference between him and his cotemporary Sir Peter Lely. What he wanted in the graceful part, in draught, and a good choice of nature, the talent of but few, he uſually made up with embroidery, fine cloaths, laced drapery, and a great variety of trumpery ornaments, which took for a

(*b*) He painted Nell Gwin ſeveral times, one of which was ſeveral years in my poſſeſſion, repreſenting her at full length in a ſitting poſture, patting the head of a lamb with one hand, and holding a ſhepherd's crook in the other.

[*C*] *Without any other aſſiſtance.*] In painting the grounds, landſkips, flowers, ornaments, and ſometimes the draperies, he employed *Proſper Henricus Lanerinck*, who was of German extraction, born about 1628. His father being a ſoldier of fortune, came with his wife and only ſon (this Proſper) into the Netherlands, and procured a colonel's commiſſion, which he enjoyed not many years, dying a natural death at Antwerp. His widow, a diſcreet woman, ſo managed her ſmall fortune, as to maintain herſelf ſuitable to her huſband's quality, and give her ſon a liberal education, deſigning him for a monaſtery; but his younger years diſcovering a natural genius for painting, by his continual ſcrawling upon paper, ſhe was obliged to comply therewith, though with the greateſt reluctancy, and put him to a painter, who taught him the rudiments of his art; but his chief preceptor was the city academy of Antwerp. His advances were prodigious, eſpecially in landſkips, wherein he had the advantage of Mynheer Van Lyon's collection, which was very large, and full of curious pieces of all the eminent maſters in Europe. Mr Lancrinck made his principal ſtudy after the pictures of Titian and Salvator Roſa, and by his ſkill ſoon engaged the notice of the curious. His mother dying, he came to his fortune young, and reſolving to come to England, he met here with a reception ſuitable to his merit. Sir Edward Sprag the Admiral became his patron, and among others recommended him to Sir William Williams, whoſe houſe was finely adorned with this maſter's pictures; which being unfortunately burnt not long after, there are now very few of our painter's pictures remaining, as he beſtowed the greateſt part of his time, while in England, on that gentleman's houſe. His performances in landſkip excelled both in the invention, harmony, colouring, and warmth, but above all are ſurprizingly beautiful and free in their ſkies. This appeared by ſome pieces of his once in the cuſtody of Mr Henly, Mr Trevor, and Mr Auſten, which laſt was his great friend and patron. His views are generally broken, rude, and uncommon, having in them ſome glarings of light well underſtood, and warmly painted. A cieling of his hand was at Richard Cent's Eſq; at Cauſham in Wiltſhire, near Bath, which was well worth ſeeing. He practiſed, moreover, drawing after the life, and ſucceeded well in ſmall figures, which were a great ornament to his landſkips, and wherein he imitated Titian's manner. Our artiſt was not only a good bottle companion and excellent company, but alſo a great favourite of the ladies, through his complaiſance and comely appearance. But among thoſe delights little of the latter part of his life was employed in painting, they being thought to have ſhortened his days, ſince he died in his middle age, in Auguſt 1692. He left behind him a noble and well choſen collection of pictures, drawings, prints, antique heads, and models, moſt of which he brought from beyond ſea.

[*D*] *A Latin inſcription by Flatman.*] It runs thus:

Hic ſitus eſt Petrus Lelius,
In Anglia fama & divitiis crevit;
Primus ſcilicet in arte pictoria magiſter,
Ille ſecundus erit qui felicius imitabitur
Mire tabellas animavit, quibus prætium
Longe hinc diſſita ſtatuent ſecula;
Ipſe interim digniſſimus cui ſtatua decernatur
Qua ejus, in ſeros nepotes referatur gloria.
Obiit Novembris 30 *die, anno* { *Ætatis ſuæ* 63, *Salutis MDCLXXX.* }

Proh dolor! ut cujus penicello tanta venuſtas
Reddit adhuc vivos tot poſt ſua funera vultus,
Ipſe cadaver iners & tetro pulvere miſtus
Nunc jaceat. Cum ſe primo ſubduxerat unus
Innumeri ſurgunt de gente minorum
Pictores, auſi fragiles tentare colores:
Sic poſtquam occubuit Sol aureas, aſtra repente
Mille ſuos pandunt cœli laquearibus ignes,
Quanquam mille licet vix umbram unius adæquant.
Petre vale, nunquam merito te laude ſequemur
Majorem invidia; neque noſtro carmine vivas,
Ni te Gibbonius ſpirantem in marmore finget.

This Thomas Flatman was both a poet and a painter. He drew in miniature, as may appear by the following ſtanza, in his Pindaric ode called *The Review*, where he thus ſpeaks of himſelf as of a limner:

To extricate myſelf from love,
Which I could ill obey, but worſe command,
I took my pencil in my hand,
With that artillery for conqueſt ſtrove:
Like wiſe Pygmalion then did I
Myſelf deſign my diety;
Made my own ſaint, made my own ſhrine;
If ſhe did frown, one daſh could make her ſmile;
All bickerings one eaſy ſtroke could reconcile:
Plato feign'd no idea ſo divine.
Thus did I quiet many a froward day,
While in my eyes, my ſoul did play;
Thus did the time, and thus myſelf beguile;
Till on a day, but then I knew not why,
A tear fallen from my eye
Waſh'd out my ſaint, my ſhrine, my deity:
Prophetic chance! the lines are gone,
And I muſt mourn o'er what I doated on:
I find ev'n Giotto's circle has not all perfection.

while, till at length Monſieur found, that his gay cap-and-feather manner would no longer ſucceed here, which made him leave England. By a prevailing aſſurance cuſtomary with his nation, he afterwards impoſed as much on the Italian nobleſſe as he did on thoſe of England. He was living at Rome in the beginning of this century, but died not long after. He is reported to have carried above 10,000 l. out of England. But Sir Peter had ſtill a much more dangerous rival in one of his own diſciples, Mr *John Greenhill*, a gentleman deſcended of a good family at Saliſbury, where he was born; he imitated his manner ſucceſsfully, and became a great proficient in crayon draughts, as he afterward did in painting. He failed very little of Sir Peter's excellencies, who firſt neglected, and then became ſo jealous of him as a dangerous rival, that he never let him ſee him paint but once, and that was by a ſtratagem: after leaving him, he procured Sir Peter to paint his wife's picture, which gave him an opportunity of ſtanding behind, and of obſerving how Sir Peter handled his pencil. Thus being ſatisfied on a double account, he made his maſter a preſent of twelve broad pieces, and took the picture home. And by this means he became exceeding famous for portraits, inſomuch, that had he not died young, the effect of too free living, England might have boaſted of a painter, who, according to his beginnings, could not have been much inferior to the very beſt of foreigners, whom we have always ſo much encouraged in the portrait way. Mr Greenhill was alſo poetically inclined, and very agreeable in converſation; which won ſo much on Mrs Behn, that ſhe endeavoured on her part to perpetuate his memory in a long elegy [*E*].

[*E*] *A long elegy.*] It mounts to ſeven ſtanzas, in different lengths, from nine to thirteen lines, and where no one meaſure is obſerved, which is, however, generally, though injudiciouſly, honoured with the title of the Pindaric way. I ſhall give the firſt and laſt ſtanzas.

I.

What doleful cries are theſe that fright my ſenſe,
Sad as the groans of dying innocence?
The killing accents, now more clear, approach,
And the infectious ſound
Spreads and enlarges all around,
And does all hearts with grief and wonder touch.
The famous Greenhill's dead, ev'n he,
That could to us give immortality,
Is to th' eternal ſilent groves withdrawn;
Youthful as flowers ſcarce blown, whoſe op'ning leaves
A wondrous and a fragrant proſpect gives.

VII.

Come all ye ſofter beauties, come,
Bring wreaths of flow'rs to deck his tomb,
Mix'd with the diſmal cypreſs and the yew,
For he ſtill gave your charms their due;
And from the injuries of age and time
Secur'd the ſweetneſs of their prime,
And beſt knew how t' adore that ſweetneſs too.
Bring all your mournful tributes here,
And let your eyes a ſilent ſorrow wear,
Till ev'ry virgin for a while become
Sad as his fate, and like his picture dumb.

The intermediate ſtanzas of this poetical tribute may be ſeen in a piece intituled, *The Art of Painting, &c. tranſlated from De Piles; to which is added, an eſſay towards an Engliſh ſchool,* from whence the preſent memoir is extracted.

P.

LUCAS [Richard], a learned and pious divine, was the ſon of Richard Lucas of Preſteigne in Radnorſhire, and born in that county about the year 1648. After a proper foundation at ſchool, he was ſent in 1664 to Jeſus college Oxford, where, after taking both his degrees in arts at the regular times (*a*), he entered into prieſt's orders, probably as ſoon as permitted by the canons of the church, and became maſter of the free-ſchool at Abergavenny. In this ſtation, however, employing his ſpare hours in the ſtudy of divinity, he ſometimes appeared in the pulpit; and in 1678 made himſelf known to the public by his excellent treatiſe intituled *Practical Chriſtianity*, the 2d edition of which came out in 1681. At the ſame time being much eſteemed for his talents in preaching, he was preſented in 1683 to the vicarage of St Stephen's Coleman-ſtreet London, and to the lecturer's place of St Olave's church Southwark, in the room of Dr John Meriton, deprived for fanaticiſm. He was well reſpected by the pariſhioners in both places. July 11, 1691, he accumulated his degrees in divinity (*b*), and was inſtalled Prebendary of Weſtminſter March 5, 1696. He had the misfortune to inherit his father's blindneſs, and from being dim-ſighted in his youth, became totally blind in his middle age; but that unhappineſs did not hinder him from publiſhing ſeveral valuable treatiſes in divinity, a liſt of which is inſerted below [*A*]. He died June 29, 1715 (*c*), and was interred in Weſtminſter abbey, but no ſtone or monument marks his grave there; however, his excellent writings will preſerve his fame to lateſt poſterity.

(*a*) Viz. A. B. Oct. 22, 1660, and A. M. March 28, 1672. Wood's Faſti, col. 171 & 188.

(*b*) Catalogue of Oxford degrees.

(*c*) Ath. Oxon. col. 1093. Biographical and Moreri's Dictionary, under his article.

[*A*] *A liſt of his works.*] Theſe are, 1. *Practical Chriſtianity, or an account of the holineſs which the Goſpel enjoins, with the motives to it, and the remedies it propoſes againſt temptations,* 8vo. 2. *An inquiry after happineſs,* in two volumes. 3. *The morality of the Goſpel.* 4. *Chriſtian thoughts for every day in the week.* 5. *A guide to heaven.* 6. *The duty of ſervants.* 7. *Several ſermons,* in five volumes, ſome of which were publiſhed by his ſon, who was of his own name, and ſurvived him, being bred at Sidney college Cambridge, where he took his maſter of arts degree (1). Dr Lucas alſo tranſlated into Latin *The whole duty of man,* which was publiſhed with this title, *Officium hominis cum ſtylo tum methodo luculentiſſimâ expoſitum, opus cujuſvis, ac præcipue indoctiſſimi lectoris captui accommodatum, &c. cum orationibus aliquot pro variis occaſionibus,* Lond. 1680, in 8vo. as were all his other works.

P.

(1) Carter's Hiſt. of Cambridge.

M.

The ſubſtance of this article is taken from Dr Birch's account of the author in the Gen. Dict.

MANDEVILLE [Bernard], a writer of ſome wit and humour, but more licentiouſneſs, who figured it in England about the beginning of the preſent century. He was born in Holland, where he ſtudied phyſic, and took the degree of M. D. after which coming into England, he met with ſeveral friends, eſpecially among the Freethinkers, and publiſhed ſeveral books, which tended to produce a very ill effect upon ſociety, and the more ſo, as the poiſon was not without ſome gilding of wit and pleaſantry. He even made his own profeſſion a victim to this humour, in a treatiſe *Of the hypochondriac and hyſteric paſſions, vulgarly called the hypo in men and the vapours in women*, interſperſed with diſcourſes, in the way of dialogue, on the art of phyſic, and entertaining remarks on the modern practice of phyſicians and apothecaries; ‘ and therefore (the author ſays) very uſeful to all who have the misfortune to ſtand in need of either.’ But the piece which gave the greateſt offence, was his poem printed in 1714, with the title of *The grumbling hive, or knaves turned honeſt*; upon which he afterwards wrote remarks, and publiſhed the whole at London in 1723, with the title of *The fable of the bees, or private vices made public benefits*; *with an eſſay on charity and charity-ſchools, and a ſearch into the nature of ſociety*. This licentious and profligate piece was preſented by the Grand Jury of Middleſex in July the ſame year, and ſeverely animadverted upon, in *A letter to the Right Honourable the Lord C.* printed in the London Journal of July 27, 1723. To both theſe attacks our author returned an anſwer, printed in the ſame Journal of Auguſt the 10th following. However, this vindication of himſelf did not extinguiſh the flame. He was further purſued by a vaſt number of writers [*A*], to whom he made no reply by way of defence; but ſtaid till the year 1728, when he publiſhed in another octavo volume, *The fable of the bees, part II.* in order to illuſtrate the ſcheme and deſign of the firſt. He publiſhed ſome other pieces [*B*] before his

death,

[*A*] *A great number of writers.*] Some of theſe are already mentioned (1), for inſtance, Dr Fiddes. Mr Dennis, in a piece intituled, *Vice and luxury public miſchiefs*, in 1724; by Mr William Law the ſame year; Biſhop Berkeley, in his *Alciphron, or the minute philoſopher*, in 1732, and Mr Hutcheſon in 1734. Beſides which, Mr Bluet publiſhed an excellent piece againſt it, under the title of *An inquiry whether the general practice of virtue tends to the wealth or poverty, benefit or advantage of a people, with ſome thoughts concerning a toleration of public ſtews*, Lond. 1725, 8vo. Another anſwer was wrote by Mr. Archibald Campbell, in his ΑΡΗΤΗΛΟΓΙΑ, publiſhed by Alexander Innes D. D. Nor did it eſcape the piercing eye of Mr Warburton, in his *Divine legation*, &c. firſt part. The author of *A letter from Philemon to Hydaſpes, upon the general lawfulneſs of pleaſure*, Lond. 1737, 8vo. makes this obſervation upon it, in p. 96. that the falſe notion of confounding ſuperfluities and vices is what runs through Dr Mandeville's whole book, otherwiſe all that author's pieces are very ingeniouſly written.

(1) Under their ſeveral articles.

[*B*] *He publiſhed ſome other pieces.*] 1. *The virgin unmaſked, or a dialogue between an old maiden aunt and her niece, upon love, marriage*, &c. edit. 1709. a piece not very conducing to virtue and innocence among his female readers. 2. *Free thoughts on religion*, Lond. 1720. There is nothing in this book but what the bulk of Chriſtians would ſubſcribe to. 3. *An inquiry into the origin of honour, and uſefulneſs of Chriſtianity in war*, Lond. 1732. 4. *A letter to Dion, occaſioned by his book called* Alciphron, Lond. 1732. In this our author declares thus: ‘ Whoever (ſays he, in p. 23) will read the ſecond dialogue of the *Minute philoſopher*, will not find in it any real quotations from my book either ſtated or examined into, but that the wicked tenets and vile aſſertions there juſtly expoſed, are either ſuch notions and ſentiments as firſt my enemies, to render me odious, and afterwards common fame had fathered upon me, though not to be met with in any part of my book; or elſe they are ſpiteful inferences and invidious comments, which others before you, without juſtice or neceſſity, had drawn from and made upon what I had innocently ſaid. If Dion had read the *Fable of the bees*, he would not have ſuffered ſuch lawleſs libertines as *Alciphron* and *Lycicles* to have ſheltered themſelves under my wings, but he would have demonſtrated to them that my principles differed from theirs, as ſunſhine does from darkneſs.’ In the ſame year (1732) there alſo came out, 5. an anonymous pamphlet, aſcribed to the Lord Hervey, containing ſome remarks on the *Minute philoſopher*, in *A letter from a country clergyman to his friend in London*. In which the author takes occaſion to interfere in the diſpute between the Doctors Berkeley and Mandeville, in theſe terms: ‘ The ſecond dialogue in the *Minute philoſopher* (ſays he, p. 45) deſigned chiefly as an anſwer to *The fable of the bees*, is as chicaning, as looſe, and as unfair as any other part of this incoherent medley; for inſtead of anſwering what the author of *The fable of the bees* really ſays, he ſuppoſes him to ſay things which he does not ſay, and anſwers them. The letter to Dion (proceeds he, p. 45) amply ſets forth the want of candour in the *Minute philoſopher*, with regard to the author of *The fable of the bees*, who therein defends himſelf with that life, wit, ſpirit, good humour, and pleaſantneſs, which every body muſt allow to be the characteriſtics of all his writings. But at the ſame time that this wanton author expoſes the ſophiſtry of his commentator, I cannot ſay he makes uſe of none in the defence of his own text. His explanation of the title of his book is forced, and his apology for that part of it relating to public ſtews very lame. There are many more inſtances one might give of the ſame kind.’

This

death, which happened at London January 1732-3, aged between ſixty and ſeventy years. Dr Mandeville might be a very good believer for any thing he has diſcovered to the contrary in his writings, and yet nothing is more certain than that he was thought very much otherwiſe, although he never gave ſufficient grounds for ranking him fairly among the Deiſtical writers.

The writer then propoſes a ſketch of an anſwer to *The fable of the bees*, which, however, contains no more than what is comprized in that old rondeau, which annually appears in the head of the ſheet almanack:

War begets poverty,
Poverty peace.
Peace makes riches flow,
Fate ne'er doth ceaſe:
Riches produce pride,
Pride is war's ground,
War begets poverty,
So the world goes round.

P.

MANLEY [ANNE], the celebrated authoreſs of the *New Atalantis*, was the daughter of Sir Roger Manley (*a*), Governor of the iſland of Jerſey or Guernſey, under King Charles II. in whoſe reign ſhe was born there. Her education was ſuitable to her birth, and ſhe gave early marks of a genius not only above her years, but ſuperior to the generality of her ſex. She had the misfortune to loſe her mother when an infant, and her father before ſhe was grown up; circumſtances that laid the foundation of many calamities which afterwards befel her. She was robbed of her chaſtity by her guardian uncle, who decoyed her for the purpoſe into a falſe marriage, while his true wife was living. Having thus gratified his paſſion, he brought her to London, and ſoon deſerted her: and thus, in the very morning of her life, when all things ſhould be gay and promiſing, ſhe wore away three wretched years in ſolitude. Upon her appearance again in the world, ſhe was introduced, by an accident (*b*), to the Ducheſs of Cleveland, a miſtreſs of King Charles II. the conſequence of which was, that ſhe was taken into the patronage of her Grace; but ſhe being a lady of a very fickle temper, grew tired of her new acquaintance in ſix months time, and diſcharged her, upon a pretence of intriguing with her ſon. Upon this diſmiſſion, General Tidcomb ſolicited her company at his country ſeat, which ſhe declined, on a pretence that her love of ſolitude was improved by a diſguſt of the world; and ſince it was impoſſible for her to be in public with reputation, ſhe was reſolved to remain concealed. In this ſolitude ſhe wrote her firſt comedy, called *The loſt lover, or the jealous huſband*, as alſo her firſt tragedy, called *The royal miſchief*, both which were acted in 1696, at the theatre in Lincoln's-inn-fields. This laſt play ſucceeding, ſhe received ſuch unbounded incenſe from her admirers, that her apartment was crowded with the gay and beau monde. So much flattery proved the intire ruin of her virtue, ſhe afterwards engaged in intrigues, and was taken into keeping. Thus ſhamefully at eaſe, ſhe diverted her leiſure hours in writing *Memoirs of the New Atalantis*, with which ſhe filled four volumes, wherein ſhe made not only very free with her own ſex, by a wanton deſcription of love adventures, but alſo with the characters of many high and diſtinguiſhed perſonages, eſpecially ſuch as had been concerned in bringing about the Revolution (*c*); whereupon a warrant was iſſued out of the ſecretary of ſtate's office, to ſeize the printer and publiſher of theſe volumes (*d*). Mrs Manley had too much generoſity in her nature to let innocent perſons ſuffer on her account, and therefore voluntarily preſented herſelf before the court of King's-bench, as the author; and after an examination by Lord Sunderland, then ſecretary of ſtate [*A*], ſhe was committed to cloſe confinement in a meſſenger's houſe, without pen, ink, and paper. However, upon ſuing out her *habeas corpus* at the King's bench bar, ſhe was admitted to bail; and after ſeveral times expoſing herſelf in perſon, acroſs the court before the bench of judges, with her three attendants, the printer and two publiſhers, ſhe was diſcharged [*B*]. Upon the change of the miniſtry in 1710, ſhe lived in high favour and gaiety, amuſing herſelf with her pen in writing poems and letters (*e*), and converſing with wits. In 1717 ſhe produced a tragedy called *Lucius, the firſt King of Britain*, which was acted that year in Drury-lane [*C*]. She ſurvived the birth of this her laſt brat ſeveral years, without ever reſuming her pen before her death, which happened July 11, 1724 (*f*).

(*a*) Sir Roger is ſaid to have been the projector of that famous work *The Turkiſh Spy*, the firſt volume of which is ſometimes aſcribed to him.

(*b*) In a viſit to one of her Grace's acquaintance.

(*c*) Her father had always been attached to the cauſe of King Charles I. and ſhe had a confirmed averſion to the Whig miniſtry.

(*d*) They were publiſhed in 1709.

(*e*) Cibber's lives of the poets.

(*f*) Ibid.

[*A*] *Examined by Lord Sunderland ſecretary of ſtate.*] In this examination his Lordſhip was curious to know from whom ſhe got information of ſome particulars, which he imagined to be above her own intelligence. She replied with great humility, That *ſhe had no deſign in writing further than her own amuſement and diverſion in the country, without intending particular reflections and characters; and did aſſure him, that no body was concerned with her.* When this was not believed, and the contrary urged againſt her by ſeveral circumſtances, ſhe ſaid, *Then it muſt be by inſpiration, becauſe knowing her own innocence, ſhe could account for it no other way.* The ſecretary replied, That *inſpiration uſed to be on a good account, but her writings were ſtark naught.* She acknowledged that *his Lordſhip's obſervation might be true; but as there were evil angels as well as good, what ſhe had wrote might ſtill be by inſpiration.*

[*B*] *She was diſcharged.*] The miniſtry ſeems rather to be aſhamed to bring a woman upon her tryal for writing a few amorous trifles; beſides, that the diſguiſe of her ſatires, under romantic names, and a feigned ſcene of action, might render a verdict precarious, and expoſe the maſked characters more nakedly.

[*C*] *Her tragedy called Lucius*, &c.] She printed it with a dedication to Sir Richard Steele, whom ſhe had abuſed in her *New Atalantis*, but was now upon ſuch friendly terms with him, that he wrote the prologue to this play, as Mr Prior did the epilogue. P

This article is extracted from Ward's lives of the Greſham profeſſors, p. 273 to 279 incluſive.

MAPLETOFT [JOHN], a learned phyſician and pious divine, was born June 16, 1631, at Margaret-Inge in Eſſex, where his father [*A*] was then vicar, but dying in 1735, he was brought up at Little Gedding in Huntingdonſhire, in the devout family of his maternal great uncle *Nicholas Ferrar* Eſq; who was his godfather [*B*]; after whoſe removal, he was put by his paternal uncle Robert Mapletoft to Weſtminſter ſchool, under the famous Buſbey. Here obtaining a King's ſcholarſhip, he was elected thence to Trinity college Cambridge in 1648, under the tuition of Mr Peter Samways. He took his degrees in arts at the regular periods, and was made fellow of the college in 1653; but he left it in 1658 (*a*), on an appointment to be tutor to Jocelyne, ſon of Algernoon, the laſt Earl of Northumberland of that name. Having diſcharged this duty two years, he travelled upon his own expence, to qualify himſelf for the profeſſion of phyſic. In this tour he paſſed through France to Rome, where he lived near a year in the houſe of the famous Algernoon Sidney, to whom he was recommended by the Earl of Northumberland, Mr Sidney's uncle. In 1663 our author returned to England, and to the ſaid Earl's family; where proſecuting the ſtudy of phyſic, he commenced M. D. at Cambridge in 1667, and entered upon the practice of that faculty in London, where he contracted an acquaintance with many eminent phyſicians (*b*), and ſeveral of the moſt diſtinguiſhed divines (*c*), to whoſe ſtudies and profeſſion he was always inclined, but diverted from them by the circumſtances of the times, in which he had determined his choice. He was incorporated M. D. at Oxford July 13, 1669, and the year following attended the Lord Eſſex in his embaſſy to Denmark. In 1672 he attended the Lady dowager Northumberland into France; this excurſion, however, did not occaſion a long abſence from his buſineſs; and upon the deceaſe of Dr Goddard, he was choſen profeſſor of phyſic in Greſham college (*d*) March 27, 1675 [*C*]. Upon the 10th of February following, he became a Fellow of the Royal Society, and was often afterwards one of their council. In 1676 he attended the Lord ambaſſador Montague and Lady Northumberland to France. Nor did he continue long at Greſham college, and yet longer than he ſeems to have deſigned, from his views of entering into matrimony in 1677 (*e*); however, he continued in it till the 10th of October, and November the 18th following he married Rebecca [*D*], the daughter of Mr Lucy Knightley of Hackney, an Hamburgh merchant (*f*). Soon after his marriage he left the practice of phyſic, and retired, in order to turn his ſtudies to divinity. Accordingly, he took both deacon's and prieſt's orders March 3, 1682, and was ſoon after preſented to the rectory of Braybrook in Northamptonſhire by the Lord Griffin. January 4, 1684, he was choſen Lecturer of Ipſwich, and upon the 10th of that month the next year Vicar of St Laurence Jewry in London, by the pariſhioners, on the recommendation of ſeveral of the London clergy, without appearing for it himſelf (*g*). In 1689 he accumulated his degrees in divinity,

(*a*) Perhaps upon refuſing to take holy orders, as the ſtatutes of that college require. See Dr Byrom's article.

(*b*) As Willis, Cox, Sydenham, and Locke.

(*c*) As Whichcote, Tillotſon, Sharp, Patrick, Sherlock, Stillingfleet, and Clagget.

(*d*) The Doctors Dacres and Grew were among his competitors.

(*e*) See Mr Locke's article.

(*f*) A younger brother of the Knightleys of Fawſeley in Northamptonſhire.

(*g*) This is obſerved by Dr Sherlock, in his *Sermon at the funeral of Dr Calamy*. Upon the ſame day, and in the ſame manner, he was choſen Lecturer of St Chriſtopher's in that city, which he held but a ſhort time.

[*A*] *His father.*] Our author's grandfather, Hugh Mapletoft, was rector of North Thorſeby in Lincolnſhire, and had three ſons, Joſhua, Solomon, and Robert, all of them divines. Joſhua, our author's father, was the eldeſt, Solomon had a living in Huntingdonſhire, and Robert the youngeſt was Fellow, and afterwards Maſter of Pembroke-hall Cambridge. In 1667 he commenced D. D. and in 1671 was made Dean of Ely, and Vice-chancellor of his univerſity. He died unmarried Auguſt 20, 1677, and has perpetuated his memory by ſeveral pious and charitable donations (1).

[*B*] *Nicholas Ferrar.*] Our author received the impreſſions of religion and virtue very early, by the care of Mr Ferrar, a gentleman of the moſt remarkably diſtinguiſhed piety, of which there are many extraordinary inſtances, in an account of him publiſhed with Ant. Wood's life (2) and other things, by T. Hearne, ſuch as the following, where we are told, that ‘ beſides his grand-nephew, he had in his family two ‘ nieces, who devoted themſelves to a ſingle life, and ‘ by his direction digeſted the hiſtory of our Saviour ‘ contained in the four Evangeliſts into one regular ‘ harmony, in the following method: They had two ‘ printed books, which they cut into ſuch a number ‘ of pieces, as to place all that was ſaid by each of ‘ the Evangeliſts relating to the ſame ſubject together, ‘ in the proper order; and theſe they paſted into a ‘ large folio book of fair paper, in a regular ſeries (3), ‘ adorning each part of the hiſtory with printed cuts ‘ placed over it. They made three ſuch copies, one ‘ of which was preſented to King Charles I. upon ‘ his going into the north, another to King Charles II. ‘ at the Reſtoration, and the third was in the cuſtody ‘ of the family in 1740.’

[*C*] *Profeſſor of phyſic at Greſham.*] He ſeems not to have entered upon his lectures till Hilary term that year; ſince his firſt Engliſh lectures bear this title, *Readings at Greſham college, February* 12, 1675-6; and are thus introduced, Lect. 1. ‘ I do intend, God ‘ willing, as you ſhall give me opportunity, to diſ‘ courſe of ſuch of the new inventions in anatomy as ‘ I think may be moſt uſeful, and beſt require your ‘ time and patience, and may withal be ſuitable to ‘ the end which I have reaſon to believe our worthy ‘ and generous founder might propoſe to himſelf, ‘ when he inſtituted a lecture in this place, and upon ‘ this ſubject, in which I am particularly concerned. ‘ I will begin with that celebrated and uſeful diſco‘ very, which was firſt made and publiſhed to the ‘ learned world, by that ornament of his own age, ‘ and of this nation to all ages, the judicious Dr ‘ Harvey, concerning the motion of the heart and cir‘ culation of the blood, &c.’ In this lecture he acquaints his hearers with the oppoſition which for a time had been made to this diſcovery by ſeveral phyſicians, who either denied the truth of it, or from ſome few paſſages in Hippocrates, Plato, and Ariſtotle, affirmed it was known to the antients, and though loſt afterwards, yet was revived by Paulus Servita the Venetian. This he ſhews to be a miſtake, and that the honour of the diſcovery was wholly owing to Dr Harvey. His Latin lectures have this title prefixed to them, *Prælectiones in collegio Greſhamenſi, anno Domini* 1675; the firſt three contain the origin of the art of medicine, and the hiſtory of its invention, which, being a curious ſubject, are inſerted by Mr Ward, in his Appendix, N° XV.

[*D*] *He married Rebecca,* &c.] He had been very happy in this lady fourteen years, when ſhe died on the anniverſary of her wedding-day in 1693, having brought him Robert his eldeſt ſon, who was a Fellow of Trinity-hall in Cambridge, Doctor of Laws, an Advocate of Doctors-commons London, and Commiſſary of Huntingdon; but died at Trinity-hall, aged thirty-two, in December 1715, ſeveral years before his father. And there were living in 1740 his daughter Elizabeth above-mentioned (4); and a ſon of his own name, formerly Fellow of Clare-hall Cambridge, and Rector (in 1740) of Biſield in Northamptonſhire.

(1) Eachard's Hiſt of England, Vol. III. p. 437.

(2) His life in this work.

(3) This apparently is the moſt obvious as well as the beſt, and indeed is the uſual method of compiling ſuch harmonies.

(4) She ſurvived both her father and her huſband many years, being a widow of thirty ſix years continuance at her death, which happened Feb. 1761. *London Mag. for that month.*

while King William was at Cambridge. But he never endeavoured to advance himſelf higher in the church, that he might avoid the ſuſpicion of having left one profeſſion, and taken up another to enrich himſelf and his family (a thought of which all who knew him would readily acquit him) though he was ſo much eſteemed and reſpected by many of the biſhops and perſons of quality, as might have rendered this no-ways difficult. As he was always very zealous in promoting the intereſt of religion, and the good of mankind, he was one of the firſt incorporated members of the Society for propagating the Goſpel in foreign parts, appointed in their charter, which bears date June 16, 1701; and the year following he brought in the largeſt benefaction they had then ever received. He was alſo a member of the Society for promoting Chriſtian knowledge, and one of the Directors of Greenwich hoſpital. In 1707 he was choſen Preſident of Sion college, having been a benefactor both to that building and library. He continued to preach in his church of St Laurence Jewry (where he was alſo Thurſday Lecturer) till he was turned of eighty years of age; and when he was thinking to leave off, he printed a book, intituled, *The principles and duties of the Chriſtian religion* [*E*], a copy of which he ſent to every houſe in his pariſh (*b*). The laſt ten years of his life he lived with his only daughter Elizabeth, the wife of Dr Gaſtrell Biſhop of Cheſter, ſometimes at Oxford, and in the winter at Weſtminſter, where he died November 10, 1721, in the ninety-firſt year of his age, and was buried, according to his deſire, under the communion table of his own church, in the ſame vault with his predeceſſor *Dr Calamy*. His character is inſerted below [*F*].

(*b*) The firſt edition came out in 1710, the 2d in 1712, and the 3d in 1719, 8vo.

[*E*] *The principles and duties of the Chriſtian religion, &c.*] He publiſhed ſeveral other tracts, as, 1. A Latin tranſlation of Dr Sydenham's works, which have been already mentioned (5). 2. *A ſermon on* 1 *Theſſal.* v. 17, 18. *upon the ſubject of daily prayer*, Lond. 1687, 4to. 3. *A ſermon before the Lord Mayor, on Luke* xii. 21. Lond. 1695, 4to. 4. *A ſermon before the Society for reformation of manners, on* 1 *Sam.* xi. 30. London, 4to. 5. *Select proverbs, Italian, Spaniſh, French, Engliſh, Scottiſh, Britiſh, &c. chiefly moral*, Lond. 1707, 8vo. 6. ΚΥΡΙΑΙ ΔΟΞΑΙ, ἢ Κρεῖαι ἐκ δραματικῶν σχεδὸν ποιητῶν. PRINCIPALIA PLACITA, *ſeu Sententiæ pueriles è dramaticis fere poetis*, Lond. 1714, 8vo. This is a collection of Greek ſentences, with a Latin verſion, relating to moral ſubjects, and the conduct of life, taken chiefly from the antient tragic poets.

(5) In Mr Locke's article.

[*F*] *His character is inſerted below.*] It is drawn by Mr Ward, in theſe terms: 'He was a very polite ſcholar, wrote Latin elegantly, was a great maſter of the Greek, and underſtood well the French, Spaniſh, and Italian languages. Theſe accompliſhments were attended with an excellent diſpoſition of mind; he was remarkable from his youth for ſincere piety and devotion, which grew up with him into a ſettled habit, unaffected and free from all ſourneſs and reſerve: he was of an open and generous temper, void of all deſigns himſelf, or ſuſpecting them in others; obliging in his deportment, and very agreeable in converſation. This naturally diſpoſed him to cultivate acquaintance, which, with the good and virtuous, was ſoon turned into friendſhip; the offices whereof he was always more ready to perform, than rigidly to exact from others; and maintained them with perſons of very different characters, without being at all influenced by party prejudices, to which he was wholly a ſtranger. By his early reception into one of the greateſt families in England, he ſoon learned the manner of converſing with perſons of the higheſt quality, and how to behave himſelf with decency, ſo that he was always reſpected as a well bred man: and, perhaps, it was not owing to them, that his acquaintance with them never turned to his advantage; for he never aſked any favours of them, and deſired to make no other uſe of it, but for their good, by inclining them to virtue and religion; and therefore they converſed with and wrote to him as one in whom they could confide on all occaſions they had for his ſervice. He was never intirely eaſy in his profeſſion of phyſic, but ſeemed to attend to it rather to diſcharge his duty, than for any ſatisfaction it afforded him: though, after he was ſettled at Greſham college, he was coming into good buſineſs, which, probably, would have increaſed; but he often uſed to ſay, that he could not help being under a great concern while his patients were in danger, and ſenſibly affected when they miſcarried, and that more from a diſtruſt of himſelf than fear for his reputation. And yet his early acquaintance with Dr Sydenham, and eſteem of his method, before it was generally received, diſcovered both a good genius for that profeſſion, and an ingenuity of mind to approve what he thought to be right. And the opinion which that celebrated phyſician had both of his judgment and candor, appears from his epiſtle dedicatory to him. After he deſiſted from practiſing that art, he would ſcarce give his advice to a friend, and always made uſe of a phyſician for his own family. He never repented the change he had made of his profeſſion, which as he did with the beſt deſign, ſo he purſued it through the whole courſe of his life. He ſhewed a great neglect, if not contempt of riches, and eſteemed it ſufficient if he had enough to paſs through this world, and ſomething to ſpare for good and pious uſes; and was always inclined to think, that what went that way was leſs than it really was, by which means he conſiderably leſſened his patrimony. He led a long life, with as much health of body and content of mind, in as much eſteem and reputation of the world, and love and affection of his friends, as perhaps very few have done. His body decayed gently, but his mind not at all, and he was to the laſt as free from covetouſneſs as ever, and even preſerved the chearfulneſs and gaity of his temper, and ſeemed deſirous to gain the affection of thoſe about him, that he might engage them to virtue and religion, which he always inculcated upon them by good diſcourſe, and books which he gave them, and uſed to call his *legacies*.' P

MARGARET Counteſs of Richmond and Derby, a lady as illuſtrious for her perſonal endowments as for her birth, was the daughter and ſole heireſs of John Beaufort Duke of Somerſet, grandſon to John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, fourth ſon of Edward III. Her mother, Margaret Beauchamp, daughter and heireſs of the Lord Beauchamp of Powick, brought her lord this incomparably pious and religious lady in 1441, at Bletſoe in Bedfordſhire. Theſe qualities and attractions drew upon her, in her infancy, the ſolicitations of the great Duke of Suffolk, Henry Vth's miniſter, to marry his ſon; but the King wooing her at the ſame time for his half-brother Edmund, then Earl of Richmond, ſhe engaged with him [*A*] in 1455, and by him had an only ſon, born in July 21, 1456,

who

[*A*] *She engaged with him.*] On ſo nice a point the good young lady adviſed with an elderly gentlewoman, who thinking it too great a deciſion to take upon herſelf, recommended her to St Nicholas, the patron of virgins. She followed her counſellor's inſtructions, and poured forth her ſupplications and

prayers

who afterwards became Henry VII. Edmund died November 4th following; after which, Lady Margaret married Sir Henry Stafford Knt. ſecond ſon to the Duke of Buckingham, who died about 1482; and thereupon the Counteſs his widow entered into a third marriage with Thomas Lord Stanley, who was created Earl of Derby October 27, 1485, in the firſt year of her ſon's reign. But having no iſſue by either of the two latter marriages, ſhe took a vow of celibacy [*B*] to live chaſte, with the Earl of Derby's conſent, long before his death, which happened in 1504. Her education had qualified her tolerably well for a ſtudious and retired way of life; ſhe underſtood the French language perfectly [*C*], and had ſome ſkill in the Latin tongue; but would often lament that ſhe did not make herſelf miſtreſs of it in her youth. However, there are ſome of her performances in the literary way ſtill extant [*D*]. She was not only a lover of learning, but a great patroneſs of learned men, of which her noble foundations of St John's and Chriſt colleges in Cambridge, and a profeſſorſhip of divinity in each univerſity, are ſplendid monuments. Her life was chequered with a variety of good and bad fortune; but ſhe had a greatneſs of ſoul which ſeems to have placed her above the reach of either, ſo that ſhe was neither elated with the former, nor depreſſed with the latter. She was moſt affected with the concerns of her only child, for whom ſhe had the moſt tender affection, and ſhe underwent ſome hardſhips on his account: ſhe ſaw him, from an exile by a wonderful turn of fortune, advanced to the crown of England, which he could not keep without many ſtruggles and difficulties; and when he had reigned twenty-three years, and lived fifty-two, ſhe ſaw him carried to his grave, a ſtroke which ſhe ſurvived only three months, dying at Weſtminſter June 29, 1509. She was buried in his chapel, and had a beautiful monument erected to her memory, a deſcription of which is inſerted below [*E*]. Biſhop Fiſher preached her funeral ſermon, which was republiſhed in 1708 by Mr Th. Baker, with a preface (*a*), to which we owe the chief materials of this article.

(*a*) In it he obſerves, that by her marriage with the Earl of Richmond, and by her birth, ſhe was allied to thirty kings and queens within the fourth degree either of blood or affinity, beſides earls, marquiſſes, dukes, and princes; and ſince her death, as is obſerved by Mr Baker, ſhe has been allied in her poſterity to thirty more.

prayers to that effect; accordingly, one morning, whether aſleep or waking ſhe could not tell, there appeared unto her ſome body in the habit of a biſhop, and deſired ſhe would accept of Edmund for her huſband; whereupon ſhe married the Earl of Richmond (1). This conduct of our young religious lady was intirely agreeable to the then prevailing ſuperſtition. But I preſume it will be thought no difficult point to determine, without any diſparagement to her, what ſaint it was that inſpired her viſion: love, we know, generally rules alike in young hearts;

Who firſt reſolve upon their choice,
And then proceed to aſk advice.

[*B*] *She made a vow of celibacy.*] She took this vow from her confeſſor Biſhop Fiſher (2), and the form of it is ſtill extant in the regiſters of St John's college Cambridge, as we are told by Mr Baker, who aſſigns this vow for a probable reaſon that her portrait is generally drawn in the habit of a nun.

[*C*] *She underſtood French.*] Her affection for literature apparently induced her mother-in-law, the Ducheſs of Buckingham, to give her the following legacy in her laſt will: 'To my daughter Richmond, 'a book of Engliſh, being a legend of ſaints; a book 'of French, called *Lucan*; another French book of 'the Epiſtles and Goſpels; and a primer, with claſps 'of ſilver gilt, covered with purple velvet (3).' This is obſerved to be no inconſiderable legacy at that time, when few of her ſex (at leaſt of the inferior rank) were taught letters. It has been often mentioned as an extraordinary accompliſhment in Jane Shore, the darling miſtreſs of Edward IV. that ſhe could write and read.

[*D*] *Several of her works ſtill extant.*] Theſe are, 1. *The mirroure of golde for the ſinfull ſoule*, tranſlated from a French verſion of a book called *Speculum aureum peccatorum*, very ſcarce. 2. *An Engliſh tranſlation of the fourth book of Dr John Gerſon's treatiſe Of the imitation and following the bleſſed life of our moſt merciful Saviour Chriſt*, printed at the end of Dr William Atkinſon's tranſlation of the three firſt books, 1504. 3. *A letter to her ſon Henry VII.* printed in Howard's collection of Letters. 4. *Orders for great eſtates of ladies and noblewomen for their precedence*, made by her ſon's command and authority.

[*E*] *Her monument.*] It is an altar tomb, adorned with gilded braſs arms, and an epitaph round the verge, all incloſed within a grate, on which is placed her ſtatue in her robes, all of ſolid braſs, with two pillars on each ſide, and a Latin inſcription, drawn up by Eraſmus, at the requeſt of Biſhop Fiſher, for which he had twenty ſhillings from the univerſity of Cambridge; in Engliſh it runs thus:

> To Margaret of Richmond, the mother of Henry VII. and grandmother of Henry VIII. who founded ſalaries for three monks in this convent, for a grammar-ſchool at Wymborn, and a preacher of God's word throughout England; as alſo for two divinity lectures, the one at Oxford, the other at Cambridge; in which laſt place ſhe likewiſe built two colleges in honour of Chriſt and his diſciple St John. She died in the year of our Lord 1509, June the 29th.

P

(1) Bacon's life of Henry VII.

(2) See his article.

(3) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I.

MARGARET Ducheſs of Newcaſtle—To what has been already ſaid (*a*) of this lady, famous for her voluminous writings, I ſhall add, that ſhe was the youngeſt daughter of Sir Charles, afterwards Lord Lucas, at whoſe ſeat of St John's, near Colcheſter in Eſſex, ſhe had her birth, about the latter end of the reign of King James I. Her father dying while ſhe was an infant, the care of her education devolved upon her mother, who had her inſtructed in all the polite accompliſhments, and the young lady was remarkable from her infancy for her turn to books and ſtudy. In 1643 ſhe went with her mother's leave to Oxford, where the court then reſided, and was made one of the maids of honour to Henrietta Maria, conſort to King Charles I. and when the Queen was forced by the enſuing troubles to take ſhelter in France, our authoreſs attended her Majeſty thither; and at Paris met with the Marquis of Newcaſtle, then a widower, who admiring her perſon, diſpoſition, and ingenuity, made her partner of his bed in 1645. She continued abroad with her lord till the reſtoration of K. Charles II. after which, returning to England, ſhe ſpent much of the remaining part of her life upon productions of literature in various ways (*b*); and had a teeming genius in producing ſuch brats of the brain, but brought her conſort no other iſſue, for the want of

(*a*) Under her Lord's article, Vol. II. remark [*H*], p. 1214.

(*b*) Viz. Letters, plays, poems, philoſophical diſcourſes and orations, amounting in all to near a dozen folios. Jacob obſerves, that ſhe was the moſt voluminous dramatic writer of our female poets, and that ſhe had a great deal of wit. Account of dramatic poets.

which,

which, ſhe made the beſt atonement that lay in her power, by writing *An account of his life*, which is ſtyled *The crown work of her labours* (c). She died at London in 1673, and was buried in Weſtminſter abbey, where the Duke cauſed a moſt ſtately monument to be erected to her memory; but dying himſelf in 1676, it ſerved for them both, in which her character is thus repreſented:

(c) Langbaine, who tells us that all the language and plots of her plays were her own. His lives of the poets.

> 'Here lies the loyal Duke of Newcaſtle, and his Ducheſs his ſecond wife, by whom he 'had no iſſue. Her name was Margaret Lucas, youngeſt ſiſter to the Lord Lucas 'of Colcheſter, a noble family; for all the brothers were valiant, and all the ſiſters 'virtuous. This Ducheſs was a wiſe, witty, and learned lady, which her many 'books do well teſtify. She was a moſt virtuous, and loving, and careful wife, 'and was with her lord all the time of his baniſhment and miſeries; and when ſhe 'came home, never parted from him in his ſolitary retirement [A].'

The Duke himſelf wrote ſeveral comedies and poems (d), and had alſo frequently a hand in the productions of the Ducheſs.

(d) See a liſt of them under his article as before, in remark [G].

[A] *In his retirement.*] The following obſervations upon the author's characters of this Duke and Ducheſs are thus ſet forth by Mr Walpole: 'The Duke (ſays 'he) as an author, is familiar to thoſe who ſcarce 'know any other author, *viz.* from his book of '*Horſemanſhip.* Though amorous in poetry and 'muſic, as my Lord Clarendon ſays, he was fitter 'to break Pegaſus for a menage, than to mount him 'on the ſteeps of Parnaſſus. Of all the writers of 'that ſteed, perhaps there have not been a more 'fantaſtic couple than his Grace and his faithful 'Ducheſs, who was never off her pillion. One of 'the noble hiſtorian's fineſt portraits is of this Duke; 'the Ducheſs has left another more diffuſe indeed, 'but not leſs entertaining. It was equally amuſing 'to hear her compare her Lord to Julius Cæſar, and 'often to acquaint you with ſuch anecdotes, as in 'what ſort of a coach he went to Amſterdam. The 'touches on her own character are inimitable: ſhe 'ſays, that it pleaſed God to command his ſervant 'nature to endue her with a poetical and philoſophical genius, even from her birth; for ſhe did write 'ſome books of that kind before ſhe was twelve years 'of age. But what gives one the beſt idea of her unbounded paſſion for ſcribling, was her ſeldom reviſing the copies of her works, leſt, as ſhe ſaid, it 'ſhould diſturb her following conceptions. What a 'picture of fooliſh nobility was this ſtately poetic 'couple, retired to their own little domain, and intoxicating one another with circumſtantial flattery, 'on what was of conſequence to no mortal but themſelves (1)!' P

(1) Catalogue of royal and noble authors, &c. Vol. II. p. 12. In another place he ſays the Ducheſs *a moſt fertile pedant.*

MARTYR [PETER], to what has been ſaid (a) of this divine, who was one of the moſt learned of the firſt Reformers, I ſhall add: That his true name was Vermilli: that his parents gave him the name of Peter Martyr, from one Peter, a martyr of Milan, whoſe church happened to ſtand near their houſe, to whom his parents had made a vow: that he received the firſt rudiments of literature from his mother, who was a very ingenious lady, and uſed, as it is ſaid, to read Terence to him in the original: that after three years ſtay at Tiſcoli, he was ſent to the univerſity of Padua, to ſtudy the Greek language, and philoſophy: that he was made a public preacher at the age of twenty-ſix, and exerciſed his talents for the pulpit firſt at Brixia, in the church of Afra. He read lectures of philoſophy and divinity in his college, and applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Hebrew tongue (b). Afterwards he was made governor of St Peter's at the altar, in Naples. That he was confirmed in the Proteſtant faith by one Valdes, a Spaniſh lawyer: that he made no ſcruple to preach it at Rome privately, and even ſometimes publicly, to many perſons of quality. He went afterwards to Lucca, where he was made ſuperior to a houſe of his own order [St Auſtin], and lived there with Tremellius and Zanchius, whom he converted. But finding himſelf in danger, he left the city ſecretly, and travelled to Piſa; from whence, by letters to Cardinal Pole and the ſociety at Lucca, he fully explained the reaſons of his departure. Thence, after a ſhort ſtay at Florence, he ſet forward to Germany; and, paſſing the Alps, went to Zurich with Bernard Ochin, who had been one of the moſt celebrated preachers of Italy, but had renounced his former ſuperſtitions. That after he had ſpent five years at Straſburgh, he was invited into England, through the means of Cranmer, by King Edward VI. who made him Profeſſor of divinity at Oxford: that he diſputed there with the Papiſts, firſt privately in the Vice-chancellor's lodgings, and afterwards before his Majeſty's commiſſioners deputed for that purpoſe. At length the Papiſts ſtirred up the ſeditious people among them ſo ſucceſsfully, that he was obliged to retire to London till the tumult was ſuppreſſed; and then returning again, was, for his better ſecurity, made Canon of Chriſt-church by the King, where he continued till Queen Mary came to the crown; when being forced to fly, he paſſed unknown and undiſcovered (c) through Brabant and other Popiſh territories to Straſburgh; from thence he went to Zurich, upon an honourable invitation from the magiſtrates of that place, to be their divinity profeſſor, and was accompanied thither by our great *Jewel*, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury, who was then an exile in thoſe parts. Here he lived ſeven years [A] in high eſteem with the inhabitants of the place, and in great friendſhip with *Bullinger* and other learned men. He was afterwards invited to be Paſtor of the Italian church at Geneva; and, upon the re-eſtabliſhment of Proteſtantiſm in

(a) See the articles of Cardinal Pole, remark [R], and Gilpin, remark [C].

(b) He learned it from one Iſaac a Jewiſh phyſician.

(c) It is ſaid that he was way-laid both here and beyond ſea.

[A] *Here he lived ſeven years.*] Here he took a ſecond wife, who was recommended to him from the Italian church at Geneva, where ſhe lived an exile for religion. He had two children by her, who both died very young before him, and he left her with child of a third, which proved a daughter.

England under Queen Elizabeth, Biſhop Jewel laboured, but in vain, to bring him back hither [*B*]. He continued at Zurich till his death, which happened November 12, 1562, in the ſixty-third year of his age *(d)*. A ſketch of his character is inſerted in remark [*C*].

(d) Moreri, in the article of Vermilli, edit. 1741.

[*B*] *Biſhop Jewel laboured in vain to bring him back to England.*] However, the year before he died, he was prevailed with, by letters from the Queen-mother of France, the King of Navarre, the Prince of Conde, and other peers of that realm, to go to the ſolemn conference at Poiſſy in France, where he diſputed againſt the Papiſts, with Beza and others.

[*C*] *A ſketch of his character.*] In his perſon he was big-boned, robuſt, and well limbed, his countenance expreſſing a grave and ſettled turn of mind. As to his attainments, his learning as well as parts were very uncommon, and he was particularly ſkilled in diſputation, in which his zeal was ſeldom known to get the better of his judgment. He was very ſincere and indefatigable in promoting the Reformation; yet he was always moderate and prudent in his outward behaviour; nor even in the conflict of a diſputation did he ſuffer himſelf to be tranſported into intemperate warmth or unguarded expreſſions. But his pains and induſtry were not confined to preaching and diſputing againſt the Papiſts, he wrote a great many books againſt them, of which his defence of the orthodox doctrine of the Euchariſt againſt Biſhop Gardiner is his *chef d'oeuvre*. He wrote alſo ſeveral tracts of divinity, and commentaries on many books of Scripture (1), which have not eſcaped the animadverſions of a modern author (2).

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(1) A liſt of all his works may be ſeen in Moreri.

(2) Father Simon, in his critical hiſtory of the Old Teſtament, book xiv. chap. 14.

MAYERNE [Sir THEODORE DE], Baron of Aulbone, firſt phyſician to the two Kings James and Charles I. was the ſon of Lewis de Mayerne [*A*], a French Proteſtant, who flying with his lady on account of their religion, in 1572, to Geneva, had this ſon born there, September 18, the following year *(a)*. He took his Chriſtian name from his godfather Theodore Beza; and after imbibing the elements of literature in his own country, he was ſent to Heidelberg, where he ſtaid ſome years; but making choice of phyſic for his profeſſion, he removed to Montpelier, and there took both his degrees in that faculty in 1596 and 1597. Thus qualified, he went to Paris, and, by way of introducing himſelf into practice, he gave lectures in anatomy to the young ſurgeons, and in pharmacy to the apothecaries [*B*]. In the mean time, his medical preſcriptions brought him into the notice and favour of Mr Ribbit, Sieur de la Riviere, firſt phyſician to Henry IV. who recommended him ſo effectually to the King, that he made him one of his phyſicians in ordinary; and in 1600 appointed him to attend Henry Duke of Roan, in his embaſſies from France to the Princes of Germany and Italy. He diſcharged this office with great credit, and, upon his return, was in high favour with the King, who promiſed to do great things for him, provided he would change his religion; for which purpoſe, his Majeſty ſet Cardinal du Peron and others of the clergy upon him: and, even in ſpite of his obſtinacy, the King was going to appoint him his firſt phyſician, if the Jeſuits, who were aware of it, had not prevented it by the interpoſition of his Queen *Mary de Medicis* [*C*]. After the death of Henry IV. he continued in the poſt of phyſician in ordinary to Lewis XIII. till 1606, when he ſold his place to a French phyſician. In 1607 he had under his care an Engliſh man of quality, who, after his recovery, carried him into England, where he had a private conference with King James. This introduction occaſioned his fixing in England. That King inviting him hither after he had ſold his place in France, he gladly accepted the invitation, and was made firſt phyſician both to King James and his Queen; in which office he ſerved the whole royal family with great honour and approbation, and was alſo much employed both by the nobility and gentry, to the day of his death, which happened March 15, 1655, at Chelſea, near London, leaving behind him one only daughter, who brought her great fortune in marriage to the Marquis of Mountpouvillon, grandſon of the Marſhal Duke de la Force; but ſhe died at the Hague in 1661, of a child of which ſhe could not be delivered. Though Sir Theodore never publiſhed any thing except the *Apology* before-mentioned, yet he had an exact collection of his preſcriptions, and compoſed a very curious diſpenſatory of medicines, Galenical and chymical; and after his death, his works were printed at London 1700, folio [*D*].

(a) His mother was Louiſa, the daughter of Antoine le Moſſen, treaſurer of the army to Francis I. and Henry II. in Piedmont.

[*A*] *Lewis de Mayerne.*] This gentleman was the celebrated author of the *General Hiſtory of Spain*, and of the *Monarchie Ariſt-Democratique*, dedicated to the States-General. He retired to Geneva about the end of the year 1572, after two of his houſes had been pulled down at Lyons on account of his religion.

[*B*] *He read lectures to ſurgeons and apothecaries.*] As chymiſtry fell into the ſubject of theſe lectures (1), and ſuch medicines were uſed by our phyſician, he was attacked on that account by the faculty at Paris, by whom the practice of chymiſtry was greatly decried at that time; inſomuch, that even the celebrated Guy Patin calls him a quack, on account of his pretenſions to chymiſtry (2). Such abuſes provoked him to publiſh *An apology* for himſelf, which was the only thing he ever did publiſh.

[*C*] *Prevented by the intereſt of the Jeſuits.*] Our phyſician knew nothing of this circumſtance and intended favour, till 1642, when he was told it in England from Cæſar Duke of Vendoſme, a natural ſon of France.

[*D*] *His works.*] They are divided into two books, the firſt contains his *Conſilia, epiſtolas, & obſervationes*; the ſecond his *Pharmacopæam, variaſque medicamentorum formulas.* To the whole is prefixed the author's effigies, done the year before his death, from whence an idea may be formed of his perſon; his phyſiognomy, it is certain, appears here to be one of the happieſt in the world, there is a lively, ſerene, and majeſtic air in it, and his venerable beard has a very good effect (3). Under the print are theſe words: *Theo. Turquet* (4) *de Mayerne, eques auratus; patria Gallus, religione reformatus, dignitate raro; profeſſione alter Hippocrates, ac trium regum exemplo rariſſimo archiater, eruditione incomparabilis, experientia nulli ſecundus, &, quod ex omnibus reſultat, fama late pervagante perilluſtris.*

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(1) By his ſkill in chymiſtry he improved the art of painting in enamel. See Petitot's article.

(2) See his Letters, Tom. I. N° 8.

(3) So ſays Mr Bayle, from whom the ſubſtance of this article is extracted.

(4) This nickname came from a mother in the family, who was thought to reſemble a fine Turkiſh woman.

This article is extracted from a prefatory epiſtle to the author's memoirs.

MELVIL [Sir James], a diſtinguiſhed memoir writer upon the Engliſh affairs, was deſcended from an honourable family in Scotland (*a*), and born at Halhill there, near the middle of the ſixteenth century. At the age of fourteen he was ſent by the Queen-regent of Scotland to be page to her daughter Mary, conſort to the Dauphin of France, where, with her leave he entered into the ſervice of the Duke of Montmorency, great conſtable and chief miniſter of France, who earneſtly deſired him of her Majeſty, having conceived a great fondneſs for his promiſing parts. He continued nine years in this ſervice, and had a penſion ſettled upon him by the King. Then obtaining leave to travel, he paſſed into Germany, where he was retained by the Elector Palatine, and reſided at his court three years, during which he was employed by him in ſeveral embaſſies. After this, proſecuting his intentions to travel, he viſited Venice, Rome, and the moſt famous among the cities of Italy. Whence returning through Switzerland to the Elector's court, he found a call home from Queen Mary, then fixed in Scotland (*b*), and accordingly went thither and attended her ſervice [*A*]. Upon his arrival in Scotland, he was admitted a Privy-counſellor, and gentleman of the bed-chamber, and was employed by her Majeſty in her moſt important concerns, till her unhappy confinement in Lochlevin. He was afterwards regarded in a ſpecial manner by the four ſucceſſive regents of that kingdom, and truſted by them with negotiations of the greateſt importance, though after the Queen's impriſonment he had ever owned the King's ſide. And when his Majeſty came to the poſſeſſion of that crown, he was eſpecially recommended to him by the Queen, then a priſoner in England, as one moſt faithful, and capable of doing him ſervice, and thereupon was made by his Majeſty a member of his privy-council and of his exchequer, and a gentleman of his chamber. He always continued in favour and employ while his maſter continued in Scotland, but after the devolution to him of the Engliſh crown, though conſiderable advancements were promiſed by the miniſtry, he declined the propoſal. Sir James was now ſtricken in years, and deſirous to retreat from the buſineſs of the world; wherefore, having paid his devoirs to the King in England, upon his acceſſion, he returned home; and there, as in a bower, reflecting on the paſt voyage of his life, and all the various weather and difficult ſtorms in which he had been toſſed, he drew up *Memoirs* of them, for the uſe of his ſon, to whom they are addreſſed in an introductory epiſtle. They were printed in 1683, in folio [*B*], and have been much eſteemed by the admirers of ſecret hiſtory, eſpecially in regard to the memory of Mary Queen of Scots. They have been reprinted both in French and Engliſh.

(*a*) He was the third ſon of the Laird of Raith.

(*b*) After the death of her huſband King Francis II. ſhe removed to her kingdom of Scotland.

[*A*] *He attended her ſervice.*] The Queen-mother of France offered him at the ſame time a large penſion to reſide at her court, finding it her intereſt at that juncture to keep up a good underſtanding with the Proteſtant Princes of Germany; and ſhe knew, ſays the editor of his memoirs, our ſtateſman to be the propereſt perſon to negotiate her affairs, as he was moſt acceptable to them all.

[*B*] *His memoirs were printed in* 1683.] It is ſomewhat ſurprizing at firſt, that theſe curious memoirs ſhould not have ſeen the light before a century had paſſed from the time of writing them. But of this matter we have the following account by the editor, who informs us, that they were accidentally found in the caſtle of Edinburgh in 1660, ſomewhat imperfect, and injured by time and civil confuſions; whence they paſſed into the hands of Sir *James Melvil* of Halhill, the author's grandſon, from whom the editor *George Scot* received them. They came out as above-mentioned, with this title, *The memoirs of Sir James Melvil of Halhill, containing an impartial account of moſt of the remarkable affairs of ſtate during the laſt age, not mentioned by other hiſtorians, more particularly relating to the kingdoms of England and Scotland, under the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, and King James: in all which tranſactions the author was perſonally and publickly concerned. Now publiſhed from the original manuſcript.* It is remarkable that nobody knew how theſe memoirs came to be depoſited in the caſtle of Edinburgh, or when they were ſo; and alſo that they were preſerved almoſt intire in a place which could not ſecure the public records of the kingdom from the rude incurſions of civil diſcord.

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MORISON [Robert], an eminent botaniſt, was born, in 1620, in Scotland, at Aberdeen, where he took the degree of A. M. in 1638, and ſoon afterwards taught philoſophy and the mathematics in that univerſity. His parents deſigning to breed him for the church, he learned Hebrew for that purpoſe, and wrote a Hebrew grammar for his own private uſe. But he had ſuch a ſtrong inclination for botany, that his father was obliged to leave him intirely to that ſtudy; and he had made a conſiderable progreſs in it, when the civil wars drove him from his own country, after he had ſignalized his zeal for the intereſt of the King, and his courage in a battle fought at Brigg of Dee (*a*), between the inhabitants of Aberdeen and the Preſbyterian troops under Middleton, the general of the Covenanters, in which he received a dangerous wound on the head. As ſoon as he was cured of it he went to France, and fixing at Paris, was employed in the education of Monſ. Bizet, the ſon of a counſellor, at the ſame time applying himſelf with great eagerneſs to botany, in which he was aſſiſted by Mr Roobin, and ſtudying medicine together with it, he took the degree of M. D. at Angers in 1648. His reputation for botany recommended him to the Duke of Orleans (*b*), who, in 1650, gave him the direction of the royal gardens at Blois, which he enriched with two hundred and fifty plants that had never been deſcribed before. He was poſſeſſed of this place when his noble patron preſented him, in February 1660, to King Charles II. who, upon the Duke's death, ſent for him to London, and upon his arrival there gave him, in Auguſt the ſame year, the title of his Phyſician, and that of Profeſſor royal of botany, with a penſion of 100 l. ſterling *per annum*, as alſo a houſe and gardens (*c*). Before he left France, he had formed a new method

(*a*) A river which runs by Aberdeen.

(*b*) He was recommended to the Duke by Mr Roobin.

(*c*) Thus fixed and honoured by his Majeſty, he was choſen a fellow of the college of phyſicians at London.

of explaining bontany [*A*], which he now reſolved to complete; and in order thereto, publiſhed, in 1669, his *Præludium botanicum* [*B*]. This piece procured him ſo much reputation, that the univerſity of Oxford choſe him for their Botanical profeſſor Dec. 16, that year, and he was incorporated M. D. the next after [*C*]. He accepted of the profeſſorſhip with the King's conſent, and acquitted himſelf in it with ſurprizing application and ability. This place furniſhing him with proper means of proceeding on his deſign, he publiſhed, in 1672, the ninth ſection of the ſecond part of it, under the title of *A hiſtory of plants*, as a ſpecimen of his great work. The univerſity contributed a large ſum to carry on the impreſſion of the book, which, together with the favourable reception it met with, encouraged him to purſue the plan, and he publiſhed the ſecond part of it in 1680, with the title of *Plantarum hiſtoriæ univerſalis Oxonienſis, pars ſecunda, ſeu herbarum diſtributio nova per tabulas cognitionis & affinitatis ex libro naturæ obſervata & detecta*, folio. But he did not live to finiſh the whole, for going to London in the proſecution of it, he received a bruiſe on his breaſt by the pole of a coach, as he was croſſing the ſtreet between the end of St Martin's-lane and Northumberland-houſe, near Charing-croſs London, November 9, 1683, when being carried ſoon after to his houſe in Green-ſtreet Leiceſter-fields, he died there the next day, and was buried in the church of St Martin-in-the-fields. He was ſucceeded in his profeſſorſhip by *Jacob Bobart*, a very able botaniſt; and who being perfectly maſter of our author's method, which he had learned from him, publiſhed the third part in 1699, in folio (*d*). His firſt part was loſt. Dr Moriſon was the firſt Botanic profeſſor of Oxford who read lectures in the phyſic-garden, after the lofty and elegant wall of hewn ſtone was built round it, at the expence of Lord Danby.

(*d*) To which he prefixed our author's life, whence the chief part of the preſent article is extracted, with ſome additions from Wcod's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 178, 179.

[*A*] *A new method of botany.*] He ſhewed this to the Duke, who exhorted him to write the Hiſtory of Plants according to his plan, promiſing at the ſame time to bear the charges of it, and to leave him the whole profit; but the execution was prevented by that Duke's death.

[*B*] *Præludium botanicum.*] It came out in two parts, 1. *Præludiorum botanicorum, pars prior, ſeu hortus regius Blæſenſis auctus*, &c. 2. *Præludiorum botanicorum, pars ſecunda, in qua halluinationes Gaſp. Bauhrin, & dialogus cum Socio R. S. inſeruntur*, Lond. 1669, 8vo.

[*C*] *Botanic profeſſor, and incorporated M. D.*] He was incorporated with the title of R. Moriſon of Univerſity college, and was particularly recommended to the Botanic profeſſorſhip by Mr Obadiah Walker, then Fellow, and afterwards Maſter of that college. He made his firſt entrance on his botanic lecture September 2, 1670, in the *ſchola medicinæ, i. e.* in the phyſic ſchool. On the 5th of the ſame month removing to the phyſic-garden, he read, ſays Mr Wood, in the middle of it (with a table before him) on herbs and plants, thrice a week, for five weeks ſpace, not without a conſiderable auditory. In May 1673 he read again, and ſo likewiſe in the autumn following, which courſe ſpring and fall he propoſed always to follow; but was diverted ſeveral years, by proſecuting his large deſign of publiſhing the Univerſal knowledge of *ſimples*.

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This article is chiefly extrrcted from an account of the author in the hiſtory of Corpus Chriſti college, by Rob. Maſters, edit. 1753, 4to.

MOSS [Robert], a learned divine, was the eldeſt ſon of Mr Robert Moſs, a gentleman of conſiderable property in land at Gillingham in Norfolk, where his wife Mary brought him this ſon in 1666. He had the firſt part of his education under Mr John Burton, in the free-ſchool at Norwich, from whence he was admitted of Bennet college Cambridge, April 19, 1682, at the age of ſixteen, under the tuition of Mr John Cory. Whilſt he was under-graduate, he approved himſelf to the ſociety by his ingenious exerciſes of every ſort [*A*], who immediately after taking the degree of A. B. in 1685, choſe him into a Norfolk fellowſhip, upon the reſignation of Mr Gerrard. Upon this promotion he engaged in the buſineſs of pupils (*a*), commenced A. M. in 1686, and acquired great reputation in the *roſtrum* as a diſputant. Entering into holy orders at the canonical age, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf no leſs in the *pulpit* as a preacher. In 1696 he proceeded B. D. [*B*]; and ſo ſenſible was the univerſity of his merit, that he miſſed of the orator's place (for which he was a candidate, and confeſſedly furniſhed with every proper talent and accompliſhment) but by a very few votes [*C*]. His firſt call from the univerſity was to the preacher's place in Gray's-inn London, into which he was choſen in 1698.

(*a*) We have already obſerved that one of his pupils was Dr Stephen Hales. See his article. To which may be added that he ſurvived his tutor thirty years, and retained to the laſt the higheſt eſteem for his memory. There is a monument of Dr Hales in his church at Tedington. He was probably bred at the King's ſchool in Canterbury. His friend Dr Stukeley died March 4, 1765.

[*A*] *Ingenious exerciſes.*] See, for inſtance, a long copy of verſes, *In mæſtiſſ. ac lætiſſ. Acad. Cantab. affectus, decedente Carolo II. ſuccedente Jacobi II.* 1684; and a ſhort one, *In lachrymæ Cantab. in obitum Reg. Mariæ*, 1694; with another very long one in Engliſh on the ſame occaſion.

[*B*] *He proceeded B. D.*] It was at a public commencement, and he diſtinguiſhed himſelf upon the occaſion very particularly. His theſis upon this queſtion, *Jeſum Chriſtum eſſe verum Deum eſt doctrina ad ſalutem neceſſaria*, with his *Clerum*, and Prevaricator's ſpeech (1), were in the hands of Dr Zachary Gray, Rector of Houghton-Conqueſt in Bedforſhire (the learned author of ſome curious notes upon Hudibras and Shakeſpeare) who had likewiſe an excellent determination of Dr Moſs in a caſe of conſcience (2).

[*C*] *He loſt it by a few votes.*] Mr Maſters, who is ſtill my informer, further declares it to be well known 'that a great part of his college were deſirous of 'advancing him to the maſterſhip; but (continues 'this hiſtorian) whatever were the reaſons of his not 'ſucceeding therein, they, who well knew the tranſ'actions of thoſe times, have aſſured us, that he loſt 'no credit by either of the competitions.' With reſpect to the maſterſhip, one of his chief friends was Mr *Thomas Tooke*, whoſe memory is worth preſerving. He was deſcended from the family of Bere-court in Cliff near Dover, where he was born. After an education under Dr Thomas Gale at St Paul's ſchool London, he was removed, in Octocter 1685, to Bennet college (3), where he took the degrees in arts at the regular times, and was choſen Fellow November 20, 1690; but reſigned it June 23, 1699, either upon his marriage (4) or ſome other preferment. It is certain that he became pretty early maſter of a free grammar-ſchool at Biſhop Stortford in Hertfordſhire, which, by his diligence and ſkill in teaching, he raiſed into great repute, and acquired thereby a large fortune. He was a great benefactor to his college; beſides 20l. given to it on his reſignation, towards the increaſe of the library, and finding an orator in the hall on the 29th of May, he left to it by his will the

(1) Or *Terræ filius.*

(2) Dr Gray married the daughter of Dr Moſs's wife by her former huſband.

(3) Under Mr Cory, the ſame tutor with Dr Moſs, Maſters, p. 407, 408.

(4) With Anne daughter of Richard Lydal, M. D. Warden of Merton college Oxford. Ibid.

6 rectories

1698. This was followed the next year by an appointment to be preacher-aſſiſtant (*b*) at St James's Weſtminſter (*c*), and he was ſoon after nominated a chaplain to King William. He continued in the ſame ſtation under Queen Anne; and being one of the chaplains in waiting when her Majeſty viſited Cambridge in 1705, ſhe conferred upon him the degree of D. D. A very few years after this, a diſtinguiſhing atteſtation of his merit as a preacher was given him by the pariſhioners of St Laurence Jewry in London, who invited him, upon the reſignation of Dr Stanhope in 1708, to accept of their Tueſday's lecture, which, though not very conſiderable for its endowment, yet on account of the eminent perſons who had preceded him therein, was deemed a poſt of honour; the ſame applauſe and approbation, however, which he had gained in his former ſtations attending him here, enabled him to ſupport the credit and dignity of that place (*d*), where he was conſtantly attended by a numerous audience, and particularly by the clergy of the firſt diſtinction in the city. Thus new rewards of his excellent qualities and accompliſhments were continually thrown into his lap, without any traverſe, till 1709, when an attempt was made to eject him from his fellowſhip [*D*] at Cambridge; but ſo high was his reputation that the deſign proved fruitleſs, and he held his fellowſhip till he was advanced, by the Queen's nomination, to the deanery of Ely, into which he was inſtalled May 16, 1712. Thus dignified, he ſoon after voluntarily reſigned his fellowſhip, and entered into a marriage with Mrs Hinton, a widow of good character and circumſtances at Cambridge, with whom he had contracted an acquaintance in the early part of his life; and though an agreeable perſon, an engaging addreſs, and diſtinguiſhed reputation in his profeſſion, had recommended him to other matches much more advantageous, and far beyond his own fortunes, yet a point of honour induced him to ſacrifice all other advantages in favour of a perſon, whoſe affections had once been warmly engaged to him. In 1714 Dr Robinſon, then Bp of London, collated him to the rectory of *Gilſton*, in the county of Hertford. This was the only living he was ever poſſeſſed of, and the revenues were ſmall; but he valued it more from its convenience than profits, as it afforded him an agreeable retirement, and a good reſting place in his paſſage from London to Ely, when the gout and other infirmities had diſabled him from taking any long journies. Upon the acceſſion of King George I. he was ſworn a third time into the chaplain's place, which he held till 1718, when he was diſmiſſed by the ſtrength of party prejudices (*e*), in company with Dr Hare and Dr Sherlock, perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank for parts and learning, and his moſt intimate friends. In ſome of the laſt years of his life the gout increaſing, occaſioned almoſt a total loſs of the uſe of his limbs (*f*), and was feared would have brought on that of his ſenſes likewiſe, had not death ſet him free, March 26, 1729, in the year of his grand climacteric. On the 20th of October preceding he made his

(*b*) This is his ſtyle in the act of parliament by which the diſtrict of St James's was made a diſtinct pariſh.

(*c*) By Dr Wake the rector (afterwards Archbp of Canterbury) with the concurrence of the veſtry.

(*d*) The year following, when ſome ſcheme was propoſed in Cambridge, Dr Aſhton, the learned maſter of Jeſus college, ſent him up an account of all the colleges in Cambridge, with his remarks upon it, which may be ſeen in Mr Baker's manuſcripts, Vol. XXXVII. p. 455.

(*e*) See Biſhop Hoadly's article in this Supplement.

(*f*) He reſigned his lectureſhip of St Laurence in 1727, but kept his place at Gray's-inn as long as he lived, that ſociety ever retaining the higheſt regard for him.

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rectories of Great Brixtead and Lambourne in Eſſex, and it was thought he would have been a more conſiderable benefactor, had they elected him for their maſter, or obliged him in the choice of his friend Dr Moſs. He died at Biſhop Stortford in May 1721, and was buried at his rectory of Lambourne, where there is a monument erected to his memory, with an excellent inſcription in Latin, written by Dr Moſs, in theſe terms:

Qui pedem huc infers, Æternitatis Contemplator,
Imprudens ne calces eruditos Cineres,
Aſtas ad Tumulum Thomæ Tooke *S. T. P.*
Vir is Linguarum, Artium, Rerum periſſimus,
Sed præter cetera egregiè natus atque aptus fuit
Ad puerilem ætatem plectendam & formandam,
Frænis Calcaribuſque Indoli cujuſque accommodatis;
Ingeniorum ſagaciſſimus Inſpector & Judex,
Idemque leniſſimus Dux & Moderator;
In docendo tam patiens, adeo non iracundus,
Ut perſonam Irati pro re nata induerit,
Ne Diſciplinæ habenas nimis laxas haberet:
Morum tamen tum vigilantiſſimus Cuſtos,
Tum rigidus, ubi opus eſſet, Caſtigator & Corrector:
Hoc quippe Magiſtro præcipue cavendum duxit,
Ne Diſcipuli ſui è Schola ac Tyrocinio egreſſi,
Bonas Literas Vitiis turpiter inquinatas,
Quaſi peſtem Eccleſiæ & Reipublicæ importarent.
Quod ad privatas laudes, priſcâ fuit pietate & fide,
Pectoris omnino aperti, candidi, Honeſto incocti,
Humanitate conditi, referti Benevolentia,
Eaque in Amicos effuſiſſima, officiociſſima.

Salmon's Antiq. of Eſſex, p. 42. Arms in Harris's Hiſt. of Kent.

The learned Mr Baker, in a letter to his friend Hearne, obſerves, that the character given of him, in a ſermon by the ſame gentleman, is juſtly his due, *viz.* 'Should I undertake to tell you how much that 'worthy perſon deſerves, who for many years has 'beſtowed his labours ſo uſefully among you, you 'are witneſſes and judges of this too: and I am loth 'to make his praiſe his penance; and indeed he will 'leave ſo many living monuments of learned pains and 'care in the neighbourhood and the whole country, 'that there can be no need of doing juſtice to his reputation, or preſerving his memory any other way (5).' To which we may add, that Dr Knight, who places him among the eminent ſcholars of St Paul's, obſerves, that ſuch was his reputation as a ſchoolmaſter, that he had the refuſal of the public ſchools both at Norwich and St Edmundſbury (6).

[*D*] *A deſign to remove him from his fellowſhip.*] The reaſons alledged were; that as the place of aſſiſtant preacher at St James's church had a ſalary annexed by an act of parliament of 100 l. per annum, and the preacher's place at Gray's-inn, and the lectureſhip at St. Laurence, amounting together to 140 l. more, it was thought theſe preferments vacated his fellowſhip by the ſtatute; and the maſter, Dr Green, in order to oblige him to reſign, wrote a long letter, acquainting him that he would no longer diſpenſe with his abſence; yet, notwithſtanding this, and the opinions of two eminent lawyers, which ſeemed to favour the ſame ſide of the queſtion, he continued therein till 1713, after his promotion to the deanery of Ely. So far Mr Maſters expreſly declares in this place; but it is intimated by him, as appears in the preceding remark, that our author had been a dangerous rival to Dr Green for the maſterſhip of the college in 1698; and it is remarkable that the impotent attempt to remove him from his fellowſhip was made in 1709, the year of the proſecution of Dr Sacheverel, in which cauſe he took the contrary ſide to Dr Green, who, on his reſignation in 1716, was very diligent in ſecuring the maſterſhip againſt Dr Moſs for Dr Bradford, afterwards Biſhop of Rocheſter and Dean of Weſtminſter, who is well known to have ſided in political matters with Dr Green.

(5) The laſt ſermon in Vol. I. on the neceſſity and uſefulneſs of a good education, Prov. iv. 13.

(6) Life of Dr Collet, p. 428.

will

will [*E*], wherein he ordered his body to be buried, without any oſtentation, under a plain ſtone, as it was, in the preſbytery of his own cathedral, with only this inſcription upon it:

Robertus Moſs S. T. P. Decanus Elienſis, ob. 26 Martii 1729, ætat. 63.
and his arms, *Ermine a croſs patee.*

He printed in his life-time ſeveral occaſional ſermons, which, with many others never deſigned for the preſs, were publiſhed in 1736, in eight volumes octavo, with a preface by Dr *Andrew Snape*, Provoſt of King's college Cambridge, who was well acquainted with his worth, and aſſures us therein, that ‘ he was of ſo open and generous a diſpoſition, ‘ and ſuch a ſtranger to all artificial diſguiſe, that he affirmed, and you believed him; he ‘ promiſed, and you truſted him; you knew him, and you loved him: that he was very ‘ communicative both of his ſubſtance and his knowledge, and a man of ſo much honour ‘ and integrity, candour and humanity, as, joined with his other Chriſtian virtues and intel‘ lectual endowments, as well as a graceful perſon, genteel addreſs, and engaging conver‘ ſation, gained him univerſal reſpect.’

[*E*] *His will.*] In it he made a comfortable proviſion for his widow, in addition to her own fortune; and after ſettling a perpetual annuity of 5 l. iſſuing out of lands in Cheſhire, on the maſter and fellows of Caius college, as an exhibition to one of the ſcholars, on the nomination of the maſter, and bequeathing a few legacies to his relations, he left the bulk of his fortune to his nephew Charles Moſs, then a ſtudent of the ſaid college. The annuity left to the college was intended as a teſtimony of his friendſhip for Dr Gooch, then maſter of the college, and afterwards Biſhop of Ely, with whom he lived in great intimacy during the greateſt part of his life (7). As a ſpecimen of his taſte and talents for Latin poetry, I ſhall cloſe this article with a very elegant copy of Iambics, addreſſed to Dr Sherlock, and written on his publication of The uſe and intent of prophecy.

In Doctiſſimi Sherlocci librum nuper editum De uſu ac fine doni prophetici, nec non prædictionum maxime memorabilium continuatam ab initio uſque ad ſeculorum ſeriem.

Sherlocce macte ſis eximiis dotibus!
Eſt ingeni tibi vis ignea & enthea;
Vel es propheta, vel prophetæ proximus;
Et particeps conſilii & interpres ſacri.
Res abditas tam familiariter aperis
Dilucidis verbis res tenebroſiſſimas:
Ratione cogis, ut credam myſteriis;
Ut Chriſtianus ſim, non ſuades, ſed adigis,
Cur Chriſtianus ſim, ita monſtras planiſſime.
Sherlocce, macte ſis eximiis dotibus!
Nec digna tè ſperes, ut mos eſt ſeculi
Honores & pretium, laturum hic præmia.
Tanta indoles (ut fas) vulgare nil ſapit,
Mortale nil ſpirat, ſed longe tranſvolat.
Scientiæ interpres certe propheticæ
Meretur & feret prophetæ præmium,
Procul relictis terrenis honoribus,
Ad altiora pertendens & ardua
Lucem perenni è fonte lucis hauriet,
Atque inde totus gloria circumfluet,
Et ſempiternis gaudiis augebitur
Hæc una merces eſt eximiis dotibus,
Quæ cœlitus datæ petunt cœleſtia.
Utenda quæ recte, fruenda quæ dedit,
Sic ſua remunerat Deuſque munera.

R. M. ætatis anno 59, Chriſti 1726 (8).

Our Dean had many years before given a proof of his eſteem and reſpect for Dr Sherlock, in a piece intituled *The report vindicated from miſreports; being a defence of my Lords the Biſhops, as well as the Clergy of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, in a letter from a member of that houſe to the Prolocutor, concerning their late conſultations about the Biſhop of* Bangor*'s writings; with a poſtſcript, containing ſome few remarks upon the letter to Dr Sherlock.* This pamphlet came out in 1717, and the next year (1718) the author was diſmiſſed from his chaplainſhip to the King.

(7) Communicated by Dr Moſs, now Archdeacon of Colcheſter, a Prebendary of Saliſbury, and Rector of St George's Hanover-ſquare.

(8) Theſe Iambics are incorrectly printed in the Gen. Dict. where are inſerted two other Engliſh copies of his verſes, under the article of our author, by Dr Birch. Another copy alſo of his Engliſh verſes was printed by Curl.

N.

NYE [Philip], a Nonconformiſt clergyman, of diſtinguiſhed zeal during the uſurpation of Cromwell, was a native of Suſſex, deſcended of a genteel family there, and born about 1596. After a proper foundation at the grammar ſchool, he was ſent to Oxford, and entered a commoner of Braſen-noſe college in 1615; but being puritanically inclined, he removed thence in a little time to Magdalen-hall, for the ſake of a tutor of that turn. He took both his degrees in arts at the regular times (a), and in the interim entering into holy orders, he obtained the curacy of St Michael's church in Cornhill, London, in 1620, where he continued, till by not complying to the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, he became obnoxious to the cenſures of the epiſcopal court. To avoid theſe he went, with ſome others of his perſuaſion, to Holland in 1633, and continued abroad for the moſt part at Arnheim in Guelderland, till about the latter end of the year 1640, when the parliament beginning to prevail over the King, he returned home, and was ſoon after made miniſter of Kimbolton in Huntingdonſhire, by Edward Lord Kimbolton, then Earl of Mancheſter. In 1643 he was appointed one of the *aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter*, became a great champion of the Preſbyterians, and a zealous aſſerter of the ſolemn league and covenant; and having married the daughter of Stephen Marſhall, was ſent with his father-in-law, in July the ſame year, into Scotland, to expedite the taking of their covenant [*A*], which after

(a) A. B. April 4, 1619, and A. M. May 9, 1622. Wood's Faſti Oxon. vol. 1. col. 212 and 223.

[*A*] *To expedite their covenant.*] Here he told the people in ſet ſpeeches, 'That they were to enter 'into ſuch a covenant and league as would never be 'forgot by them and their poſterity, and both have 'occaſion to remember it with joy. Moreover, con'tinued he, ſuch an oath it is, as for matter, perſons, 'and other circumſtances, that the like hath not 'been in any age, ſufficiently warranted both by hu'man and divine ſtory; for as God did ſwear for the 'ſalvation of men and kingdoms, ſo kingdoms muſt 'now ſwear for the preſervation and ſalvation of king'doms, to eſtabliſh a Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, in *England*,' &c. as we have it in a periodical paper called, *Mercurius Aulicus* (1), publiſhed by John Birkenhead, a famous occaſional writer for the court, of whom Mr Wood gives the following account: That he was the ſon of Randall Birkenhead, a Sadler, at Northwich in Cheſhire, where he was born: that he became a ſervitor of Oriel college Oxford in 1632, at the age of ſeventeen, and having taken the degree of A. B. in 1636, was made amanuenſis to Archbiſhop Laud, who being pleaſed with his parts, created him A. M. by diploma in 1639, and by his Grace's letters thereupon he was elected Fellow of All Souls the next year. While the King was at Oxford after the rebellion, our author was appointed to write the *Mercurii Aulici*, on the royal ſide; and by his Majeſty's recommendation, was choſen profeſſor of moral philoſophy, which he held, though with little profit from it, till 1648, when he was ejected both from that and his fellowſhip by the parliament viſitors; after which he retired to London, ſuffered ſeveral impriſonments for his Majeſty's cauſe, and lived by his wits till the reſtoration, whereupon he was, by virtue of his Majeſty's letters, created D. C. L. at Oxford in 1661; elected a Burgeſs for Wilton in the parliament, which begun at Weſtminſter May 8th the ſame year; was knighted Nov. 14, 1662; was conſtituted one of the Maſters of Requeſts in Jan. 1663, being then alſo Maſter of the Faculties, and a member of the Royal Society. The truth is, continues Wood, that had he not been given too much to bantering, he might have paſſed for a good wit. And had he alſo expreſſed himſelf grateful and reſpectful to thoſe that had been his benefactors in his neceſſity, which he did not, but rather ſlighted them (ſhewing thereby the baſeneſs of his ſpirit) he might have paſſed for a friend, and a loving companion (2). He wrote ſeveral other papers (a liſt of which is preſerved by the foreſaid antiquary) beſides the *Mercurii Aulici*, which being full of wit and buffoonry, became a fit morſel for Marchmont Nedham, another buffoon, who tells us that the *Mercurii Aulici* was the act of many, *viz.* Birkenhead the ſcribe, ſecretary Nicholas the informer, and George Digby the contriver; and that an aſſeſſment of wits was laid upon every college, and paid weekly for the communion of this thing called *Mercurius Aulicus.* This Nedham was born at Burford in Oxfordſhire, in 1620, and being bred under his father-in-law Chriſtopher Glyn, Vicar and maſter of the free-ſchool there, was ſent at fourteen to All Souls college in Oxford, where being made a choriſter, he continued till 1637, when loſing that place by taking the degree of A. B. he removed to St Mary's-hall, and thence ſoon after to London, to an uſher's place in Merchant Taylor's ſchool. Upon the change of the times he became an under clerk in Gray's Inn, and obtained a comfortable ſubſiſtence, which he increaſed ſoon after by publiſhing his weekly paper called *Mercurius Britannicus*, which had a prodigious run. About the ſame time ſtudying phyſic, he began to practice it in the chymical way in 1645, and by this and his writing maintained himſelf in very genteel faſhion, but being impriſoned in the Gatehouſe for his aſperſions upon his Majeſty, in the opening and explaining his cabinet of letters in 1645, and meeting with other affronts, he left his cauſe, and obtaining the favour of a known royaliſt to introduce him unto the King at Hampton-court in 1647: he aſked pardon upon his knees, which being readily granted, he kiſſed his Majeſty's hand, and ſoon after wrote *Mercurius Pragmaticus* on the court ſide, for which being narrowly ſought after he left London, and for a while ſkulked at Minſter-Lovel near Burford, in the houſe of Dr Peter Heylin; but at length being diſcovered, impriſoned in Newgate, and brought into danger of his life, the ſpeaker Lenthall, and preſident Bradſhaw, procured his pardon, and perſuaded him to change his ſtyle once more, meaning for the independents, who were then uppermoſt. Thus brought over, *The Mercurius Pragmaticus* was ſuppreſſed in 1649, and the ſame year he publiſhed *Mercurius Politicus* in that cauſe. He continued this paper till April 1660, when it became conve-

(1) For Nov. 1643, p. 610

(2) Ath. Oxon. vol. 2. col. 639, & ſeq.

ter his return was taken by both houſes of parliament, Sept. 25th the ſame year, at which time our author preached a ſermon in defence of it, and for his good ſervice was rewarded with the rectory of Acton near London (*b*). However, not long after diſliking the proceedings of the ſaid aſſembly of divines, he diſſented from them, oppoſed the diſcipline intended to be ſettled by them, and cloſing with the independents when they became the prevailing faction, he paid his court to the grandees of the army, who often made uſe of his counſel, and by their favour he obtained rich offices. In December 1647, he was ſent by them, with Stephen Marſhall, to the King at Cariſbrook caſtle, in the iſle of Wight, in attendance upon the commiſſioners then appointed to carry the four dethroning votes [*B*], for which ſervice they were rewarded with no leſs than five hundred pounds a piece. Nye was alſo employed about the ſame time, and by the ſame maſters, to get ſubſcriptions from the London apprentices, &c. againſt a perſonal treaty with the King, while the citizens of that metropolis were petitioning for one. In April the next year he was employed, with Marſhall and Caryl, by the independents, to invite the ſecured and ſecluded members to ſit in the houſe again, but without ſucceſs. In 1653 he was appointed one of the tryers for the approbation of public preachers, in which office he not only procured his ſon to be a clerk, but with the aſſiſtance of his father-in-law, obtained for himſelf a living of four hundred pounds *per Ann.* In 1654 he was joined with Dr Lazarus Seaman, Samuel Clark, Richard Viner, Obadiah Sedgwick, Joſeph Caryl, and others, as an aſſiſtant of the commiſſioners appointed by parliament to eject ſuch as were then called ſcandalous and ignorant miniſters and ſchoolmaſters in the city of London. After the reſtoration, it was debated by the healing parliament for ſeveral hours together, whether he and John Goodwin ſhould be excepted for life; but the reſult was, *That if Philip Nye, clerk, ſhould, after the firſt of September the ſame year, accept or exerciſe any office eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military, he ſhould, to all intents and purpoſes in law, ſtand as if he had been totally excepted for life.* In November 1662 he was vehemently ſuſpected of having a hand in Tongue's plot, but nothing was proved againſt him. He died in the pariſh of St Michael's, Cornhill, or near it, in London, Sept. 1672, and was buried on the 27th, in the upper vault under part of the ſaid church. His character is too notorious from the foregoing account to need any particular deſcription. Mr Wood, however, ſays he had been informed by thoſe who knew him, that he had much more moderation in his laſt years than before. He left two ſons, James and Henry, both bred to literature, as appears by the account of his writings mentioned below [*C*].

(*b*) In the room of Dr Daniel Featly, who was ejected from it. See his article.

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convenient for him to ſkulk again, and he is ſaid to have fled to Holland. However, it is certain he found means to obtain his pardon under the great ſeal, which he produced at the Oxford act in 1661. Thus ſet free he practiſed phyſic with good ſucceſs among his party to his death, which happened ſuddenly at the houſe of one Kidder, in Devereux-court, near Temple-bar, London, in Nov. 1678, and he was buried on the 29th in St Clement's church. Mr Wood characterizes him for a perſon of quick natural parts, a good humanitian, poet, and boon droll, and has given a liſt of his writings to the number of twenty three, beſides his three *Mercuries* (3).

[*B*] *The four dethroning votes.*] Theſe were, 1. To acknowledge the war raiſed againſt him to be juſt. 2. To aboliſh epiſcopacy. 3. To ſettle the power of the militia in perſons nominated by the two houſes. 4. To ſacrifice all thoſe that had adhered to him.

[*C*] *A liſt of his writings.*] Theſe are, 1. *A letter from Scotland to his brethren in England, concerning his ſucceſs of affairs there*, London, 1643, 4to (4). 2. *Exhortation to the taking of the ſolemn league and covenant*, &c. London, Feb. 1643, and again once or twice in 1645, 12mo. 3. *The excellence and lawfulneſs of the ſolemn league and covenant*, 2d edition, London, 1660. 4. *Apologetical narration ſubmitted to the honourable houſes of parliament*, London, 1643, 4to. 5. *An epiſtolary diſcourſe about toleration*, London, 1644, 4to. 6. *The keys of the kingdom of heaven, and power thereof*, &c. Lond. 1644, 2d edit. 7. *Mr Anthony Sadler examined*, &c. written by his ſon, with the father's aſſiſtance, Lond. 1654, 4to. 8. *The principles of faith preſented by Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, and others, to the committee of parliament for religion*, &c. London, 1654, 4to. 9. *Beams of former light*, &c. London, 1660, 4to. After his death came out alſo, 10. *Caſe of great and preſent uſe*, 1677, 8vo. 11. *The lawfulneſs of the oath of ſupremacy, and power of the King in eccleſiaſtical affairs, with Queen Elizabeth's admonition*, &c. Lond. 1683, 4to. it was then reprinted, and being printed again in 1687, it was dedicated to King James II. by Henry Nye, our author's ſon, who added to it, 12. *A vindication of the Diſſenters*; and alſo, 13. *Some account of the nature, conſtitution, and power, of eccleſiaſtical courts.*

(3) Idem. col. 502, & *ſeq.*

(4) It is ſubſcribed alſo by Steph. Marſhall.

O.

OCKLEY [Simon], an eminent Orientaliſt, was deſcended of a gentleman's family at Great Ellingham in Norfolk, tho' born at Exeter in Devonſhire in 1678. After a proper foundation at ſchool, he was ſent to Queen's college in Cambridge, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his excellent parts and intenſe application to the oriental languages. He took the degrees in arts at the uſual time, as alſo that of B. D. and in the interim entered into holy orders; but by engaging very young in marriage, precluded himſelf from a fellowſhip in his college, which otherwiſe would have been intirely open to him. In 1705 he was preſented by Jeſus college, at the requeſt of Dr Patrick, then Biſhop of Ely, and their viſitor, to the vicarage of Swaveſey in Cambridgeſhire, and commenced author the following year, by publiſhing a ſmall treatiſe, in order to promote the ſtudy of the oriental languages in the univerſities; and continuing to publiſh ſeveral other pieces [*A*] in the ſame ſpirit, he gave ſuch undoubted proofs of his knowledge in thoſe tongues, eſpecially the Arabic, that he was choſen Arabic profeſſor at Cambridge in 1711, and was appointed chaplain to the Earl of Oxford, after whoſe diſgrace in 1713 he was thrown into gaol (the caſtle of Cambridge) for debt. He had a numerous family, and ſcholar-like was a bad œconomiſt, and moreover had loſt his patron the Earl of Oxford, when he moſt wanted him. However, it ſeems he got his diſcharge from priſon before his death, which happened at Swaveſey Aug. 9, 1720, immaturely to himſelf, but ſomewhat more ſo to his family. As to his literary character, he was ſkilled in all the ancient languages, and particularly the oriental, inſomuch that the very learned Reland thought it not too much to declare that he was *vir ſi quis alius harum literarum peritus.* He was likewiſe very knowing in modern languages, as French, Spaniſh, Italian, &c. And upon the whole, conſidered as a linguiſt (ſays my author) (*a*) we may preſume that very few exceeded him.

(*a*) In the Biog. Dict.

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſeveral pieces to promote the ſtudy of the oriental languages.*] Theſe were, 1. *Introductio ad linguas orientales*, &c. — *Accedit index auctorum tam illorum qui in hoc libello mentio fit, tam aliorum qui harum rerum ſtudioſis uſui eſſe poſſint*, with a preface to the *Juventus Academica*, whom he labours by the beſt arguments to engage in the purſuit of oriental learning, aſſuring them in general, that no man ever was or ever will be truly great in divinity without at leaſt ſome proportion of ſkill in it. There is a chapter in this work relating to the famous controverſy between Buxtorf and Capellus, upon the antiquity of the Hebrew points, where our author appears to think with Buxtorf, who contended for it; but he afterwards changed his opinion, and went over to Capellus, though he had no opportunity of publicly declaring it; and it appears from his manner of cloſing that chapter upon the points, that he was then far enough from having any ſettled perſuaſion about them. 2. In 1707 he publiſhed in 12mo. from the Italian of Leo Modena, a Venetian Rabbi, *The hiſtory of the preſent Jews throughout the world; being an impartial though ſuccinct account of their cuſtoms, ceremonies, and manner of living at this time.* 3. *The hiſtory of the Saracens from the death of Mahomet, founder of that empire*, in 502, and continued to 705. This is his principal work, and to complete it he went to Oxford, and reſided there a conſiderable time to conſult the MSS for his purpoſe in the Bodleian library. The firſt part came out in 1708, the ſecond in 1718, and both were ſoon after reprinted. In 1757 a third edition was publiſhed, with an account prefixed of the life of Mahomet, and the Mahometan religion, by Dr Long, Maſter of Pembroke hall in Cambridge. 4. *The life of Hai Ebn Yokdhan* (1), &c. edit. 1711. 5. *An account of South Weſt Barbary, containing what is moſt remarkable in the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco.* Written by a perſon who had been a ſlave there a conſiderable time, and publiſhed from his authentic MS, &c. 6. Our author alſo publiſhed two ſermons, one, *Upon the divinity and authority of the Chriſtian prieſthood*, preached at Ormond chapel (now St George's church) in 1710; the other, *Upon the neceſſity of inſtructing children in the ſcriptures*, preached at St Ives in Huntingdonſhire, in 1713. To theſe we muſt add, 7. *A new tranſlation of the ſecond apocryphal book of Eſdras, from the Arabick verſion of it, as that which we have in our common Bibles is from the Latin vulgar.* Mr Whiſton, who we are told was the perſon that employed him in this tranſlation, and accordingly publiſhed it in one of his volumes of *Primitive Chriſtianity revived*, &c. under a ſtrong ſuſpicion that it muſt make for the Arian cauſe. Mr Ockley, however, was of opinion that it could ſerve nothing at all to his purpoſe, as appears from a printed letter of his to Mr afterwards Dr Thirlby, dated Oct. 15, 1712, in which are the following words: ' You will have my ' Eſdras in a little time, 200 of which I reſerved ' when Mr Whiſton reprinted his *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*. I was loth that any thing with my name to ' it ſhould be extant in his heretical volumes (2).

(1) This piece being tranſlated by Dr Pococke, and publiſhed by his ſon. An account of it is inſerted under his article in remark [*TT*] vol. v. p. 3384.

(2) See the preface to *Epiſtolary diſcourſe concerning the books of Ezra*, genuine and ſpurious, but more particularly the 2d apocryphal book under that name, and the variations of the Arabic copy from the Latin, &c. by Francis Lee, M. D. author of the hiſtory of Montaniſm, edit. 1722, 8vo.

OTWAY [Thomas], an excellent play-wright in the tragedial branch of that art, was the ſon of the Rev. Mr Humphry Otway, rector of Wolbeding in Suſſex, in which county he was born March 3, 1651, at a place called Trottin. After ſome education at Wincheſter ſchool, he was ſent to Oxford, and was entered a commoner of Chriſt-church, in the beginning of the year 1669; but the narrowneſs of his circumſtances obliged him to leave the univerſity without a degree, and going to London he applied to the play-houſe for a ſupport, where he was entertained ſometime as an actor. He had naturally a turn to poetry, and this employ giving him an inſight into the technical part of play-writing, he puſhed his talents that way, and produced his tragedy of *Alcibiades*, which was acted at the Duke's theatre in 1675. The ſucceſs of this attempt encouraged him to proceed, and the next year he finiſhed his *Don Carlos, Prince of Spain*, which was acted at the ſame theatre in 1676. Theſe performances recommended him to ſeveral perſons of high rank and quality, and he was particularly patronized by Charles Fitz-Charles, Earl of Plymouth, one of the natural ſons of King Charles II. by whoſe intereſt he obtained a Cornet's commiſſion in the new raiſed Engliſh forces deſigned for Flanders in 1677. Thither he attended his regiment that year, but returned the ſame year in very neceſſitous circumſtances, and applied himſelf again to the writing of plays, by which he procured a bare ſubſiſtence, till he was taken from the miſeries of the world, at the ſign of the Bull on Tower-hill, April 14, 1685, from whence his corpſe was conveyed to St Clement Danes, Weſtminſter, and interred in a vault under that church. His works [*A*] have been publiſhed more than once, particularly 1757 in three volumes 8vo. with his life prefixed (*a*). His character as a poet and play-writer is differently repreſented. Mr Langbaine tells us (*b*), ‘ That his genius in comedy lay a little too much to libertiniſm; but in tragedy he made it his buſineſs for the moſt part to obſerve the decorum of the ſtage. He was a man of excellent parts, and daily improved in his writings, but yet ſometimes fell into plagiariſm as well as his contemporaries, and made uſe of Shakeſpear to the advantage of his purſe at leaſt, if not his reputation.' The Earl of Rocheſter, to whom he dedicated his *Cheats of Scapin*, handled him moſt inhumanly [*B*]. Mr Dryden, who for the moſt part of his time commonly expreſſed a very mean and even a contemptible opinion of him, yet at laſt ſpoke of him more favourably [*C*]. And Mr Addiſon obſerves, ‘ That our author followed nature in the language of his tragedy, and therefore ſhines in the paſſionate parts more than any of our Engliſh poets. As there is ſomething familiar and domeſtic in the fable of his tragedy more than in thoſe of any other poets, he has little pomp but great force in his expreſſion, for which reaſon, though he has admirably ſucceeded in the tender and melting part of his tragedies, he ſometimes falls into too great a familiarity of phraſe in thoſe which, by Ariſtotle's rule, ought to have been raiſed and ſupported by the dignity of expreſſion. It has been obſerved, continues this critic, by others, that this poet has founded his tragedy of *Venice Preſerved* on ſo wrong a plot, that the greateſt characters in it are thoſe of rebels and traytors. Had the hero of his play diſcovered the ſame good qualities in defence of his country that he ſhewed for its ruin and ſubverſion, the audience could not enough pity and admire him; but as he is now repreſented, we can only ſay of him what the Roman hiſtorian ſays of Cataline, that his fall would have been glorious, *ſi pro patria ſic concidiſſet* (*c*)'.

(*a*) From this account, and that given of him in Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. col. 181, 182, the preſent memoir is extracted.

(*b*) Account of Engliſh dramatic poets, p. 395, 396, edit. Oxford, 1691.

(*c*) Spectator, vol. i. No. 39.

[*A*] *His works.*] They contain, beſides three comedies and ſeven tragedies, the following poems, *The poet's complaint to his muſe, or a ſatire againſt libels*, firſt edit. 1680, 4to. *Windſor caſtle, or a monument to our late ſovereign King Charles* II. *of ever bleſſed memory*, firſt edit. in 1685, 4to. *An epiſtle to R. D.* printed in the *Miſcellany Poems*, containing a new tranſlation of Virgil's eclogues, Ovid's elegies, odes of Horace, &c. London, 1684, 8vo. in which is inſerted our author's *Tranſlation of the eighteenth ode of Horace, Prologue to Mrs Behn's city heireſs, or Sir Timothy Treat-All*, edit. 1682. *Tranſlation of the epiſtle of Phædra to Hippolitus*, printed in the tranſlation of Ovid's epiſtles by ſeveral hands, London, 1681. He alſo tranſlated into Engliſh from the French, *The hiſtory of Triumvirates, The firſt part of Julius Cæſar, Pompey, and Craſſus; The ſecond part of Auguſtus, Anthony, and Lepidus; being a faithful collection from the beſt hiſtorians and other authors, concerning that revolution of the Roman government which happened under their authority.*

[*B*] *The Earl of Rocheſter inhumanly.*] His Lordſhip, in his *Seſſion of the bees*, repreſents his diſtreſſed condition thus:

Tom Otway came next, Tom Shadwell's dear zany,
And ſwears for heroics he writes beſt of any:
Don Carlos his pockets ſo amply had fill'd,
That his mange was quite cur'd, and his lice were all kill'd.
But Apollo had ſeen his face on the ſtage,
And prudently did not think fit to engage
The ſcum of a play-houſe for the prop of an age (1).

[*C*] *Mr Dryden at laſt ſpoke favourably of him.*] We have this account from Mr Charles Gildon, who ſtiles Otway *a poet of the firſt magnitude*; and tells us (2), ‘ That he was a perfect maſter of the tragic paſſions, and draws them every where with a juſt and natural ſimplicity, and therefore never fails to raiſe ſtrong emotions in the ſoul. But, proceeds he, Mr Dryden, who affects a quite different ſtile, and ſeldom or never touches the paſſions, for moſt part of his time commonly expreſſed a very mean, if not a contemptible opinion of OTWAY, though at laſt, eſpecially in his preface to *du Freſnoy*, he declared in his favour; and yet even here he could not but throw in ſome exceptions againſt his diction. Thus to expreſs the paſſions which are ſeated in the heart by outward ſigns, is one great precept of the painters, and very difficult to perform. In poetry the very ſame paſſions and emotions of the mind are to be expreſſed, and in this conſiſts the principal difficulty, as well as the excellency of that art. This is the gift of Jupiter, and to ſpeak in the ſame heathen language, we call it the gift of our Apollo, not to be obtained by pains or ſtudy, if we are not born to it. For the motions which are ſtudied are never ſo natural as thoſe which break out in the height of a real paſſion. Mr Otway poſſeſſed this paſſion as thoroughly as any of the ancients or moderns. I will not defend every thing in his *Venice Preſerved*, but I muſt bear this teſtimony to his memory, that the paſſions are truly touched in it, though perhaps there is ſomewhat to be deſired both in the grounds of them, and in the height and elegance of expreſſion. *But nature is there, which is the greateſt beauty.*' *Venice Preſerved* and the *Orphan* are univerſally acknowledged to be the beſt of our author's plays, and whilſt the reſt are thrown aſide and forgotten, theſe two ſtill keep poſſeſſion of the ſtage. Mr Dryden we ſee ſays of the former, that nature was there, which is the greateſt beauty: and of the latter it has been remarked, that Mrs Barry, the celebrated actreſs, uſed to ſay, that in her part of *Monimia*, ſhe never ſpoke theſe three words, *Ah! poor Caſtalio!* without tears; upon which Mr Gildon obſerves (3), that all that pathetic force had been loſt if any more words had been added.

(1) Poems of John Earl of Rocheſter, p. 113, edit. 1680.

(2) Laws of poetry explained and illuſtrated, p. 201, *et ſeq.* edit. 1721.

(3) Ubi ſupra.

P.

PETITOT [JOHN], bears ſo eminent a rank among the painters of a particular talent, that he ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence. He is, ſays my author (if we may be allowed the expreſſion) the Raphael in enamel, which under his hand acquired ſuch a degree of perfection as to ſurpaſs miniature, and even equal painting in oil. This art, though in little is very conſiderable, when carried to its height of perfection. Petitot flouriſhed ſome time in England, though born at Geneva in 1607. His father, who was a ſculptor and architect, after having paſſed part of his life in Italy, retired to that city. He deſigned to breed his ſon a jeweller, and he was put to that buſineſs, but by the frequent uſe therein of enamel, he acquired ſo fine a taſte, and ſo precious a tone of colouring, that Mr *Bordier*, who afterwards became his brother-in-law [*A*], adviſed Petitot to attach himſelf to portrait, believing he might puſh his art ſtill on to greater lengths, and both the one and the other wanted ſeveral colours, which they could not bring to bear the fire, yet they ſucceeded to admiration. Theſe two friends agreeing in their work and their projects, ſet out for Italy. The long ſtay they made there, frequenting the beſt chymiſts, joined to a ſtrong deſire of learning, improved them in the preparation of their colours, but the completion of their ſucceſs was reſerved for a voyage which they made afterwards to England. There they found Sir Theodore de Mayern (*a*), firſt phyſician to King Charles I. and a great chymiſt. He had by his experiments diſcovered the principal colours to be uſed for enamel, and the proper means of vitrifying them. Theſe by their beauty ſurpaſſed all the enamelling of Venice and Limoges. Sir Theodore introduced Petitot to the King, who retained him in his ſervice, and gave him a lodging in Whitehall [*B*]; his Majeſty often went to ſee him work, as he took pleaſure both in painting and chymical experiments, to which his phyſician had given him a turn. Petitot painted that monarch and the whole royal family ſeveral times. The diſtinguiſhing marks of favour ſhewn him by that Prince were only interrupted by his unhappy and tragical end, which was a terrible ſtroke to Petitot, who did not quit the royal family, but followed them in 1649 to Paris, where he was looked upon as one of their moſt zealous ſervants. Charles II. after loſing the battle of Worceſter in 1651, went to France, and during the four years of that Prince's reſidence there, he viſited Petitot, and often eat with him. Then it was that his name became eminent, and that all the court of France grew fond of being painted in enamel. When Charles II. returned to England, Petitot was retained in the ſervice of Lewis XIV. who gave him a penſion, and a lodging in the galleries of the Louvre (*b*). Theſe new favours, added to the conſiderable fortune he had already acquired, encouraged him to marry Margaret Cuper, in the year 1651 (*c*). He continued at Paris [*C*], accumulating fame and riches, till the revocation of the edict of Nantz in 1685, upon which being a zealous Proteſtant, to eſcape that perſecution, he begged the King's permiſſion to retire to Geneva, but the *Grand Monarque* fearing he ſhould eſcape, cruelly cauſed him to be arreſted and ſent to Port l'Eveque, where the Biſhop of Meaux was appointed to inſtruct him. But neither the eloquence of the great Biſhop, nor the terrors of a dungeon could prevail; Petitot was not convinced, but the vexation and confinement threw the good old man, now near eighty, into a fever, which coming to the King's ear, the monarch ordered him to be releaſed; and the painter no ſooner found himſelf at liberty, than terrified at what he

(*a*) See his article in the ſupplement.

(*b*) He painted Lewis XIV. Mary Ann of Auſtria, his mother, and Mary Tereſa his wife, ſeveral times.

(*c*) The ceremony was performed by Dr Drelincourt, miniſter at Charenton.

[*A*] *His brother-in-law Bordier.*] This artiſt did the two grounds, the draperies and the hair, but not the heads and hands. Bordier became his brother-in-law at Paris, where they lived together, till their families growing too numerous, obliged them to ſeparate. Their friendſhip was founded in the harmony of their ſentiments, and their reciprocal merit much more than a principle of intereſt. They had gained as a reward for their diſcoveries and their labours a million (1), which they divided at Paris, and they continued friends without ever having a quarrel, or even a miſunderſtanding between them in the ſpace of fifty years (2).

(1) About 40,000 l. ſterling.

(2) Theſe were Petitot's words to one of his friends.

[*B*] *An apartment at Whit hall.*] We are aſſured that Vandyck, who was then at London, ſeeing ſome deſigns at a goldſmith's then at work for the King, and hearing they were Petitot's, deſired his acquaintance, adviſed him to leave off working for the goldſmiths and apply himſelf to paint portrait in enamel. 'Tis certain Vandyck gave him directions in thoſe portraits he painted after him, and his advice contributed not a little to the ability of Petitot, whoſe beſt pictures are after that maſter.

[*C*] *He continued at Paris till* 1685.] Among other works at Paris he copied ſeveral portraits of Mignard and Le Brun, yet his talent was not only copying a portrait with an exact reſemblance, but alſo deſigning a head moſt perfectly after nature. To this he alſo joined a ſoftneſs and livelineſs of colouring which will never change, and which will ever render his works valuable.

had

had ſuffered, went with his wife to Geneva the ſame year 1685 [*D*]. Thus ſettled again in peace and quiet at his native place, he proceeded to cultivate his art with ardent zeal, and had the ſatisfaction of deſerving to the end of life the eſteem of all connoiſſeurs [*E*]. The concourſe of his friends, and the reſort of the curious, who came to ſee him, was ſo great, that he was obliged to quit Geneva and retire to Vevay, a little town in the canton of Bern, where he worked in quiet. There he was about the picture of his wife, when a diſtemper carried him off in one day in 1691, at the age of eighty four. His life was exemplary, and his end was the ſame; he preſerved his uſual candor and eaſe of temper to his laſt hour. He had ſeventeen children by his marriage, but one only of his ſons applied himſelf to painting, who ſettled at London, whither his father ſent him ſeveral of his works to ſerve him for models. The ſon is dead, and his family was ſettled in 1706 at Dublin.

Petitot may be called the inventer of painting in enamel, for though Bordier his brother-in-law made ſeveral attempts before him, and Sir Theodore Mayern had facilitated the means of employing the moſt beautiful colours, yet it ſtill appears that Petitot completed the work [*F*].

[*D*] *He fled to Geneva with his wife.*] His children remained at Paris, and fearing the monarch's reſentment, flung themſelves on his mercy, and implored his protection. His Majeſty received them favourably, and told them *he could forgive an old man the whim of deſiring to be buried with his fathers.*

[*E*] *He cultivated his art.*] One of his greateſt talents was to conceal with the beauty of his pencil, the labour and ſtudy that his art particularly required. That patience that is inſeparable from the tediouſneſs of working in enamel, was no check to him. He might have ſaid as Zeuxis did to thoſe painters that bragged of their diſpatch—'I am, indeed, a long 'time in finiſhing my works, but I paint for eter'nity.' The King and Queen of Poland deſiring to have their pictures painted by Petitot, though then above fourſcore, ſent the originals to Paris, believing him to be there; the gentleman who was charged with the commiſſion went to Geneva. The Queen was repreſented on a trophy, holding the King's picture. As there were two heads in the ſame piece, they gave him a hundred louis-d'ors, and he executed it as if he had been in the flower of his age.

[*F*] *Petitot completed the work.*] 'He made uſe of gold and ſilver plates, and rarely enamelled on copper. When he firſt came into vogue, his price was twenty louis-d'ors a head, which he ſoon raiſed to forty. His cuſtom was to carry a painter with him, who painted the pictures in oil, after which Petitot ſketched out his work, which he always finiſhed after the life. When he painted the King of France, he took thoſe pictures that moſt reſembled him for his pattern, and the King afterwards gave him one or two to finiſh his work. He laboured with great aſſiduity, and never laid down his pencil but with reluctance, ſaying that he always found new beauties in his art to charm him (3).

(3) Gunſt, a good Dutch engraver, has engraved the picture of Chevreau after Petitot. Lives of the Painters, &c. by J. B. p. 56. & *ſeq.* edit. 1754, whence this memoir is extracted.

PRICE [Robert], an eminent lawyer and judge, was deſcended of an ancient family of good repute and ſubſtance in North Wales, and was the eldeſt ſon of Thomas Price, Eſq; (*a*) of Geeler in Denbighſhire, and born in the pariſh of Kerig y Druidion (Caſtrum Druidum) January 14, 1653. After an education at the grammar ſchool of Wrexham, he was ſent to Cambridge, and admitted of St John's college; but his inclination being wholly bent to the ſtudy of the law, he left the univerſity without taking a degree, and entered himſelf a ſtudent of Lincoln's Inn about the twentieth year of his age. However, he had been there only a ſhort time, when, being deſirous to improve himſelf by travelling abroad, he made the grand tour of France and Italy in 1677 [*A*]. He ſpent two years to good purpoſe in his travels, and after his return home engaged in marriage Sept. 23, 1679, with Mrs *Lucy Rodd*, eldeſt daughter and one of the three coheireſſes of Robert Rodd, Eſq; by his wife Anne Sophia Neale (*b*), and Mr Price had a fortune with her of above thirteen thouſand pounds, beſides many conſiderable advantages accruing from her family [*B*]. In 1682 he was choſen member of parliament for Weobly in Herefordſhire, and gave his vote againſt *the bill of excluſion.* The ſame year he was made attorney-general for South Wales, elected an alderman for the city of Hereford, and the year following choſen recorder of Radnor. His aſſiduity, integrity, and judgment in the law gained him ſo great a reputation, that upon the death of King Charles II. he was made ſteward to Catharine the Queen Dowager in 1684; town clerk of the city of Glouceſter in 1684, and

(*a*) His mother was Margaret Wynn, an heireſs of that well known family, and brought his father a very conſiderable eſtate. Life of Rob. Price, Eſq; p. 2. edit. 1733, 8vo.

(*b*) She was an heireſs and daughter of Tho. Neal of Warnford in Hampſhire, Eſq; ibid.

[*A*] *He made the grand tour of France and Italy.*] Soon after his entrance at Lincoln's-Inn, hearing that the Earl of Lexington and Lady Meers, with her ſon (afterwards Sir John Meers) were going to travel, he had the honour to make one of their company in 1677. They made ſome ſtay at Blois in France, where Mr Price learned that language of the famous Monſieur Fenno, whoſe method was ſo excellent and conciſe, that he took a copy of his grammar. In the ſpring of 1678 they went to Paris, and from thence to Italy. At Florence, and afterwards at Rome, Mr Price was ſtopt, and ſome few law books he had taken with him were the ſubject of a very ſtrict enquiry, one among the reſt being *Coke upon Littleton*, was taken for an Engliſh heretical Bible, and the young lawyer was carried before his Holiness. Mr Price ſoon convinced his accuſers of their error, and made a preſent of the book to the Pope, who immediately aſſigned it a place in the Vatican library (1).

[*B*] *His wife brought him a large fortune, beſides other advantages.*] She brought him three children, two boys and a girl, in a few years, and for a conſiderable time after he lived in good harmony with her, but at length found it neceſſary for his own ſafety to quit her bed, on account of her intended cruelty to him. Upon the ſeparation he ſettled upon her by agreement a rent-charge of 120*l.* a year for her life, which he confirmed by his laſt will in 1730 (2). He alſo appointed her a joint truſtee with his only ſurviving ſon, to a copyhold eſtate called Haſemond's Fields in Wapping, Middleſex, for the maintenance of one of his ſiſter-in-law's children, and the overplus, if any, to other charities at their diſcretion. This gentlewoman lived in an apartment over mine at Gray's-Inn in 1727, where ſhe frequently diſturbed the whole ſtair caſe by her outrageous cruelty to her ſervants (3).

(1) His life as above, p. 58, 59.

(2) It is inſerted in the Appendix to his life.

(3) See ſome account of her in Dr Matt. Tindal's article.

King's counſel at Ludlow in 1686. But the honours, which naturally inſpired a grateful return to the princes who conferred them, brought him into diſfavour at the revolution in 1688, when he was removed from the attorney-generalſhip of Glamorgan, and the town clerkſhip of Glouceſter. Theſe affronts, which were put upon him without any juſt cauſe, could not but infuſe a proper reſentment, and King William furniſhed him with a memorable opportunity of exerting his abilities and patriotiſm to his native country, by conferring upon his favourite the Earl of Portland in 1695, ſuch grants of lands in Wales as induced the parliament to interpoſe and put a ſtop to them. Our lawyer being ſtill a member of the Houſe of Commons, made the firſt motion againſt this grant, and his ſpeech thereupon [C] made ſuch an impreſſion, that the vote againſt it was carried unanimouſly.

[C] *His ſpeech thereupon.*] King William's grant of theſe eſtates to the Earl of Portland is a remarkable occurrence in the Engliſh annals. The warrant for this grant coming to the lords of the treaſury, our patriot of his native country, with three other lawyers, upon one day's notice pleaded before their Lordſhips againſt it; upon which Lord Godolphin, one of the commiſſioners, agreed they had offered many weighty reaſons, and that they ſhould be repreſented to his Majeſty. Thus the grant being ſtopped at the treaſury, Mr Price now in parliament having preſented the petition of the gentlemen of that country, tenants, &c. of the ſaid manors, to the houſe, made a remarkable ſpeech thereupon, which, though long as it is, yet contains ſuch a full account of the nature of thoſe manors, and ſo clear a demonſtration of the Prince of Wales's unalienable right to them, as is not perhaps to be found elſewhere; for which reaſon it is thought worthy to be preſerved intire in this place, notwithſtanding an extract of it has been already inſerted in theſe memoirs (*). The ſpeech is as follows, *viz.*

Mr Speaker,

‘ The petition now preſented to you on the behalf of ourſelves and countrymen, though ſubſcribed but by a few hands, yet has the ſenſe and approbation of thouſands, who are not influenced by their own intereſt, but for the honour they have for the crown, and the welfare of the Britiſh nation.

‘ If I could conceive that the glory of England was, or could be upheld by a poor landleſs crown, and a miſerable neceſſitous people, I could then be eaſily perſuaded to believe, that his Majeſty was well adviſed to grant away all the revenues of the crown, and that the government thereby would be well ſecured, and the people beſt protected, when they had little or nothing left them. I am ſure they are not *Engliſh*, but foreign politicians, who may *reverence* the King, but *hate* us.

‘ The kings of England always reigned beſt when they had the affections of their ſubjects, and of that they were ſecure when the people were ſenſible that the King was entirely in their intereſt, and loved the Engliſh ſoil as well as the people's money: when Kings had a candid intereſt coupled with their power, then it was moſt ſtable and durable, as is manifeſt by the antient demeſne lands, and other large and royal revenues, the many and great tenures which the people then held their eſtates under; which cauſed ſuch an indiſpenſible union and dependency, that they ſupported each other; and it is obſervable, that the ſeparation of the revenues from the crown, has in all ages been the means of rendering the Engliſh government precarious; and that it might not be ſo, the petition (with a dutiful deference to his majeſty) does repreſent to you (the great council of the nation) this, theirs, and the people's caſe for redreſs and remedy, according to your wiſdom.

‘ Give me patience and pardon; and I will lay before you the true ſtate of the fact upon the petition, and manner of grant, and what is granted.

‘ The great lordſhips of Denbigh, Bromfield, and Yale, in the county of Denbigh, for ſome centuries have been the revenues of the kings of England and prince of Wales; by which lordſhips the petitioners and fifteen hundred more are tenants, pay rents and ſuits of courts, and other royal ſervices: theſe lordſhips are four parts in five of the whole country, and thirty miles in extent; the preſent rents to the crown are but a thouſand pounds *per annum*, beſides reliefs, miſes, waſtes, eſtreats, perquiſites of courts, and other contingent profits; there are alſo large profitable waſtes of ſeveral thouſand acres of rich and valuable mines, beſides other great advantages a mighty favourite and courtier might make. The petitioners being caſually informed laſt ſummer, that a grant to the Earl of Portland was in the treaſury in order to be paſſed, the petitioners did oppoſe the ſaid grant; they found not only theſe three lordſhips, but near three thouſand pounds *per annum* of the petitioners and countrymen's ancient inheritance expreſly granted; ſo that if all had been preſented that was comprized in the grant, it had been a very noble royal gift, worth at leaſt a hundred thouſand pounds; nor was that grant for any ſhort time to this noble Lord, it being to him and his heirs for ever; and yet not much to the advantage of the crown, having only a reſervation of ſix ſhillings and eight pence *per annum* to the King and his ſucceſſors.

‘ Theſe facts were laid before the lords of the treaſury by the petitioners, who cannot ſay but they were all well heard, well underſtood, and, I hope, well repreſented, only with this remark, That the day deſigned by the lords of the treaſury for the grant, was dated and came to the privy-ſeal a month before the lords of the treaſury had appointed the petitioners to be heard at the treaſury againſt the grant: the next ſtage that we had, was to attend the grant from the treaſury to the privy-ſeal, where, I muſt confeſs, the reaſon and complaints againſt the grant were heard and received with all candour and goodneſs by that noble Lord (†) who had the cuſtody of the ſeal; and I truly believe he has repreſented the whole affair, and that is the reaſon at preſent that this grant halts, I ſuppoſe, till the parliament riſes, and then I doubt not but it will find legs and take its journey.

‘ Having made the applications in their proper places to ſtop the ſaid grant, and that without ſucceſs, it became a grievance, and we hope this honourable houſe will redreſs it. Theſe lordſhips have been for many years the revenues of the kings of England, and the ſupport of many princes of Wales, have been ſettled upon them and their heirs, and the kings of England by ſundry patents, and confirmed by many acts of parliament.

‘ Theſe royal domains have in moſt reigns been attacked by great and powerful favourites; for in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, ſome part of theſe revenues were granted to ſome of her creatures, but attended with ſo many law-ſuits and general diſtractions, that the Queen interpoſed, and the freeholders gave large compoſitions for their peace, the Queen confirming their eſtates by a charter.

‘ In the fourth year of King James I. theſe lordſhips were ſettled on Prince Charles and his heirs, kings of England; but his ſervants (as moſt courtiers are) willing to make uſe of the opportunity, got ſome grant of moſt part of that revenue, which proved ſo vexatious and troubleſome to their country, that the freeholders came to another compoſition, and gave ten thouſand pounds for their peace, and had another charter of confirmation of their rights, and for the ſettling of their eſtates, tenures, &c. which was confirmed in parliament in the fifth year of King Charles I. In the late reign (‡) (however calumniated) there were many and great applications made for ſome grants of ſome lands of theſe lordſhips, which were always rejected as too powerful for a ſubject: if part were ſo, what would the whole be?

‘ Hiſtory and records tell us, that the grant of theſe lordſhips have been very fatal to the prince or potentate, the one either loſing his crown, or the other his head; it is therefore dangerous meddling with ſuch ominous bounties.

‘ I muſt likewiſe obſerve to you, that the long-parliament in King Charles the Second's reign, when they paſſed an act for the fee-farm rents, excepted thoſe within the principality of Wales, which is a

(*) In vol. ii. p. 725. remark [H].

(†) Lord Godolphin, who told them they had offered many weighty reaſons, and they ſhould be repreſented to his Majeſty.

(‡) Of King James II.

mouſly. Though it be well known that King William reſented Mr Price's ſpeech (c) and proceedings in parliament againſt his favourite, yet at the ſame time it muſt be allowed that his Majeſty had a great regard for our lawyer's merits in his profeſſion, and in 1700 made him a judge of Brecknock circuit. He had been twenty years member of parliament for Weobly, from 1682 to 1702, when he reſigned the election of that borough to

plain intimation that the parliament thought them not alienable or fitting to be alienated, but rather to be preſerved for the ſupport of the prince of Wales.

'There is a great duty lies upon the freeholders of theſe lordſhips on the creation of the prince of Wales; they pay the prince of Wales eight hundred pounds for miſes, which is ſuch a duty, ſervice, or tenure, as is not to be ſevered from the ſaid prince of Wales, and it will be very difficult to find how this tenure can be made reconcileable to this noble Lord's grant.

'If we are to pay theſe miſes to this noble Lord, then he is *quaſi* a prince of Wales, for this duty was never paid to any other; but if it is to be paid to the prince of Wales and this noble Lord too, then are we doubly charged; but if it be to the prince of Wales when he has no royalty left in that dominion, and not to this noble Lord (who by this grant is to have the whole lordſhips) it creates a repugnancy in the tenure of our eſtates.

'But I ſuppoſe the grant of this principality is the fore-runner of the honour too; and then I ſhall fancy we are returning to our original contract; for as ſtory tells us, we were brought to entertain a prince of Wales by recommending him to us as one who did not underſtand the Engliſh tongue: and our forefathers thence inferred, that he muſt be our country man, and no foreigner, and one that underſtood the Britiſh language; how we were deceived therein, is plauſible; I ſuppoſe this Lord does not underſtand our language, nor is it to be ſuppoſed he will come amongſt us to learn it, nor ſhall we be fond of learning his.

'But ſince I have minded you of the Welch original contract, which is of ſo long ſtanding, I would not have you forget another contract, made about ſeven or eight years ſince *, which is the foundation of our preſent government, I mean the *bill of rights and liberties*, and *ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown*, which is ſo much forgot touching the diſcourſe and practice, that I have not heard it named in parliament but once in the laſt ſeſſions, and I find it was much forgot in the adminiſtration; I would gladly know from thoſe who are better verſed in the prerogative learning than myſelf, whether his Majeſty can, by the *bill of rights*, without the conſent of parliament, alien, or give away the inheritance as an abſolute fee of the crown lands? if he can, I would know to what purpoſe the crown was ſettled for life, with remainder in ſucceſſion; if the tenant for life of the crown can grant away the revenues of the crown, and what is incident to it; or, can the King have a larger eſtate in the revenues than he has in the crown to which it belongs? Far be it from me to think or ſpeak any thing in derogation of his Majeſty's honour or care for us; it cannot be expected he ſhould know our laws, who is a ſtranger to us, and we to him, any more than we do his counſels (which I wiſh we did) I mean thoſe *new* immediate adviſers and miniſters, through whoſe hands this grant did paſs, by adviſing the King *to grant* what by law he *could not*.

'Theſe counſellors and miniſters are guilty of the higheſt violation of the laws and liberties of England, ſtrike at the very foundation of ſucceſſion, and tear up the bill of rights and privileges by the roots.

'It was their province and duty to have acquainted the King of his power and intereſt, that the ancient revenue of the crown is ſacred and unalienable, in the time of war and peoples neceſſities.

'By the old law it was part of the coronation oath of the kings of England, not to alien the ancient patrimony of the crown without conſent of parliament; but as to theſe oaths of office, moſt Kings have court caſuiſts enow about them to inform them that they have a prerogative to diſpenſe with ſuch oaths, eſpecially when their intereſt (as it generally does) goes along with their counſel.

'It has been the particular care of all parliaments, in all ages, to keep an even balance betwixt king and people; and therefore, when the crown was too liberal in its bounties, the parliament uſually reſumed thoſe grants which were very frequent; for, from the reign of Henry II. to the ſixth year of Henry VIII. there was one or more bills of reſumption in every one of theſe reigns, ſave one. In the time of Henry IV. there was an act of reſumption of all that was granted from the prince of Wales in all that principality: and thoſe acts were not looked upon by thoſe princes (of which ſome were both good and great) as any leſſening or diminution of their prerogative, it being conſidered, that kings have their failings as well as other men, being clothed with frail nature, and apt to yield to the importunities of their favourites and flatterers; therefore it becomes neceſſary that the great council of the nation ſhould interpoſe for the intereſt of the king and people.

'The commons of England always entertained an honourable jealouſy of their princes, when they perceived their expences at home or abroad, their gifts and boons to favourites to be too large and exorbitant; and as we are an iſland, and ſubject to invaſion, ſo the parliament of England were very watchful, that other countries ſhould not out-do them in trade and naval ſtrength; that foreigners ſhould have no more footing, ſtrength, or ſettlement, than was conducing to carry on the trade and commerce of the nation; and whenever princes entertain foreigners of their counſel and chief adviſers, the people of England were reſtleſs and uneaſy, till they were removed out of the king's council; nay, out of the nation; and in hiſtory and parliament are many inſtances, that great men and favourites being foreigners, have been ſo dealt with for procuring to themſelves too large a proportion of the royal revenues, eſpecially in time of war and peoples neceſſities: as for inſtance, in King Stephen's time, who uſurped the crown of England from Maud the empreſs and her ſon King Henry II. *William de Ipres, a Netherlander*, was brought over, with a great number of his countrymen, to which William de Ipres, the King *de facto*, gave an earldom, and made him a great confident, that he was in all councils, and obtained great grants, not only for himſelf, but for his, then called, *Flemings*, who ſwarmed ſo thick about the king's court, that Engliſhmen were ſcarce known or rewarded; at which time the Engliſh were ſo exaſperated, that they importuned King Henry II. when he obtained the right of his crown, to ſeize on all that King Stephen had given to his foreign favourite and his accomplices, and to baniſh him and his friends the kingdom.

'The ſame complaint was made to King Rich. I. for removing and taking away the Duke of *Saxony*, his own nephew and ſiſter's ſon, and all his *German* friends, as being foreigners by birth; the ſame addreſs was made to King Henry III. to baniſh his half-brother, and all their prince's friends.

'The ſame addreſs was made by the people to King Edward II. to do ſo with the lineage of *Gaveſton* and his *Gaſcoiners*: and did not Edward III. do the ſame with his *Bohemian* friends? Henry IV. and other following princes, took the ſame method on the humble and hearty petitions of their people, ſometimes in parliament, and ſometimes out.

'And in theſe caſes, the kings ſeized and took to themſelves all the revenues of the crown that they had given them, and always ſent thoſe foreigners to their own country, the people of England had diſliked and oppoſed, fearing both their power and counſel; and that they would become a burthen to the people; and that England was able to foſter none but her own children.

'I muſt confeſs I am ſtrongly troubled with ſtrange apprehenſions of our deplorable ſtate; we are in a confederacy in war, and ſome of thoſe confederates are our enemies in trade, though planted amongſt us; ſome in the king's council, ſome in the army, and the common traders have poſſeſſed themſelves of the out-ſkirts of the city; we find ſome of them *naturalized*, others made *denizens*; every parliament

(c) It was printed the year after K. William's death, under the title of GLORIA CAMBRIÆ, or, *The ſpeech of a bold Briton in parliament againſt a Dutch prince of Wales*, with this motto, *oppoſuit et vicit*.

(*) At the revolution, 1688.

to his ſon Thomas [*D*], who was unanimouſly choſen to ſucceed him. He was likewiſe made ſerjeant at law(*d*), in order to qualify him for the honour which her Majeſty Queen Anne, immediately upon her acceſſion to the throne, had conferred of making him one of the Barons of the Exchequer. He filled this ſeat of juſtice with the greateſt applauſe, and never gave a more ſignal inſtance of it, than in the caſe of the Coventry election in 1706 [*E*]. Finding an increaſe of his fortune from the poſt he had the honour to fill, the poor were the firſt object of his concern, which in 1710 he built an Alms-houſe for the maintenance of ſix poor people for ever, at Caer y Druidion, the place of his nativity. Upon the acceſſion of King George I. in 1714, the Baron was continued in his poſt [*F*], though

(*d*) The motto upon his rings given as uſual to his brother ſerjeants on this occaſion, was, *Regina et lege gaudet Britannia.*

liament we find endeavouring for a general *naturalization*, and that warmly ſolicited by the court-party; we ſee our good coin gone, and our confederates openly coining baſe money and Dutch alloy; we ſee moſt places of power and profit given to foreigners; we ſee our confederates in conjunction with the *Scots* to ruin our Engliſh trade; we ſee the *revenues* of the *crown* daily given to one or other who make ſale of them, and tranſmit their eſtates elſewhere from amongſt us; but what they can get from us, they ſecure in their own countries. How can we hope for happy days in England, when this great Lord, and other foreigners (though *naturalized)* are in the Engliſh and Dutch councils? If theſe ſtrangers (though confederates) ſhould be of a different intereſt, as moſt plainly they are in point of trade, to which intereſt is it to be ſuppoſed theſe great foreign councils would adhere? So that I ſee when we are reduced to extreme poverty, as now we are very near it, we ſhall be ſupplanted by our neighbours, and become a colony to the Dutch. I ſhall make no ſevere remarks on this *great* man, for this great man makes us *little*, and will make the crown both poor and precarious.

‘ And when God ſhall pleaſe to ſend us a prince of Wales, he may have ſuch a preſent of a crown made him as a Pope did to King John, who was ſurnamed *Sans Terre*, and was by his father made Lord of Ireland; which grant was confirmed by the Pope, who ſent him a crown of *Peacock*'s feathers, in derogation of his power and the poverty of his country.

‘ I would have you conſider we are Engliſhmen, and muſt, like patriots, ſtand by our country, and not ſuffer it to be tributary to ſtrangers. We rejoice that we have beat out of this kingdom popery and ſlavery; and now with as great joy entertain *ſocinianiſm* and *poverty*; and yet we ſee our *rights* given away, and our *liberties* will ſoon follow.

‘ Thus have I repreſented to you the nature of this *mighty grant* to this *noble Lord*, and the ill conſequences that muſt attend the public, and more particularly our country, by the paſſing of it: the remedies our forefathers took to cure theſe ills are well known.

‘ I deſire rather redreſs than puniſhment, and therefore ſhall neither move for an impeachment againſt this noble Lord, nor the baniſhment of him; but I ſhall beg that he may have no power over us, nor we have any dependance upon him.

‘ I ſhall therefore conclude my motion, That an addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty to put an immediate ſtop to the grant now paſſing to the Earl of Portland, of the lordſhips of Denbigh, Bromfield, and Yale, and other lands in the principality of Wales; and that the ſame be not *granted* but by the *conſent* of *parliament* (*).’

(*) The unanimous reſolution of the houſe thereupon, with the revocation of the grant, &c. may be ſeen in vol. ii. as before cited.

[*D*] *His ſon.*] It has been already obſerved that his wife brought him two boys and one girl; of theſe this ſon Thomas was the firſt, being born at Foxley Jan. 6, 1680. The ſecond, Lucy, was born at Hereford, Dec. 23, 1681: the third, Uvedale Tomkyns, was born Sept. 17, 1685. Thomas the eldeſt, a very hopeful young gentleman, was educated at Weſtminſter ſchool, and from thence entered a fellow commoner of St John's college, Cambridge. After finiſhing his ſtudies there, he was choſen member of parliament for the borough of Weobly, at the age of 22. As his father had done, he likewiſe made the grand tour of France and Italy, and ſent over ſeveral agreeable letters, recounting the progreſs of his travels (4). But the acquaintance he had contracted with a Venetian lady, it is preſumed, was the cauſe of his death. His perſon being very amiable, and peculiarly ſo from his having a fine head of hair, with which this Madonna became extremely enamoured. It ſo fatally happened, that Mr Price had declared his intentions of going to Genoa, and in the way thither he was attacked, and a quarrel drawn upon him by an Italian nobleman, whom he fought and diſarmed; then proceeding in his journey he arrived ſafe at Genoa, but had not been there long before he found himſelf greatly out of order. Among other ſymptoms which cauſed the utmoſt anxiety, his hair came off by handfuls, and the many fears he had of being poiſoned growing too ſtrong for him to bear, coſt him his life in 1706, at the age of 26. He had by him a bill of credit for 500l. beſides a conſiderable ſum in gold when he died; but the Senate of Genoa ſeized all his effects, and as a heretic, permitted his remains no other than a watery grave, letting them down in a leaden coffin into the ſea (5). His loſs was exceedingly lamented by his father, whoſe expreſſion to all his relations and friends, even to the day of his own death, was, *That the loſs of his eldeſt ſon Thomas was irreparable.* The ſecond named Lucy, about 20 years of age, married in 1702, her firſt couſin Bamfield Rodd, of Stoke-canon in Devonſhire, and of the Rodd family in Herefordſhire, Eſq; who had a fortune with her of 10,000l. and by her had iſſue eight daughters. The Baron's third child Uvedale Tomkyn, was educated partly at the charter-houſe, and partly at St Paul's ſchool, London, from whence he was ſent likewiſe to St John's college, Cambridge, and alſo made the grand tour of France and Italy in 1709. He returned to England in 1712, and was elected member of parliament in 1713. He was married at Chelſea in 1714, to Ann, daughter and coheir of the honourable Arthur Lord Somerſet, youngeſt ſon of Henry Duke of Beaufort, ſhe had 7000l. to her fortune, and brought a ſon and three daughters to her huſband, who in 1733 had been married near 20 years, and was then member of parliament for Weobly in Herefordſhire (6).

(4) Some of theſe are printed in his life, p. 40 to 47, and p. 53 to 67, eſpecially one containing a particular deſcription of Florence, to his father.

(5) Among his papers ſent from Genoa were ſeveral hiſtorical tracts, one particularly concerning the government of Venice, which was intimated to be worthy of the public view. His life, p. 57.

(6) Idem, p. 10.

[*E*] *The Coventry election.*] A particular detail of this affair was inſerted in a book intituled, *A review of the ſtate of the Engliſh nation, Anno* 1708, in 4to. where the author obſerving (7), that the election of the returned candidates was conteſted on the pretence of being obtained illegally by a riot, for which the mayor and other magiſtrates were proſecuted at this aſſize, proceeds to ſtate the true import and meaning of that word. He allows that the military power was employed not to awe the electors, but to prevent or ſuppreſs a riot raiſed to oppreſs the mayor in the execution of his office, in which caſe military troops were lawfully called in to his aſſiſtance. This in fact was his duty as a magiſtrate, and, continues this author, Mr Baron Price, who heard the cauſe, and with extraordinary judgment, as well as impartiality, ſtated the matter of law to the jury, told them *in totidem verbis*, ‘ Suppoſe ‘ ſome hurt, as bloodſhed or the like, had happen‘ ed in the heat, theſe were magiſtrates, and their ‘ aſſiſtance who came to keep the peace, which the ‘ law had intruſted them with, and therefore it could ‘ not be in them a riot or a crime:’ and concluded, ‘ That if they found them guilty of a riot, they over‘ threw the magiſtracy and government of that city.’ The affair it ſeems was carried to ſuch a height, that by the Queen's command the ſecretary of ſtate wrote a letter on the occaſion, declaring that the mayor was anſwerable to her Majeſty for the peace of that city, and that he ſhould be ſure of her Majeſty's protection in the due diſcharge of his duty, and preſerving the peace according to law.

(7) In Vol. iii. p. 413, 414.

[*F*] *He was continued in his place.*] It was well known that the Baron had a ſtrict intimacy, which continued ſeveral years, with the then Earl of Oxford. When the Earl was at the head of the adminiſtration, and though not employed in the judicial proceedings againſt the rebellion in 1716. But upon the memorable quarrel which happened the next year between the King and the then Prince of Wales (afterwards King George II.) there aroſe a very great point of law, which being put for determination to all the twelve judges, our Baron, inflexible to any ſiniſter motives in the cauſe of juſtice, made a remarkable ſtand in oppoſition to the King [*G*]. This year, 1717, the Baron pulled down the ancient ſeat of Foxley, within two miles of Hereford, and erected a new edifice every way well planned and executed, and is now a handſome ornament to that place. Upon the death of his mother in 1723, he erected a decent monument to her memory, with an inſcription [*H*], in his chapel in the church of *Caer y Druidion*. He was now far advanced in years, and his old diſorders of the gout, ſtone, and gravel, returning upon him with greater violence in his decline, as he grew weaker and leſs able to ſupport himſelf under them, he was willing to end his days in as eaſy a manner, and as little fatigue and hurry of buſineſs as he could. Such a ſtation was the Court of Common Pleas, comparatively with the Exchequer, repreſented to him, and ſuch he apprehended it to be. For this reaſon, upon the deceaſe of Mr Juſtice

and almoſt every one paid their court to him, he was pleaſed ſtill to retain his former friendſhip, and ſeemed glad of an opportunity to ſhew his regard and eſteem for Mr Baron Price, with whom he frequently conferred on the moſt important points of ſtate. The miniſter was too quick-ſighted not to diſcover the judge's ſecret diſlike of ſome meaſures which were then taken; and at the ſame time had ſo perfect a knowledge of men, and knew the worth of a ſincere friend ſo well, that he could never think of parting with the judge, if by any arts or methods he could continue him in his confidence. The offer of places and preferment might have tempted a leſs generous ſpirit to have ſtooped a little, and bowed the knee to Baal. But to him, who never ſwerved from the ſtricteſt rules of honour, ſuch an offer was ſo far from being any bait, that when the ſame miniſter told him he ſhould have any thing which was in his power to give, the bold Briton replied, *That he would accept of no place under any reſtrictions on any terms whatſoever, except ſuch as the nature of his office might require of him, and ſuch as were conſiſtent with the duty he owed to his country as an Engliſhman.* Upon the change of the miniſtry ſome ſhort time after, the miniſter was diſplaced, but our judge continued in his ſtation, being the ſame upright man; and held faſt his integrity to his dying day (8).

[*G*] *He made a remarkable ſtand in oppoſition to the King.*] In reciting this important cauſe, it will be proper to keep cloſe to fact, as it has been already publiſhed. The 3d of November 1717, being appointed for baptizing a ſon lately born to the Prince of Wales, his Royal Highneſs had, it ſeems, made choice of his uncle the Duke of York to be one of the godfathers, as being the true *parain*; his Majeſty having, as it was ſuppoſed, nominated the Lord Chamberlain of the Houſehold, the Duke of Newcaſtle, as his proxy. In this light the Prince took it, and his Royal Highneſs, in a letter which he wrote to the King, declares, *That he was made to believe the King appeared eaſy in the choice he had made.* But when the ceremony came to be performed, the Duke of Newcaſtle, jointly with the King, ſtood godfather, not as proxy for the Duke of York, but for himſelf, in his own name and perſon. This the Prince *thought an unaccountable hardſhip*, and there is no doubt but that he took ſome ſteps to have prevented or avoided it as a hardſhip, at leaſt while he imagined it not to be ſo fixed as he afterwards found it to be; but when he was aſſured that the King had commanded it, he ſubmitted. The young Prince was chriſtened by the name of *George William*, at St James's palace, by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr Wake, theDucheſs of St Albans ſtanding godmother. This brigue between the King and Prince daily heightening (one occaſion of which was ſaid to be ſome very warm expreſſions that fell from his Royal Highneſs, on the Duke of Newcaſtle's conduct in the affair) matters were ſoon brought to ſuch a height, that the King, upon a report of the words, thought fit to ſhew a ſudden mark of his diſpleaſure, by commanding the Prince to his own apartment till his Majeſty's further pleaſure was known; to which his Royal Highneſs immediately ſubmitted, and ſoon after, by his Majeſty's order, left St James's palace and retired to the Earl of Grantham's houſe in Arlington Street. The Princeſs alſo went with him, but his Majeſty detained the children, claiming the care of them; and farther ſignified to the Peers and Peereſſes of Great Britain and Ireland, and to all Privy Counſellors and their wives, that if any of them ſhould go to the court of the Prince and Princeſs of Wales, they ſhould forbear to come into his Majeſty's preſence (*).

In purſuance of the rights of the Royal prerogative, an order was ſent by the Lord Chancellor Cowper, requiring in his Majeſty's name, the opinion of all the judges upon the following queſtion; *Whether the education and care of his Majeſty's grand-children, and the ordering the place of their abode, and appointing their governors and governeſſes, and other inſtructors, attendants, and ſervants, and the care and approbation of their marriages when grown up, belongs of right to his Majeſty, as King of this realm, or not?* Ten of the judges declared their opinion on the affirmative ſide of this important queſtion; but Mr Baron Price and Mr Juſtice Eyre divided the queſtion, and gave it as their opinion, *That the education and care of his Majeſty's grand-children, &c. belonged wholly to the Prince their father; but that the care and approbation of their marriage when grown up, did belong to his Majeſty as King of this realm, yet not excluſive of the Prince their father.* It is obſervable that the ten judges could not find any authority againſt the whole queſtion, and Price and Eyre aſſured his Majeſty, *That there is no one expreſſion in any of our law books that warrants any ſuch aſſertion* (9).

The young Prince whoſe birth had been the occaſion of this court breach, happened to be taken away Feb. 6, 1717, and his funeral falling under the direction of the Duke of Newcaſtle as Lord Chamberlain, his godfather, occaſioned this ſarcaſm, *That his Grace had the honour to introduce the Prince twice into the church, once into the boſom, and once into the bowels of it.*

[*H*] *A monument with an inſcription.*] Having given an account of her deſcent, he concludes the inſcription with this character of her:

The deceaſed was
A moſt tender and kind wife;
The moſt indulgent parent;
The trueſt and ſincereſt friend;
Hoſpitable and charitable;
Exemplary for her piety and goodneſs;
Thankfully rejoiced in God's bleſſings
To her and to her family.
She lived to the happy old age of 89,
And to have great great grand-children
Deſcended from her.
She lived in love and died in peace:
And God's peace be with her moſt
Pious and righteous ſoul!
She departed this life the 29th of Sept.
In the year of our Lord 1723.
This monument was erected
By Mr Baron Price,
As a dutiful memorial
Of the beſt of mothers;
And that her good life may remain
A laſting pattern and example for her
Poſterity (10).

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(8) His life, p. 66.

(*) The King alſo deprived the Prince of his governorſhip of the S. Sea Houſe, and carried his reſentment too far for any hiſtorian to relate.

(9) Theſe opinions on both ſides are ſubjoined in the appendix to Baron Price's life, and are well worth the reading, tho' too long to be inſerted in the preſent memoir.

(10) The whole inſcription is inſerted in his life, p. 62 to 65.

Dormer in 1726, he accepted the offer of ſucceeding him in that court. Though in this reſpect he ſeems to have been deceived in his expectations; his name was ſo highly reverenced and eſteemed, and himſelf ſo beloved, that in all caſes where obligation did not interfere, inclination led moſt of the practiſers in the Common Pleas, to have ſuch of their buſineſs as could be done by a ſingle judge, diſpatched and determined by him: inſomuch, that when his diſorders confined him at home, his chambers were crowded with ſuitors. And ſo zealous was he in the execution of his office, that his pains could never make him neglect the neceſſary buſineſs of it, nor did he think himſelf intitled to the privileges of a judge a moment longer than he could do the duties of his poſt; which he continued to perform till his laſt illneſs. It may be remembered that about Chriſtmas 1730, a contagious diſtemper raged almoſt univerſally in England, as well as through ſeveral other parts of Europe; inſomuch that the weekly bills of mortality were higher than in the great plague; and it was obſervable, that it made the moſt complete havock on the elderly people. Our judge complained of a great weight and oppreſſion upon his ſtomach about the beginning of January, which was ſoon after followed by a violent cough, and ſuch other ſymptoms as attended the forementioned general diſorder. All applications were in vain; nothing gave relief or promiſed a recovery. He was intirely reſigned; his patience under his pains was ſurprizing, and notwithſtanding his agonies were exceſſively great, he ſtill continued to the laſt to have prayer performed in his chamber, joining therein with the greateſt fervour and devotion. During his illneſs he was never obſerved to drop any haſty expreſſion that tended towards repining or diſcontentment; he ſaid, indeed, under a violent rack of pain and torture, *It is hard to die,* not that he was loth to yield, but his ſtrength of nature was ſo great, that the thread of life might have been lengthened to many years more, when the ſtruggles between nature and his diſorder became ſo violent as to extort this expreſſion from him. At length nature, quite ſpent, gave up the conteſt, and our judge quietly, and as aſleep, reſigned his breath Feb. 2, 1732, in the ſeventy-ninth year of his age. Purſuant to his own deſire, his body was conveyed from Kenſington, where he died, to Weobly in Herefordſhire, and decently interred in that church. P

PRYNNE [William]. So much had been occaſionally ſaid (*a*) of this abnormous genius, as was then thought to ſuperſede the neceſſity of a particular article in its proper place; but ſome curious anecdotes of him coming to hand ſince, it is hoped may make his memoir acceptable here, as furniſhed by Mr Wood (*), who obſerves that Mr Prynne was born in 1600 at Swanſwick, near Bath, in Somerſetſhire; and after a ſuitable education at a grammar ſchool in that city, he was entered a commoner at Oriel college [*A*] Oxford, in 1616, and took the degree of A. B. Jan. 22, 1620. After which he removed to Lincoln's-Inn, where he ſtudied the common law, and was made ſucceſſively barriſter, bencher, and reader. At his firſt coming to that Inn he was a great follower and admirer of Dr John Preſton, an eminent Puritan, who was lecturer there; in the proſecution of which principles Mr Prynne commenced author in 1627 [*B*], and continued to print ſeveral books againſt what he thought the growing enormities of that age in point of luxury, and concerning the doctrine and diſcipline of the church. Among theſe his *Hiſtrio-Maſtix*, which came out about Chriſtmas 1632 (†), gave ſuch offence to the court (*b*), that he was committed priſoner to the Tower of London Feb. 1, 1632-3, and ſentenced by the Star-chamber Feb. 17, 1633-4, to be fined 5000l. to the King, and expelled the univerſity of Oxford and Lincoln's-Inn; degraded and diſenabled from his profeſſion of the law; to ſtand in the pillory firſt at Palace-yard Weſtminſter, and three days after in Cheapſide; in each to loſe an ear, to have his book called *Hiſtrio-Maſtix* publickly burnt before his face by the hand of the hangman, and remain priſoner during life. After the execution of this ſentence in May 1634 [*C*], he was remitted to priſon, and June 11th following, as ſoon as he could

procure

(*a*) In the articles of Lilburne, Laud, and Bp. Wren, beſides Baſtwick and Burton.

(*) Under his article.

(†) In the title it is 1633, according to the printers rule of beginning the year at Michaelmas.

(*b*) See Lord Chancellor Clarendon's article, vol. iv. p. 2722.

[*A*] *Admitted of Oriel college.*] His father was a tenant to that college. The houſe at Swanſwick, from the remains of it, ſeems to have been originally a handſome large ſtructure, conſiſting of a body and two wings attached, with a wall in front, and a gate in the middle; the left wing is ſtill entire, at the end of which is a large room, in the windows whereof are ſeveral coats of arms. But the church is a very mean edifice; the walls of which on the inſide are decorated, or rather diſgraced, with creſts of his arms clumſily drawn and coloured gules (1).

[*B*] *He commenced author.*] His firſt piece was intituled, *The perpetuity of a regenerate man's eſtate againſt the ſaints total and final apoſtaſy*, edit. 1727. This was followed by 2. *Health's ſickneſs; or, a compendious and brief diſcourſe, proving the drinking and pledging of healths to be ſinful*, 1628. 3. *The unlawfulneſs of love locks, &c.* 1628. 4. *Brief cenſure of Mr Coſins's cozening devotions*, 1628 (2). 5. *Anti-arminianiſm; or, the church of England's old antitheſis to new arminianiſm*, 1630 (3). 6. *God no impoſtor or deluder; or, An anſwer to a Popiſh and Arminian cavil, in defence of free will and univerſal grace*, 1630. 7. *Lame Giles's haltings, &c.* 1631. 8. *Hiſtrio Maſtix, &c.* 1633. They were all printed at London in 4to.

[*C*] *The ſentence was executed in May* 1634.] His cauſe in the Star-chamber held the Lords three days, and the day of cenſure they roſe not till three in the afternoon (4). His volume was burnt under his noſe, and almoſt ſuffocated him. He loſt one ear in Palace-yard, and the other in Cheapſide. A report, however, was ſpread by his friends, that he got his ears ſewed on, and that they grew again to his head (5). This ſtory, however idle, was eagerly ſwallowed by the populace, eſpecially the puritanical party, by whom his books were ſo highly valued, that a gentlewoman dying in London ſoon after the ſentence, bequeathed a legacy to buy books for Sion college, and in her will deſired that Mr Prynne's works in the firſt place might be bought for that uſe (6). There was great murmuring among the ſpectators, eſpecially when Burton was cropt. What aggravated them more was, that his pariſhioners had ſent a petition

(1) From my own inſpection.

(2) See the article of Dr Coſins in vol. iii. p. 1475, remark [C].

(3) This was anſwered by Mr Giles Widdows, formerly our author's tutor at Oriel, in a piece intituled, *The lawleſs, kneeleſs, ſchiſmatical puritan, &c.* Oxford, 1631, 4to.

(4) Garrard's letters to Wentworth, among that deputy's ſtate papers, vol. i. p. 207, dated Feb. 27, 1633.

(5) Idem. p. 266, in a letter dated June 20, 1634.

(6) Garrard to Wentworth, p. 207, as before.

procure pen, ink, and paper (c), he wrote a ſevere letter to Archbiſhop Laud, concerning his ſentence in the Star-chamber, and that which in particular had been declared againſt him by his Grace, who was by the King's command to have referred it to Noy the attorney-general. Noy ſent for our author, and demanded whether the letter was of his handwriting or not: Prynne thereupon having it put into his hands, immediately tore it to pieces, and threw the pieces out of the window, which prevented a farther proſecution of him (d). In 1635, and the two following years, he publiſhed ſeveral books againſt the Biſhops, particularly one intituled, *News from Ipſwich*, in which he reflected very groſly on the Archbiſhop, Biſhop Wren (e), and other prelates; for which on the 14th of June 1637, he was ſentenced in the Star-chamber to be fined 5000l. to the King, to loſe the remainder of his ears in the pillory, to be branded on both cheeks with the letters S. L. [D] for a ſchiſmatical libeller, and to be perpetually impriſoned in Caernarvon-caſtle. On the 30th of the ſame month this ſentence was put in execution in the Palace-yard of Weſtminſter, and on the 27th of July following he was removed from the Tower to the Fleet, and the ſame day began his journey to the ſaid caſtle [E], whence he was removed in January following to Mount Orgueil-caſtle, in the iſland of Jerſey, where he exerciſed his pen in writing ſeveral more books; and being choſen a member for Newport in Cornwall, in the long parliament which met at Weſtminſter Nov. 1, 1640, an order was iſſued out by the Houſe of Commons for his releaſement from priſon; and, on the 28th of the ſame month, he entered London triumphantly; and on December the third following, he preſented a petition to that houſe, ſetting forth his ſufferings from Archbiſhop Laud, whom, as well as the other Biſhops, he oppoſed with great ardor both by his ſpeeches and writings, and was the chief manager in the trial of that prelate. In 1647 he was one of the parliamentary viſitors of the univerſity of Oxford. While he ſat in this parliament, he was very zealous for the Preſbyterian cauſe; and when the Independents gained the aſcendant, he ſhewed himſelf a warm oppoſer of them, and promoted the King's intereſt, eſpecially in his declenſion. December the 4th, 1648, he made a long ſpeech in the Houſe of Commons, concerning the ſatisfactorineſs of his Majeſty's anſwer to the propoſitions for peace [G]; but on the 6th of that month, he, with ſeveral other members,

to the King, intreating his pardon and liberty, which being brought by two of them, they were both committed to priſon for their impudence (7). Baſtwick was very merry, and among other pleaſantries, told the people *the Lords had collar days at court, but this was his collar*, rejoicing much at it. His wife, Dr Poe's daughter, got a ſtool ſet near him, and ſtanding upon it, as ſoon as his ears were cut off, ſhe called for them, put them into a clean handkerchief, and carried them away with her (8).

[D] *He was marked with the letters* S. L.] It was obſerved he bore the execution of his ſentence with more firmneſs than either of his fellow ſufferers, and the diſtich which he made on his return by water to the Tower, will be an everlaſting monument of his wit.

Stigmata maxillis referens, inſignia laudis,
Exultans remeo victima grata deo.

Which may be thus engliſhed:

From ſuffering for my country I return,
Exulting in that cauſe to bleed and burn.

[E] *He began his journey to Caernarvon-caſtle.*] Complaint was made to the Lords of the counſel of a ſheriff at Weſtcheſter, who when Prynne paſſed through that city, in his way to Caernarvon-caſtle, he with others met him, brought him a rug for his bed, viſited and careſſed him, gave him a ſuit of hangings to furniſh his chamber, offered him money and other things, which he refuſed. The ſheriff was ſent for up to London by a purſuivant (9).

[F] *He entered London triumphantly.*] Mr Whitelock obſerves, that Prynne and Burton were conducted into London from their ſeveral priſons, by many hundreds of horſe and foot, in great pomp and defiance of juſtice, and petitioned the Houſe of Commons for damages againſt their proſecutors (10).

[G] *He made a long ſpeech, &c.*] He publiſhed it at London in 4to. under this title, *The ſubſtance of a ſpeech made in the Houſe of Commons, by William Prynne of Lincoln's-Inn, Eſq; on Monday the 4th day of Dec.* 1648, *&c.* In this ſpeech having mentioned his ſervices and ſufferings, he declares that he had never yet received one farthing recompence from the King or any other (11); ‘Though I have waited, ſays he, above eight years at your doors for juſtice and reparations, and neglecting my own private calling and affairs, employed moſt of my time ſtudying, and expended many hundred pounds out of my purſe ſince my enlargement, to maintain your cauſe againſt the King and his Popiſh prelatical party; for all which coſt and labours I never yet demanded or received one farthing from the Houſes, nor the leaſt office or preferment whatſoever, though they have beſtowed divers places of honour upon perſons of leſs or no deſert; nor did I ever yet receive ſo much as your public thanks for any public ſervice done you (which every preacher uſually receives for every ſermon preached before you, and moſt others have received for the meaneſt ſervices) though I have brought you off with honour in the caſes of Canterbury and Macguire, when you were at a loſs in both, and cleared the juſtneſs of your cauſe when it was at the loweſt ebb; to moſt reformed churches abroad (who received ſuch ſatisfaction from my books, that they tranſlated them into ſeveral languages) and engaged many thouſands for you at home by my writings, who were formerly dubious and unſatiſfied.’ The preface is dated Jan. 22, 1648. To the ſpeech is ſubjoined, *An appendix for the kingdom's better ſatisfaction of ſome occurrences ſince this ſpeech*, in which he tells us, ‘That this ſpeech which was uttered with much pathetique ſeriouſneſs, and heard with great attention, gave ſuch general ſatisfaction to the houſe, that many members, formerly of a contrary opinion, profeſſed they were both convinced and converted; others who were dubious in the point of ſatisfaction, that they were now fully confirmed; moſt of different opinions put to a ſtand; and the majority of the houſe declared, both by their chearful countenances and ſpeeches (the ſpeaker going into the withdrawing room to refreſh himſelf, ſo ſoon as the ſpeech was ended) that they were abundantly ſatiſfied by what had been thus ſpoken; after which the ſpeaker reſuming the chair, this ſpeech was ſeconded by many able gentlemen, and the debate continuing Saturday and all Monday, and Monday night, till about nine of the clock on Tueſday morning, and 244 members ſtaying quite out to the end, though the houſe doors were not ſhut up (a thing never ſeen or known before in parliament) the queſtion was at laſt put; and notwithſtanding the general's and whole army's march to Weſtminſter, and menaces againſt the members in caſe they voted for the treaty, and did not utterly reject it as unſatisfactory, carried it in the affirmative by 144 voices

(c) He was cloſe priſoner, and denied the uſe of pen, ink, and paper.

(d) Noy had taken a copy of it before he had delivered the original to Prynne, but it was no legal evidence.

(e) See his article.

(7) Idem.

(8) Idem.

(9) Garrard in a letter. Oct. 9, 1637.

(10) Memorials, p. 39.

(11) Mr Wood from Biſhop Nicolſon's Hiſtor. library, part iii. edit. 1699, 8vo. ſays he was rewarded by the parliament.

members, was refuſed entrance into the houſe by the army, and impriſoned on account of their zeal for a peace and ſettlement with the King. Upon this he became a bitter enemy to the court and Cromwell their leader, and attacked them with great ſeverity in his writings (*f*). Soon after he conveyed his eſtate to ſome of his relations, denied the payment of taxes, and ſtood in open defiance of Cromwell; for which he was July 1, 1650, committed cloſe priſoner to Dunſter-caſtle in Somerſetſhire (*g*). He then inſiſted ſtrongly on *Magna Charta*, and the liberty of the ſubject. The year following he was committed to Taunton-caſtle, and afterwards to that of Pendennis. He afterwards wrote ſeveral books upon religious controverſies and other points (*h*). Feb. 13, 1659, being reſtored as a ſecluded member of the Houſe of Commons to ſit again, he became inſtrumental in recalling King Charles II. in which he pleaded with ſo much zeal, as to be checked by general Monk [*H*]. In April 1660 he was choſen a burgeſs for the city of Bath, to ſit in the *healing Parliament*, which began at Weſtminſter the 15th of that month; and after the reſtoration he was appointed chief keeper of the records of the Tower of London, with a ſalary of 500*l.* *per Ann.* In Auguſt the ſame year he was likewiſe appointed one of the ſix commiſſioners for appeals and regulating the exciſe. In April 1661 he was again elected a burgeſs for Bath (*i*); but being diſcontented at ſome proceeding in the Houſe of Commons, the following July he printed a piece for which he was obliged to beg pardon of the Houſe in order to eſcape puniſhment (*k*). He publiſhed ſeveral books after the reſtoration [*I*], and gave his works bound up together in forty volumes in folio and quarto, to the library of Lincoln's-Inn [*K*] before his death, which happened at his chambers in that Inn, Oct. 24, 1669, and was interred under that chapel. Mr Wood, who has given a catalogue of his works, ſays, 'He may well be intituled '*Voluminous Prynne*, as Toſtatus Abulenſis was, two hundred years before his time, called '*Voluminous Toſtatus*; for I verily believe, that if rightly computed, he wrote a ſheet for 'every day of his life, reckoning from the time that he came to the uſe of reaſon, and 'the ſtate of man.' Mr Anthony Collins ſtiles him a *little factious ſcribbling fellow* (*l*).

(*f*) He publiſhed 13 before the King's death, and 17 after, from 1648 to 1655, in all 30.

(*g*) By a warrant under Bradſhaw's hand, dated June 25, 1650, expreſſing no particular cauſe.

(*h*) There are not leſs than 46 between 1655 and 1660.

(*i*) That parliament begun May 8, the ſame year.

(*k*) It was intituled, *Sundry reaſons tendered to the moſt Hon. Houſe of Peers, by ſome citizens and members of London, and other cities, boroughs, corporations, and ports, againſt the new intended bill for governing and reforming corporations.* Some few were publiſhed, and the reſt ſuppreſſed.

(*l*) Letter to Dr Rogers, ſect. ii. p. 28, edit. 1727.

'voices (with the four tellers) againſt 104, that the 'queſtion ſhould be put; and then without any diviſion in the houſe, it was reſolved on the queſtion, '*That the anſwers of the King to the propoſitions of both 'houſes are a ground for the houſe to proceed upon for 'the ſettlement of the peace of the kingdom.*'

[*H*] *He was checked by general Monk.*] He openly declared in the Houſe of Commons, *That if the King muſt come in, it was ſafeſt for them that he ſhould come in by the votes of thoſe who had made war againſt his father, &c.* Upon this he was ſent for by general Monk and his friends, and admoniſhed to be quiet, ſince ſuch declarations were unſeaſonable.

[*I*] *Books after the reſtoration.*] Theſe amount to fourteen, and are conſpicuous proofs of his induſtry in turning over the records then in his cuſtody. The laſt of theſe books is intituled, *The hiſtory of King John, Henry* III. *and Edward* I. was not finiſhed at the preſs before his death, but came out preſently after in 1670, folio. Our author alſo reviſed, rectified, and added a preface and marginal notes to *An exact abridgement of the records of the Tower of London, from the reign of King Edward* II. *and King Richard* III. *of all the parliaments holden in each King's reign, and the ſeveral acts in every parliament, &c.* collected by Sir Robert Cotton, Bart. and printed at London in 1657, folio (12). Mr Prynne likewiſe publiſhed ſome pieces of others, *viz.* 1. *Truth glorioufly appearing from under the ſad cloud of obloquy, &c.* written by Nath. White, B. D. and paſtor of the church of Chriſt in the Summer Iſlands. 2. *A diſcourſe of the Spaniſh monarchy*, written by Th. Campanella, tranſlated into Engliſh, and publiſhed in 1654; to which Mr Prynne prefixed a preface, dated 1659. 3. *A breviate of the life of William Laud, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being extracts from the Archbiſhop's Diary.* Several pamphlets have been alſo aſcribed to him falſely, particularly one, intituled, *Mola aſinaria; or, The unreaſonableneſs and inſupportable burthen now preſſed upon the ſhoulders of the groaning nation, by the headleſs head and unruly rulers, &c. held forth in a remonſtrance, &c.* London 1659, in one ſheet, 4to.

(12) It has been already obſerved that this abridgement was falſely aſcribed to Sir Rt. Cotton, being the work of Mr Browne, keeper of theſe records in the latter end of Queen Eliz. reign. See vol. iii. p. 148, remark [*H*].

[*K*] *He gave his works to Lincoln's-Inn.*] He had before given ſuch of his works as had been then printed, to the library of the Abbey church at Bath, where I ſaw them in 1762. They are, his *Mount Orgueil*; *New diſcovery of the prelates tyranny*; *Antipathy of lordlie prelacy*; *Diſcourſe of the prelates tyranny*; *Antinomianiſm, &c*; *Purge for a Roman Catholic*; *Perpetuity of a generous man's taſte*; *Sovereign power of parliaments and kings*; *Popiſh royal favour, &c*; *Breviat of Biſhop Laud's life*; *Canterbury's doom*; *Prynne's pill for the Houſe of Lords*, and ſix others defaced.

R.

RAPIN DE THOYRAS [PAUL DE], the famous author of the Hiſtory of England, was a native of France, and born at Caſtres in Languedoc March 25, 1661, being the younger ſon of James de Rapin, Lord of Thoyras, advocate in the chamber of the edict of Nantes. He had the firſt part of his education under a tutor in his father's houſe; from whence he was ſent to Puylaurens, and afterwards to Saumur. In 1679 he returned to his father, with a deſign to apply himſelf cloſely to the ſtudy of the law; but before he had made any great progreſs, was obliged to commence advocate, upon the report of an edict, in which it was ordered that no man ſhould have a doctor's degree without having ſtudied five years in ſome univerſity. The chamber of the edict of Nantes being ſuppreſſed the ſame year, obliged his father to remove with his family to Thoulouſe, and the ſtate of the Reformed growing every day worſe, our hiſtorian deſired his father's leave to quit the profeſſion of advocate for that of arms (*a*); his requeſt was not abſolutely denied, but ſuch an anſwer given as ſerved to prolong the time. This uncertainty very much abated his ardour in the ſtudy of the law; however, he pleaded one cauſe, and one only, and then applied himſelf heartily to the ſtudy of mathematics and muſic, in both which he became a good proficient. In 1685 he buried his father [*A*], and the edict of Nantes being revoked two months after (*b*), he retired with his mother and brothers to a country-houſe; from whence, to avoid the perſecution, he fled with his youngeſt brother to England in March 1686. He had not been long in London, when he was viſited by a French Abbé of diſtinguiſhed quality (a friend of Mr *Peliſſon*) who introduced him to Mr *Barillon* the French ambaſſador. Theſe gentlemen perſuaded him to go to court, aſſuring him of a favourable reception from the King; but he declined the honour, not knowing what the conſequences might be in the then very critical ſtate of affairs (*c*); and having no hopes of any ſettlement in England, his ſtay here was but ſhort. He croſſed the water again to Holland, and liſted himſelf in a company of French volunteers that was at Utrecht, under the command of Mr Rapin his couſin-german [*B*]. He did not quit his company, till he followed the Prince of Orange into England; where, in 1689, he was made an enſign, and going with that commiſſion to Ireland, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo well at the ſiege of

(*a*) He had before given proofs of his military diſpoſition, having fought a duel or two, in which he had acquitted himſelf very gallantly.

(*b*) It was revoked Oct. 22d that year.

(*c*) His ſituation was not at all agreeable to him, he was perpetually preſſed upon the ſubject of religion by the French Catholics then in London, and eſpecially by the Abbé, who, tho' he treated him with the utmoſt complaiſance, always turned the diſcourſe to controverſy.

[*A*] *His father died in* 1685.] He had been an advocate in the chamber of the edict of Nantes above fifty years. Theſe chambers were courts of judicature, erected at ſeveral towns of France, in behalf of the Hugonots, the judges being half of the Reformed and half of the Roman catholic religion. Mr Rapin's family was originally from Savoy, and is ſuppoſed to have removed into France, upon embracing the Proteſtant religion. Philibert de Rapin, great grandfather to our author, fell a martyr to his zeal for Proteſtantiſm, having his head ſtruck off by a ſentence of the parliament of Thoulouſe in 1568, at the very time that he came by the King's order to have the treaty of peace regiſtered there (1); but his death was revenged by the ſoldiers of the Hugonot party, who after burning ſeveral houſes there, wrote on the ruins with coals, VENGEANCE FOR RAPIN'S DEATH (2).

[*B*] *Rapin his couſin-german.*] His maternal uncle Mr *Paul Peliſſon* publiſhed the ſame year his *Reflections on the difference of religions*, which he ſent to his nephew, with a ſtrict charge to give him his opinion impartially of the work; and which was accordingly done, though nothing of this kind was found among his papers. Mr Peliſſon is ranked among the fineſt geniuſſes and polite writers of the ſeventeenth century. He was the ſon of John James Peliſſon, a counſellor of the chamber at Caſtres, born at Beſiers in 1624, and bred in the Proteſtant religion. He gave early proofs of the vivacity of his parts, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his ſtudies at Caſtres, Montauban, and Thoulouſe; and having made himſelf maſter of Greek, Latin, French, Spaniſh, and Italian, he read the beſt authors in thoſe ſeveral languages. He practiſed the law with reputation at Caſtres, and made ſeveral excurſions to Paris, in the view of ſettling there. Accordingly, he purchaſed the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate in 1652, and became firſt commiſſary of Mr Fouquet in 1657. He ſhared in that miniſter's diſgrace, and was put into the Baſtile in 1661, where he was detained four years. In which ſpace applying himſelf to the ſtudy of the Scriptures, and books of controverſy, he began to take a liking to Popery, and in 1670, actually abjured his former religion. Lewis XIV. gave him a penſion of two thouſand crowns, with a place in the cuſtoms, and ordered him to write his hiſtory. From this time he applied himſelf wholly to the ſervice of the religion he had embraced, and to the glory of his Prince. In 1671 he bought the place of maſter of requeſts, and attended the King in the campaign of 1672, and in moſt of the following campaigns. In 1676 he was made *Abbé of Gimont*, and ſome years after Prior of *Orens d'Auſch*. He died February 7, 1693, having printed ſeveral books, the chief of which are, 1. *L'hiſtoire de l'Academie Francoiſe*, by which he obtained a ſeat in that academy. 2. *Reflexions ſur les differends de la religion*, &c. in four volumes 12mo. 3. *L'hiſtoire de Louis XIV.* together with ſeveral diſcourſes, and the preface to *Les oeuvres de Sarazin*, his friend. 4. *Une traité de l'Euchariſte*, in 12mo. 5 [illegible] *res hiſtoriques, et oeuvres diverſes*, ſix volumes 12mo (3). His ſiſter Jane de Peliſſon, Mr Rapin's mother, after having been confined a good while to a convent, was at laſt ſent by the King's order to Geneva, where ſhe died in 1705.

(1) L'Advocat ſays the peace with the Calviniſts was not concluded till 1570. Diction. Portatif. Vol. I. p. 225. 2d edit. in 1755.

(2) Daniel, in his hiſtory of France, has paſſed over this fact in ſilence.

(3) Dict. Portat. Vol. II. p. 315, 316.

Carrick-

Carrick-Fergus, that he was promoted the ſame year to a lieutenancy. He was preſent at the battle of the Boyne; and at the ſiege of Limerick was ſhot through the ſhoulder with a muſket ball (*d*); ſoon after which, he was rewarded with the commiſſion of a captain. He continued in Ireland till 1693, when he was ordered for England, in the deſign of being made governor to the Duke of Portland's ſon (*e*). He went immediately to London, and entered upon that charge, having leave to reſign his commiſſion to his younger brother (*f*), and a royal penſion of 100 l. *per annum* (*g*). While the Earl of Portland was ambaſſador in France, Mr Rapin was obliged to be ſometimes in that kingdom, and often in Holland; at length he ſettled at the Hague with his pupil, while he was learning his exerciſes. During his reſidence there, in 1699, he entered into matrimony; but his marriage did not hinder him from attending the young Lord on his travels. They began with a tour through Germany, and made ſome ſtay at Vienna; from thence they went into Italy, by the way of Tirol, where the *Mareſchal de Villeroy*, at that time a priſoner, gave Mr Rapin a letter for the Cardinal d'Etrees, when at Venice. Their travels being finiſhed, which put an end to his employment, he returned to his family at the Hague; upon the increaſe of which, and the loſs of his penſion upon the death of King William (*h*), he reſolved, after ſome years, to remove into a cheap country; and accordingly retired, in 1707, to Wezel, in the duchy of Cleves in Germany, where he employed the remaining years of his life in writing the Hiſtory of England. Though his conſtitution was ſtrong, yet ſeventeen years application (for ſo long he was in compiling this hiſtory) entirely ruined it [*C*]. About three years before his death he found his ſtrength exhauſted, and often felt great pains in his ſtomach; at length a fever, with an oppreſſion in his breaſt, carried him off, after a week's illneſs, May 16, 1725. He was naturally of a ſerious temper, though no enemy to innocent mirth; he loved muſic, and was ſkilled, as has been obſerved, in mathematics, eſpecially in fortification. He was maſter of the Italian, Spaniſh, and Engliſh languages, and had alſo a very competent knowledge of the Greek and Latin. He ſpent all his leiſure hours in reading, and converſing with ſuch as led a regular life, and loved to reaſon and reflect on things. His wife brought him ſeveral children, ſeven of whom, viz. one ſon and ſix daughters, ſurvived him.

[*C*] *His hiſtory ruined his health.*] He lived to publiſh the eighth volume, which ends with the death of Charles I. The two remaining volumes, which bring it down to the proclamation of King William and Queen Mary, came out in 1724. They were printed at the Hague, in quarto, and have been twice tranſlated into Engliſh, by John Kelly Eſq; of the Inner-Temple, London, printed in two volumes folio, and by the reverend Nicholas Tindal A. M. firſt publiſhed in 8vo. then in folio, who has given a continuation of it, with notes, till 1760 (4). Mr Voltaire has obſerved, that England is indebted to Rapin for the beſt hiſtory of itſelf which has yet appeared, and the only impartial one of a nation wherein few write without the ſpirit of party. It was eaſy (continues he) to exceed all the hiſtorians before him; ſince, beſides the advantages in common with them, which he did not fail to make the ſtricteſt uſe of, he was ſupplied with a new and rich fund of materials from Rymer's *Fœdera* (5). Nevertheleſs (concludes this critic) his ſpirit of moderation has made him obnoxious to the intolerant party, and the men of wit and vivacity are apt to complain of his being ſometimes tedious and dull. This being ſeen, together with the prodigious ſale of the work, has put the bookſellers upon procuring other hiſtories to be written, the ſeveral writers (6) of which pretend to enliven the ſubject, correct the miſtakes, and ſupply the defects of Mr Rapin, who abridged the ſeventeen volumes of Rymer's *Fœdera*, except the firſt, which was done by Le Clerc, and the whole abridgment was publiſhed by him in *Bibliotheque choiſée*, and has from thence been tranſlated and publiſhed in Engliſh. Mr Rapin alſo, to let us ſee what a thorough knowledge he had of our parties and factions, publiſhed, in 1717, a little treatiſe, intituled, *A diſſertation on the Whigs and the Tories*, which is ſubjoined to his hiſtory, and has likewiſe been tranſlated and publiſhed in Engliſh.

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(*d*) This wound, which was cured very ſlowly, proved very detrimental to his intereſt; it prevented him from attending General Douglas into Flanders, who was very deſirous of having him, and could have done him ſignal ſervice.

(*e*) Having never had any thoughts of this nature, he could not imagine to whom he owed the recommendation, but at laſt found it to come from Lord Galloway.

(*f*) He died in 1719, after having been raiſed to a Lieutenant-colonel in a regiment of Engliſh dragoons.

(*g*) Till ſuch time as his Majeſty could provide for him better, which time never came.

(*h*) He had a poſt of ſmall value given him in its ſtead by Queen Anne.

(4) He has likewiſe prefixed to the whole our author's life, which has furniſhed the ſubſtance of this article.

(5) This collection began to be printed, at the expence of the government, in 1706. In 1708 ſix volumes in folio were completed, which were afterwards increaſed to ſeventeen, and then to twenty. Ld Halifax ſent the volumes as they came out to the famous Le Clerc, who generouſly lent them our author.

(6) As Mr Smollet, whoſe edition ſold equally, if not more largely than even Rapin's; which encouraged Guthrie and Ralph to write another hiſtory, which was printed in three large folio volumes; and now Rider is publiſhing a new edition in numbers.

RIDLEY [Dr Nicholas], Biſhop, and Martyr for the Reformation, was ſprung from a very antient and worthy family, which, through a long deſcent of knights for many generations, had been ſeated in Tynedale, not far from the Scotch borders, at *Wilmontſwick* in Northumberland, where our martyr was born, in the beginning of the ſixteenth century. He gave early proofs of his pregnant parts, and being ſent at a proper age to the ſchool at Newcaſtle upon Tyne, he made ſuch a proficiency there, as engaged his uncle Dr Robert Ridley to charge himſelf with the care and expence of his education, who being a fellow of Queen's college Cambridge, had him admitted of Pembroke-hall there, about the year 1518. From an honourable family he derived an ingenuous temper and diſpoſition, and the care taken of him in his youth ſeaſoned his mind with an early piety; the conſtancy and reſolution with which he was remarkably endued made him indefatigable in his ſtudies, both at ſchool and the univerſity, where he learned Greek at the public lectures of Richard Crooke [*A*]. The general diſcredit of Lollardy before he came to Cambridge, and the diligent and ſevere perſecution of Lutheraniſm after [*B*], were all in

The ſubſtance of this article is extracted from the Martyr's life, edit. 1763, 4to.

[*A*] *He learned Greek from Richard Crooke.*] He was the firſt profeſſor of that language at Cambridge, ſupported by a tax upon all the ſtudents. There is a walk under the garden wall of Pembroke, which bears teſtimony to Ridley's diligence, particularly in learning Greek, being ſtill called *Ridley's walk*, where he uſed to learn, and repeat without book St Paul's Epiſtles in Greek.

[*B*] *Perſecution of Lutheraniſm.*] At his coming to Cambridge, he found it in ſome diſturbance, occaſioned by ſetting up the Pope's grant of indulgences on the ſchool gates, over which was written this verſe of the Pſalmiſt: 'Bleſſed is the man that has ſet his 'hope in the Lord, and turned not unto the proud, 'and to ſuch as go about with lies.' Pſal. xl. The perſon who ſtuck it up, though unknown (1), was excommunicated by Dr Fiſher, then Chancellor.

(1) It was one Peter de Valence, a Norman.

favour of the eſtabliſhed ſuperſtition; and his uncle, at whoſe expence he was educated, would keep him ſteady in that track [C]. In ſhort, his character at this time ſeems to be that of an ingenuous, virtuous, zealous Papiſt. In 1522 he took the firſt degree in arts, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much, that his fame was ſpread to Oxford, where the ſociety of Univerſity college invited him, in 1524, to accept of an exhibition then newly founded by Walter Skyrley Biſhop of Durham; but he declined the offer (a), apparently from the proſpect of a fellowſhip in his own college, into which he was choſen in October that year. In 1525 he commenced A. M. and the next year was conſtituted general agent for the college in all caſes relating to the churches of Tilney, Soham, and Saxthorpe, belonging to it. He was now become a good ſcholar in Greek and Latin, and the ſcholaſtic philoſophy, then in faſhion, in which exerciſes he was an expert diſputant; and having entered into the prieſthood, was ſent, in 1527, by his uncle, for further improvement in theology, to the *Sorbonne* at Paris, then the moſt celebrated univerſity in Europe for that ſtudy (b). In the ſame view he went thence to Louvain, and continued abroad till 1529. After his return to Cambridge, he was choſen, in 1530, under-treaſurer to the univerſity, and in 1533 was elected ſenior proctor, which office he diſcharged with fidelity the following year, and then proceeding B. D. he was appointed chaplain of the univerſity (c), as alſo their orator and *magiſter glomeriæ* [D]; being then eſteemed an excellent preacher, and the beſt diſputant in his time. He was in this office when he loſt his good uncle, who died June 12, 1536. However, it was not long before his merit procured him another patron, and that too of a much higher dignity, and more able to do him ſervice; being taken next year into the family of Dr Cranmer, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who made him his chaplain [E], and preſented him to the vicarage of Herne in Eaſt Kent, where he preached up the principles of the Reformation (d), except in the article of the corporal preſence, in the belief of which he ſtill continued unmoved. In this church he had alſo the *Te Deum* read in Engliſh, which was afterwards made an article of a proſecution againſt him. In the ſame ſpirit he bore his teſtimony againſt the well known ſix articles which came out by authority in 1539; though otherwiſe he was in no danger from the penalties of the ſtatute. The point of the corporal preſence was at that time an article of his creed; the marriage or uncleanneſs of the prieſts affected not him, who never intended to act againſt the ſtatute in the former inſtance, and was never charged by any creditable perſon with the latter (e); auricular confeſſion he always thought might do much good, but he made a difference between what he thought an uſeful appointment or diſcipline in the church, and the preſſing of it on the conſcience as a point neceſſary to ſalvation. His character at this time was that of a celebrated diſputant, a favourite preacher, and undoubting in the article of tranſubſtantiation, a zealous Scripturiſt, and particularly well acquainted with the Fathers. In 1540 he commenced D. D. and about the ſame time became chaplain to the King; and in October following was choſen maſter of his college at Cambridge. Soon after which, he was collated to a prebend in the church of Canterbury, and preaching up the principles of the Reformation, articles were exhibited againſt him in the Archbiſhop's court, for preaching againſt the doctrine of the ſix articles [F]; but this proſecution ended in ſmoke: and in 1545 he got clear of the belief of tranſubſtantiation [G], by reading Bertram and the Zuinglians books againſt Luther,

(a) Cranmer alſo refuſed an offer of the like kind the ſame year.

(b) Wolſey's embaſſy to France, in which he was attended by Tunſtal, probably furniſhed this opportunity to his uncle Ridley of ſending his nephew thither at this time.

(c) In it he ſucceeded Hethe, whoſe predeceſſor was Latimer, both afterwards biſhops.

(d) He converted Lady Fiennes to that doctrine.

(e) Sandes indeed charges him with that guilt, but at the ſame time ſays he was a monk, and married againſt his oath, both notoriouſly falſe.

[C] *His uncle would keep him ſteady in that track.*] This uncle, who was a celebrated divine and canoniſt, was ſent for among others from the univerſity, to aſſiſt Wolſey, in a kind of convocation, at his houſe, for diſcuſſing and refuting Luther's doctrine. In 1520-21 Dr Tonſtal, to whom he was related, while Biſhop of London, collated him to the rectory of St Botolph's Biſhopſgate in 1523, and in the beginning of the next year, to the Prebend Mora in the church of St Paul. He was alſo collated by the ſame patron to the rectory of St Edmond's Lombard-ſtreet, the prebend of Iſledon, and the ſine-cure of Fulham.

[D] *Chaplain, orator, and magiſter glomeriæ.*] Whether theſe are different offices, or the ſame office under different titles, is not certain; Ridley, in his Farewel, calls himſelf *public orator*, in the Lambeth manuſcript, he is called by Archbiſhop Teniſon *prædicator publicus*, and in the manuſcript of Pembroke-hall he is ſtyled *magiſter glomeriæ*. This laſt title ſeems to denote the univerſity orator, whoſe office it was to attend congregations, and gather the votes on ſcrutinies, and declare the majority; to examine, and reject or approve candidates for the degree of A. M. in grammar; he likewiſe compoſed the public epiſtles of the univerſity. The office of orator had been diſcontinued for a long time. They uſed to get foreigners to compoſe their ſpeeches and letters for them; one Caius Auberinus, an Italian, was often employed in this buſineſs, and had for his cuſtomary fee twenty pence a letter. The orator's place was founded in 1522, the afore-mentioned Richard Crooke being the firſt appointed.

[E] *Cranmer's chaplain.*] The palace at Lambeth was then a kind of univerſity, where many learned men were entertained, foreigners as well as natives. Theſe were all occaſionally conſulted by the Archbiſhop, upon points of difficulty and importance, in which reſpect Ridley was particularly ſerviceable to him; and when he was driven by the plague (z) to his houſe at Ford, he took Ridley along with him, where he had much private conference about the preſent ſtate of the Reformation, and further progreſs neceſſary to complete it.

(z) The plague raged ſo much that ſeveral died of it before the palace gate of Lambeth.

[F] *Articles exhibited againſt him, &c.*] Dr Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter was the author of this proſecution. It was contrived that the articles ſhould be firſt exhibited againſt him to the juſtices of peace in Kent, and then to the King and council. The articles againſt him were, 1. That he preached at St Stephen's in the Rogation week, and ſaid, That auricular confeſſion was but a mere poſitive law, and ordained as a godly means for the ſinner to come to the prieſt for counſel, but he could not find it in Scripture. 2. That he preached in the ſaid Rogation week, and ſaid, That there was no meeter term to be given to the ceremonies of the church, than to call them beggarly ceremonies. 3. That *Te Deum* had been ſung in Engliſh at Herne, where the ſaid Maſter Doctor Ridley was vicar. But when the matter was laid before the King, he referred it to Cranmer, who went down to Feverſham in Kent, to make a ſtrict inquiry into it; the reſult of which was a clear diſcovery of the author, and the malice of the proſecution.

[G] *He freed himſelf from the belief of tranſubſtantiation.*] He afterwards ſhewed the abſurdity of that tenet

Luther, and Cranmer procured him the eighth ſtall in Weſtminſter abbey. In 1547 he was preſented by the fellows of Pembroke-hall to the church of Soham, in the dioceſe of Norwich; and was nominated the ſame year to the biſhopric of Rocheſter, into which he was elected September 4th, and on the 23d conſecrated *more eccleſiæ ſolito*, i. e. according to the ritual of the Roman church. In 1549 he was one of the commiſſioners for viſiting Cambridge [*H*], where he held diſputations in defence of Chriſt's divinity, but with little or no ſucceſs, againſt the Anabaptiſts, then crowded with numbers of that ſect; nor did he ſucceed better in his endeavours about this time to reclaim Elizabeth Barton, the famous nun of Kent. In September this year he was in the commiſſion for trying Biſhop Bonner (*f*). In 1550 he was tranſlated to the ſee of London, into which he was inſtalled by proxy April 12th that year (*g*); and the ſame year was in the commiſſion for examining Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, in whoſe deprivation he concurred. It was likewiſe about this time that he held a diſputation with Hooper, Biſhop elect of Glouceſter, about the veſtments uſed in the church (*h*). Our worthy prelate had all along complained of the corruptions of the courtiers under K. Edw. VI. eſpecially of their unbounded rapacity in ſpoiling the church of its revenues; and there happened an inſtance of it in 1551, which particularly touched himſelf. I mean the deſign of ſeizing the prebend of Cantilores-court, or Kentiſh-town, in St Paul's church, under a pretence of applying the revenues thereof to purchaſe furniture for the King's ſtables (*i*). This ſacrilegious attempt gave him much diſturbance, and the more, as he had deſigned to beſtow that prebend upon his chaplain Mr (afterwards Abp) Grindall, as has been already related (*k*). In May 1552 he was in a commiſſion to viſit Eton college, when *Harding*, one of the fellows, was committed to the Fleet priſon for lewd words. This year returning from a viſit to his college at Cambridge, he reſted all night at his houſe at Hadham, and thence called at Hunſdon (*l*), the reſidence of the Princeſs (afterwards Queen) Mary [*I*]. The boldneſs of ſome expreſſions he uttered at this interview, in preſſing her to liſten to the doctrine of the newly eſtabliſhed religion, was particularly reſented by her Highneſs, and, being treaſured up in her mind, was the chief motive to his proſecution, when ſhe came to the throne in 1553; which ended with his martyrdom the

(*f*) See his article in Vol. II. p. 857, remark [*K*].

(*g*) King Edward's patent runs, *durante vita naturali*. See Burnet on the Reformation.

(*h*) Called the Bp of London's controverſy *De re veſtiaria*.

(*i*) William Thomas, one of the clerks of the council, had got a promiſe of it.

(*k*) Under his article, Vol. IV. p. 2428. remark [*C*]. Ridley had promiſed the council not to collate to it when it became vacant, without making it known to the King.

(*l*) Hadham lay within two miles of Hunſdon.

tenet to Cranmer, who was convinced thereby: and himſelf acknowledges, that his own labours in taking away pardons, pilgrimages, and ſuch like leſſer ſuperſtitions, had been only like lopping away ſome branches and leaves, that would in time ſhoot out again: but that Ridley had been more uſefully employed in digging up the root, by removing the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation. Both Cranmer and Latimer were indebted to him for their knowledge of the truth in this moſt concerning point, for which they all three voluntarily offered up their lives.

[*H*] *He was one of the commiſſioners for viſiting Cambridge.*] The real purpoſe of the courtiers in this viſitation, was to ſeize upon the revenues of Clare-hall, under a pretence of incorporating it with Trinity-hall adjoining. But Ridley prevented the execution of this rapacious attempt, by refuſing to agree to the pretence, without the conſent of the ſociety of Clare-hall.

[*I*] *He viſited the Princeſs Mary.*] Her Highneſs received him in the preſence-chamber, thanked him for his civility, and entertained him with very pleaſant diſcourſe for a quarter of an hour: ſaid, ſhe remembered him at court, when chaplain to her father; and mentioned particularly a ſermon of his before her father, at the marriage of the preſent Lord Clinton to Sir Anthony Brown's daughter: and then leaving the preſence-chamber, ſhe diſmiſſed him, to dine with her officers. After dinner, ſhe ſent for him again; when the Biſhop, in converſation, told her, that he did not only come to pay his duty to her Grace by waiting on her, but further to offer his ſervice to preach before her the next Sunday, if ſhe would be pleaſed to admit him. Her countenance changed at this, and ſhe continued for ſome time ſilent: at laſt ſhe ſaid, I pray you, my Lord, make the anſwer to this yourſelf. The Biſhop proceeding to tell her that his office and duty obliged him to make this offer, ſhe again deſired him to make the anſwer to it himſelf, for that he could not but know what it would be; yet, if the anſwer muſt come from her, ſhe told him that the doors of the pariſh-church ſhould be open for him, if he came, and that he might preach if he pleaſed; but that neither would ſhe hear him, nor allow any of her ſervants to do it. Madam, ſaid the Biſhop, I truſt you will not refuſe God's word. I cannot tell, ſaid ſhe, what you call God's word; that is not God's word now, that was God's word in my father's days. The Biſhop obſerved, that God's word was all one at all times, but had been better underſtood and practiſed in ſome ages than others. Upon which ſhe could contain no longer, but told him, You durſt not for your ears have preached that for God's word in my father's days that now you do; and then, to ſhew how able ſhe was in this controverſy, ſhe added, as for your new books, I thank God I never read any of them, I never did, and never will. She then broke out into many bitter expreſſions againſt the form of religion at preſent eſtabliſhed, and againſt the government of the realm, and the laws made in her brother's minority, which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe was not bound to obey, till the King came of perfect age, and when he was ſo, ſhe would obey them: and then aſked the Biſhop if he was one of the council; and on his anſwering No, You might well enough, ſaid ſhe, as the council goes now-a-days: and parted from him with theſe words, My Lord, for your civility in coming to ſee me, I thank you; but for your offer to preach before me, I thank you not a whit. After this, the Biſhop was conducted to the room where he had dined, where Sir Thomas Wharton gave him a glaſs of wine; which when he had drank, he ſeemed confounded, and ſaid, Surely I have done amiſs; and being aſked how, he reproached himſelf for having drank in that place where God's word had been refuſed; whereas, ſaid he, if I had remembered my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have ſhaked off the duſt from my feet for a teſtimony againſt this houſe.

Mr Collier ſuggeſts (3), that as the Princeſs was under no excommunication, the Biſhop proceeded too far; too far, obſerves the writer of his life, in worldly prudence he certainly did, for the Princeſs never forgave him: but Chriſt's directions to his apoſtles were not given with regard to perſons who had been caſt out of their communion, but to perſons refuſing to be inſtructed; and the Princeſs having avowed an obſtinate perſeverance of every mean of inſtruction offered to her, no wonder if the Biſhop blamed himſelf for ſo far forgetting his Maſter's command, as to accept a pledge of friendſhip in the houſe of one who had ſo wilfully rejected the word of God. But ſurely there is a wide difference between the caſe of the Gentiles in refuſing to hear the apoſtles, and this of a Chriſtian ſo acknowledged refuſing to hear another Chriſtian, though a biſhop, upon ſome points of the ſame religion, diſputed by perſons of a different communion only therein.

(3) In his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt.

following

following year [*K*], when he was committed to the flames, together with Cranmer and Latimer, at Oxford.

[*K*] *His martyrdom.*] In the preceding note we ſaw an inſtance of Mary's violent ſpirit, and we need not ſay with what outrage it broke out when unreſtrained. After her acceſſion, ſhe well remembered the interview with Ridley; and when he went with others to pay his compliments to her at Framingham upon that occaſion, he was ill received, and ſent back upon a lame horſe, and was expreſly excepted, with three others, in the act of grace. He was ſent to the Tower July 26, 1553; yet he was treated there with more civility than the reſt, and had the liberty of walking about the Tower; but this favour was granted only to try if he would not go to maſs, ſome hopes of which had been entertained, though without any grounds (4). The following proceedings againſt him, and his behaviour in the prelude to his martyrdom, as well as on the day of it, have been already mentioned (5). But there is one particular related by the writer of his life (6), which has eſcaped, if I miſtake not, the diligence of others, and therefore, being ſomewhat curious, ſhall be preſerved here. The evening before the day of his martyrdom, which he called his marriage or wedding-day (7), he invited a few particular friends to ſupper, which conſiſted of three courſes, beſides a deſert, the bill of fare, with the charge of each, being as follows:

		s.	*d.*
Bread and ale	0	0	3
Shoulder of mutton	0	0	9
Pig	0	0	11
Plover	0	0	4
Cheeſe and pears	0	0	2
Wine	0	0	1½
Total	0	2	6½

P

(4) Fox ſays he did once go, but was blamed for it by Bradley, which, however, is not likely.

(5) In the articles of Cranmer, Bradford, and Latimer.

(6) From a manuſcript in the library of Bennet college Cambridge.

(7) Dr Fiſher Bp of Rocheſter, who was put to death for denying the royal ſupremacy in Q. Elizabeth's reign called that day his marriage-day. See his article, Vol. III. p. 1934, remark [*U*].

ROBINS [Benjamin], an eminent mathematician, was the ſon of a Quaker of low condition at Bath in Somerſetſhire, where he was born in 1707. His education was ſuch as ſuited his father's circumſtances as well as his religion, which teaches a contempt of human learning. Nevertheleſs, having a genius turned to the mathematics, he made an early and ſurprizing progreſs in the ſpeculative branch of that ſcience (*a*); and being encouraged by Dr *Pemberton* (*b*), author of *The view of Sir Iſaac Newton's philoſophy*, he came to London, in the deſign of teaching it there for a ſupport; but being found not ſufficiently acquainted with what is called the ſublime geometry, he procured the beſt authors (*c*) therein, and made himſelf maſter of their works, as appears by a ſpecimen he gave, at twenty years of age, in 1727 (*d*). Hereupon he was admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society, November 16, this year (*e*); and the next year he gave alſo a ſpecimen of his knowledge in mixed mathematics, or the application of that ſcience to natural philoſophy, which was publiſhed in *The preſent ſtate of the republic of letters* for May 1728 [*A*]. He now began to take ſcholars, and about the ſame time quitted the peculiar garb and profeſſion of a Quaker; but the confinement of a teacher (*f*) not ſuiting his diſpoſition, which was active, he gradually declined it, and went into other courſes that required more exerciſe. Among other things, he tried many laborious experiments in gunnery, from a belief that the reſiſtance of the air had a much greater influence on ſwift projectiles than was generally ſuppoſed. Hence too he was led to conſider thoſe mechanic arts that depend on mathematical principles, in which he might employ his invention; as the conſtructing of mills, the building of bridges, draining of fens, rendering rivers navigable, and making of harbours. Among other arts of this kind, fortification very much engaged his attention, wherein he met with opportunities of perfecting himſelf, by a view of the principal ſtrong places in Flanders, in ſome journies he made abroad with perſons of diſtinction. On his return home from one of theſe excurſions, he found the learned here amuſed with Dr Berkeley's treatiſe, printed in 1734, under the title of *The analyſt*, in which the author undertook to explode Sir Iſaac Newton's *Method of fluxions.* Robins was therefore adviſed to clear up this affair, by giving a full and diſtinct account of Sir Iſaac's doctrine, in ſuch a manner as to obviate all the objections, without naming them, which had been advanced in the Analyſt (*g*). Accordingly, he publiſhed, in 1735, *A diſcourſe concerning the nature and certainty of Sir Iſaac Newton's method of fluxions, and of prime and ultimate ratios.* In 1738 he alſo defended Sir Iſaac againſt an objection contained in a Latin piece called *Matho, ſive coſmotheoria puerilis* (*h*), and the year after he printed Remarks on Mr Euler's *Treatiſe of motion*, on Dr Smith's *Syſtem of optics*, and on Dr Jurin's *Diſcourſe of diſtinct and indiſtinct viſion*, annexed to Dr Smith's work. In the mean time, Mr Robins's performances were not confined to mathematical ſubjects; in the year 1739 there came out from his pen three pamphlets upon political affairs [*B*], which did him great honour, and occaſioned his being employed in the poſt of ſecretary to the committee of the Houſe of Commons appointed to examine into the

(*a*) Beſides various other branches of ſciences and literature, as Dr Wilſon declares.

(*b*) The doctor conceiving a good opinion of him, from the ſight of ſome ſpecimens of his abilities, ſent him, for a further trial, ſome problems, which Mr Robins ſolved, very much to his ſatiſfaction.

(*c*) As Apollonius, Archimedes, Fermat, Huygens, De Wit, Sluſius, James Gregory, Dr Barrow, Sir Iſaac Newton, Dr Taylor, and Mr Cotes.

(*d*) A demonſtration of Sir Iſaac Newton's laſt propoſition, in his treatiſe on quadratures, publiſhed in the Philoſ. Tranſ. No 397, for 1727.

(*e*) Communicated by Dr Birch.

(*f*) Though teaching mathematics was his profeſſion, yet he frequently aſſiſted particular friends in other matters, as he was a man, according to Dr Wilſon, of univerſal knowledge.

(*g*) This was likewiſe anſwered the ſame year by Mr Maclaurin. See his article.

(*h*) Written by Mr Baxter, author of the *Inquiry into the nature of the human ſoul.*

[*A*] *The republic of letters for May* 1728.] The Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris had propoſed, among their prize queſtions in 1724 and 1726, to demonſtrate the laws of motion in bodies impinging on one another. The celebrated Mr John Bernoulli here condeſcended to be a candidate, and though his diſſertation loſt the reward, he appealed to the learned world, by printing it in 1727. He therein endeavoured to eſtabliſh, againſt Sir Iſaac Newton, Mr Leibnitz's opinion of the force of bodies in motion from the effects of their ſtriking againſt elaſtic ſpringy bodies, as Signor Poleni had before attempted to evince the ſame thing from experiments of bodies falling on ſoft and yielding ſubſtances. Poleni had been anſwered in the Philoſophical Tranſact. No 371 for 1722 (1). Our author publiſhed his anſwer to Bernoulli in the letters cited above.

[*B*] *Three pamphlets upon political ſubjects.*] The firſt was intituled *Obſervations on the preſent convention with Spain*; the ſecond, *A narrative of what had paſſed in the common-hall of the citizens of London, aſſembled for the election of a Lord Mayor*; and the third, *An addreſs to the electors and other free ſubjects of Great Britain, occaſioned by the late ſucceſſion, in which is contained a particular account of all our negotiations with Spain, and their treatment of us for above ten years paſt.* They were all publiſhed without his name, and the firſt and laſt were generally reputed to have been the production of Mr Poultney, afterwards Earl of Bath, who was at this time at the head of the oppoſition to Sir Robert Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford.

(1) Both theſe great mens arguments were anſwered in a clear and conciſe manner by Mr Maclaurin, and by Sir Iſaac Newton himſelf. See Maclaurin's Fluxions and Pemberton's View, &c.

conduct of Sir Robert Walpole (*i*). In 1742 our author publiſhed his *New principles of gunnery* [*C*]. This treatiſe was preceded by an account of the progreſs which modern fortification had made from its firſt riſe, as alſo of the invention of gun-powder, and of what had already been performed in the theory of gunnery. He gave an account of this book, which was printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (*k*), wherein he takes notice of ſome experiments, printed before in the ſame Tranſactions (*l*), tending to invalidate ſome of his opinions; and in conſequence of this, ſeveral diſſertations of his on the reſiſtance of the air were read, and the experiments exhibited before the Royal Society in 1746 and 1747, for which he was preſented with Sir Godfrey Copley's gold medal (*m*). In 1747 he was ſent for to aſſiſt in the defence of Bergen-op-zoom, then beſieged by the French, but, on his arrival in the Dutch camp, he found the beſiegers had entered and taken poſſeſſion of the town. In 1748 came out *Lord Anſon's voyage round the world*, which, though it carries Mr Walter's name in the title page, was in reality written by Mr Robins [*D*]. Thus becoming famous for his abilities in writing, he was requeſted to compoſe an apology for the unfortunate affair at Preſton-pans in Scotland: this was printed in 1749 (*n*). He afterwards procured, by the intereſt of Lord Anſon, a ſecond mural-quadrant and other inſtruments for the royal obſervatory at Greenwich, by which it is become, perhaps, the completeſt obſervatory in being. His reputation being now arrived at its full height, he was offered the choice of two very conſiderable employments, either to go to Paris as one of the commiſſaries for adjuſting the limits in *Acadia*, or to be Engineer-general to the Eaſt India company, whoſe forts being in a moſt ruinous condition, wanted a capable perſon to put them in a poſture of defence. He accepted this latter, as more ſuitable to his genius, the company's terms being alſo both advantageous and honourable (*o*). Accordingly, having provided himſelf with a complete ſet of aſtronomical and other inſtruments, for making obſervations and experiments in the Indies, he embarked at Chriſtmas 1749, and after a voyage, in which the ſhip was near being caſt away, he arrived at the Indies July 13, 1750. There he immediately ſet about his proper buſineſs, with unwearied diligence,

(*i*) After the committee had preſented two reports of their proceedings, a ſtop was put to their farther progreſs, by a compromiſe between the contending parties.

(*k*) N° 469.

(*l*) N° 465.

(*m*) He was preparing an enlarged edition of his *New principles of gunnery*, when he was called into the Eaſt Indies.

(*n*) It was prefixed as a preface to *The report of the proceedings and opinion of the board of general officers, on their examination into the conduct of Lieutenant-general Sir John Cope*, &c.

(*o*) He was to have 500 l. a year for life, on condition he continued in their ſervice for five years.

[*C*] *New principles of gunnery.*] Herein is diſcovered the force of gun-powder, and the difference in the reſiſting power of the air to ſwift and ſlow motions, whereby it plainly appeared that the oppoſition of that medium to bullets and ſhells ſhot from cannon and mortars, far exceeded what was generally imagined; and that the track deſcribed in their motion differed from a parabolical line, to a degree undiſcovered by any who had written upon the ſubject from the famous Galilæo to the preſent time. Our author having ſhewn the deflections of ſuch bullets from the vertical plane in which the ſhot is made, accounts for it from a rotatory motion, that bullets accidentally acquire about an axis; and as a confirmation of his theory, he has in many caſes been able either to prevent the deflection, or to direct it ſuch a way as he thought proper. The caſe wherein this increaſe of reſiſtance becomes obſervable, is that wherein the velocity of the ſhot is at leaſt equal to the velocity with which ſound is propagated; whence he has offered his reaſons to believe, that in theſe caſes the air does not make its vibrations ſufficiently quick, to return inſtantaneouſly into the place the bullet has left, but that the bullet then leaves a *vacuum* behind it, whereby it becomes expoſed to the whole reſiſtance which the body of air before it is capable of giving. Mr Robins ſeems to have received the firſt hint of this diſcovery from Sir Iſaac Newton, who (as our author obſerves in his preface) was very ſenſible of the effects of this reſiſtance, and has propoſed how to aſſign, in particular caſes, a curve of a different ſpecies from a parabola, as more anſwerable to the projectile's motion (2). Nor was this great man wholly unapprized of the increaſe of reſiſtance, both from the rotatory motion of the moving body, and alſo from the preſſure of the fluid on the body becoming greater in the fore part than in the hinder (3). 'I remember (ſays he) that I had often ſeen a tennis ball ſtruck with an oblique racket deſcribe a curve line; for a circular as well as a progreſſive motion being communicated to it by the ſtroke, its parts on that ſide where the motions conſpire, muſt preſs and beat the contiguous air more violently than on the other, and therefore cauſe a reluctancy and reaction proportionably greater (4).' He never had the opportunity to make trials on balls ſhot from cannon. With reſpect to the force of gun-powder, Mr Robins, after a great number of experiments, determines that one fifth of the proportion of powder to the weight of the bullet is ſufficient, if properly diſpoſed, for all the purpoſes of the navy.

(2) Principia, lib. ii. prop. 10.

(3) Ib. prop. 40. in the Schol. in the remarks on exp. 12.

(4) Phil. Tranſ. N° 80.

[*D*] *Anſon's voyage*, &c.] The public had for ſome time been in expectation of ſeeing an account of this voyage compoſed under his Lordſhip's own inſpection, for which purpoſe, the reverend Mr *Richard Walter* was employed, as having been chaplain on board the Centurion the greateſt part of the expedition. Mr Walter had accordingly almoſt finiſhed his taſk, and brought it down to his own departure from *Macaò* for England, when he propoſed to print it by ſubſcription. It was thought proper, however, that an able judge ſhould firſt review and correct it, and Mr Robins was appointed: when upon examination, it was reſolved that the whole ſhould be written by Mr Robins, and that what Mr Walter had done, being almoſt taken from the journals, ſhould ſerve as materials only. Hence the introduction intirely, and many diſſertations in the body of the book, were compoſed by Mr Robins, without having received the leaſt hint from Mr Walter's manuſcript; and what he has thence tranſcribed regards chiefly the wind and the weather, the currents, courſes, bearings, diſtances, offings, ſoundings, moorings, the qualities of the ground they anchored on, and ſuch particulars as generally fill up a ſailor's account. No performance ever met with a more favourable reception; four large impreſſions were ſold off within a twelvemonth; it has been tranſlated into moſt of the European languages; and ſtill ſupports its reputation, being, in 1761, printed for the ninth time. The fifth edition, in 1749, was reviſed and corrected by Mr Robins himſelf, who deſigned, if he had remained in England, to have written a ſecond part of the *Voyage round the world*, as appears from the following letter of Lord Anſon to him, printed by his Lordſhip's permiſſion.

'Dear Sir,

'When I laſt ſaw you in town, I forgot to aſk 'you whether you intended to publiſh the ſecond volume of my voyage before you leave us, which, I 'confeſs, I am very ſorry for. If you ſhould have 'laid aſide all thoughts of favouring the world with 'more of your works, it will be much diſappointed, 'and no one more in it than

'Your very much obliged
'humble ſervant,
'ANSON.

'Bath, the 22d of
'October 1749.

'If you can tell the time of your departure, let me 'know it.'

and formed complete plans for *Fort St David* and *Madraſs*; but he did not live to put them into execution. The great difference of the climate being beyond his conſtitution to ſupport, he was attacked by a fever in September; and about eight months after his recovery, he fell into a languiſhing condition, in which he continued till his death, on the 29th of July 1751. By his laſt will he ſettled an annuity for life upon his aged father, who ſurvived him, and lived at Bath, in an uninterrupted ſtate of health till his death, which happened in 1758, in the ninety-ſecond year of his age.

He left the publiſhing his mathematical works to his honoured and intimate friend *Martin Folkes* Eſq; Preſident of the Royal Society, and to *James Wilſon* M. D. but the former of theſe gentlemen being diſabled by a paralytical diſorder for ſome time before his death, they were afterwards publiſhed by the latter, in 1761, two volumes octavo, with an account of the author, whence this article is extracted. P

RUBENS [Sir PETER PAUL], the prince of the Flemiſh painters, and an excellent ſtateſman, who flouriſhed in England in the reign of Charles I. the great encourager of his art. He was originally of Antwerp where, his father John Rubens, of noble extraction, held the office of counſellor in the ſenate; but being driven thence by the civil wars, he retired to Cologne, in which city this ſon was born, in 1577. The vivacity of his wit, improved by a careful education, made every thing eaſy to him; but he had not reſolved upon any profeſſion when his father died, and on the troubles of the Netherlands his family returned to Antwerp. There he continued his ſtudies in the *belles lettres*, and at his leiſure hours diverted himſelf with deſigning, for which he had inclination and genius; which being perceived by his mother, ſhe permitted him to place himſelf with *Adam van Noort* firſt, and after with *Otho Venius* [*A*], both which maſters he preſently equalled. He only wanted to improve his talent by travel; for which end, going to Venice, he perfected his knowledge of the principles of colouring in the ſchool of Titian. From Venice he went to Mantua, where he ſtudied the works of Julio Romano; and afterwards proceeding to Rome, he applied himſelf with the ſame care to the contemplation of the antique, the paintings of Raphael, and every thing that might contribute to finiſh him in his art. What was agreeable to his goût, he made his own, either by copying or making obſervations, which he generally accompanied with deſigns drawn with a light ſtroke of his pen. He had been ſeven years in Italy, when receiving advice that his mother was ill, he took poſt, and returned to Antwerp, but ſhe died before his arrival: however, he repaired that loſs by a marriage with Catharine de Brents, whom he loved extremely, and lived perfectly happy in her; but this happineſs happened to be cut ſhort by her death, after an enjoyment of four years only. The misfortune afflicted him ſo greatly, that he could not endure the ſight of Antwerp for ſome time, and endeavoured to divert his grief by a journey to Holland, where at Utrecht he viſited Huntorſt [*B*], for whom he had a great value. Returning to Antwerp, he engaged in a ſecond marriage with Helena Forman, who was indeed a Helen for beauty, and helped him very much in his figures of that ſex. His reputation being now ſpread all over Europe, Queen Mary of Medicis, conſort of Henry IV. of France, invited him to Paris: he accepted the invitation, and painted the Luxembourg galleries there [*C*]. He was at Paris when the Duke of Buckingham coming thither, became acquainted with him; and was ſo taken with his good ſenſe and penetrating parts, as well as ſkill in his profeſſion (*a*), that he is ſaid to have recommended him to the Infanta Iſabella,

(*a*) The Duke purchaſed of him pictures, ſtatues, medals, and antiquities, to the amount of 10,000 l.

[*A*] *Adam van Noort* and *Otho Venius.*] The firſt of theſe was ſon and diſciple of Lambert van Noort. He painted in great, and had the reputation of being a maſter. He was ſo full of buſineſs, that he had not time to go out of his own country, and died at Antwerp in 1641, at the age of eighty-four. *Otho* or *Octavio Venius*, was deſcended of a conſiderable family at Leyden, and born in 1556. He was carefully educated by his parents in the ſtudy of the *belles lettres*; and at the ſame time learned to deſign of Iſaac Nicholas. At the age of fifteen, being forced from his country by the civil wars, he retired to Liege, finiſhed his ſtudies, and there gave the firſt proof of his genius. He was particularly acquainted with Cardinal Grooſbeck, who gave him letters of recommendation when he went to Rome, where he was entertained by Cardinal Madrucci. He became a great proficient in deſigning under the diſcipline of Frederico Zucchero, and acquired a knowledge of the *claro obſcuro*. After reſiding at Rome (1) ſeven years, he paſſed into Germany, and was received into the Emperor's ſervice, and then employed by the Duke of Bavaria and the Elector of Cologn. After the death of Alexander Farneſe, he retired to Antwerp, where he adorned the principal churches with his paintings. The Archduke Albert, who ſucceeded the Prince of Parma (2) in the government of the Low-countries, ſent for him to Bruſſels, and made him maſter of the mint (3). He had always applied himſelf to philoſophy, poetry, and the mathematics, as well as painting, and publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes, embelliſhing them with cuts of his own deſigning; as *Horace's emblems*, *The life of Thomas Aquinas*, and *The emblems of love*; and dedicating the emblems of profane love to the Infanta Iſabella, ſhe obliged him to do the like by divine love. Lewis XIII. made him very fair offers to enter into his ſervice, but he would never leave his own country. He was the firſt ſince Polydore Caravaggio, who reduced the *claro obſcuro* to a principle of the art of painting: Rubens perfected what he began, and the whole Flemiſh ſchool learned it of him. Venius died at Bruſſels in 1634, aged ſeventy-eight years.

[*B*] *He viſited Huntorſt.*] Sandrart, who was then Huntorſt's diſciple, waited upon Rubens to all the cities of Holland; and ſays, that in paſſing he ſpoke of the works of the painters which he had ſeen in his journey, and preferred Huntorſt's paintings and Blomaert's compoſition to any he had ſeen; and that he was ſo in love with Cornelius Polemburgh's pictures in *little*, that he deſired him to draw ſome for his uſe.

[*C*] *He painted the Luxembourg galleries.*] He drew deſigns for two of them: the hiſtory of the Queen's life was intended for the ſubject of one of his pieces, and the life of Henry IV. for the other: he began the firſt, and finiſhed it; but the King's death happening preſently after, hindered his completion of the ſecond, towards which he had begun ſeveral pictures.

(1) He drew ſeveral rare pieces there.

(2) He drew this Prince's picture armed *cap-a-pee*, which confirmed his reputation in the Netherlands.

(3) He drew the Archduke and his wife the Infanta Iſabella's portraits in great, which were ſent to K. James I. of Great Britain.

who ſent for him, and appointed him her ambaſſador in the Netherlands; from whence he went in the ſame character to England, to negotiate a peace with King Charles I. in 1630. Here having concluded the treaty, King Charles (*b*) employed him to paint the cieling of the Banquetting-houſe, for which he paid him three thouſand pounds, and knighted him. From England he went to Spain, to give Philip an account of his negotiation. He had alſo the honour of knighthood from that Prince (*c*), beſides many magnificent preſents. Returning to Flanders, he had the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate conferred on him: however, he did not lay down his pencil, being able to exerciſe that while he did the duties of his office. Thus loaden with riches and honour, he lived ſeveral years. At laſt the gout, with which he had been a long time afflicted, flew up to his ſtomach, and carried him off the ſtage of this world in 1640, the year of his grand climacteric. The character of his genius and abilities is inſerted below [*D*]. He left two ſons by his ſecond wife; the eldeſt ſucceeded him in the office of ſecretary of ſtate; and the other was very well provided for, by the ſhare of his father's eſtate which fell to him.

(*b*) De Piles is miſtaken in ſaying that the King preſented him on that occaſion, in full parliament, with a ſword and garter, both enriched with diamonds, together worth 12,000 crowns.

(*c*) He drew the portraits of the royal family, and copied ſome of Titian's for his own uſe.

[*D*] *His character.*] He was good-natured and obliging; his genius was full of fire, his ſenſe ſolid and ſublime. He was univerſally learned; and for the politeneſs of his manners, and the perfection of his knowledge, he was beloved and eſteemed by perſons of the beſt rank. He ſpoke ſix languages, and in his correſpondence with men of learning, or in making obſervations on his art, he always made uſe of the Latin.

Never painter produced ſo many and ſo great compoſitions as Rubens. The palaces of ſeveral Princes, and the churches in Flanders, can give ſubſtantial proofs of this aſſertion. It is difficult to decide where his fineſt pieces are: there is hardly a place in Europe, but has ſome token of his abilities: however, Antwerp and Paris ſeem to be the depoſitories of his moſt valuable paintings. The good judges, and ſkilful painters, who examine his works with care, will eaſily be convinced that Rubens not only carried the art of painting to a very high degree, but that he opened a way which will lead thoſe that proceed in it to perfection. He had a great many diſciples, as David Teniers, Van Dyck, Jourdan, Jouſt, Soutmans, Diepembeck, Van Tulden, Van Mol, Van Houk, Eraſmus Quillinus, and others; of all whom, Van Dyck diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt, and did his maſter moſt honour.

Rubens at firſt propoſed to himſelf to imitate Michael Angelo da Caravaggio's manner of painting; but finding it too laborious, he left it, and formed another more expeditious, and agreeable to his genius. One Brendel, a painter, who was alſo a famous chymiſt, coming to ſee him, aſked him if he would join with him in ſearching after the philoſopher's ſtone, telling him, by way of encouragement, he had little more to do to come at it, and that they might both make their fortunes by it. Rubens anſwered, he came too late by above twenty years, for he had himſelf found out the philoſopher's ſtone, by the help of his pencil and colours.

Abraham Johnſon, a ſkilful painter of Antwerp, whoſe only fault was lazineſs and debauchery, complaining of fortune, and being jealous of Rubens, challenged him, propoſing for each to draw a picture, as a trial of ſkill, and then to leave it to certain critics to determine the preference. Rubens did not think fit to accept the challenge, anſwering, that he willingly yielded the preference to him; that both ſhould continue to do their beſt, which he intended, to the utmoſt of his power, and no doubt the public would do them both juſtice. P

This article is extracted from Mr Walpole's Catalogue of Engravers, p. 1. & ſeq. edit. 1763.

RUPERT [Prince], the famous general under King Charles I. in the civil wars. It is a true obſervation, that gun-powder was diſcovered by a monk, and printing by a ſoldier; it is an additional honour to the latter profeſſion to have invented *mezzotinto.* Few royal names appear at the head of diſcoveries; nor is it ſtrange that accident is the moſt common mother of invention. Yet genius being a neceſſary midwife to aid the caſual production, and uſher it to exiſtence, one cannot expect that many of the leaſt common rank ſhould be bleſſed with uncommon talents; quickneſs to ſeize, and ſagacity to apply, are requiſite to fortuitous diſcoveries. Gun-powder or printing might have fallen in many a prince's way, and the world have been happy enough to poſſeſs thoſe arts. Born with the taſte of an uncle, whom his ſword was not fortunate in defending, *Prince Rupert* was fond of thoſe ſciences which ſoften and adorn a hero's hours, and knew how to mix them with his minutes of amuſement, without dedicating his life to their purſuit, like one who, wanting a capacity for momentous views, makes ſerious ſtudy of what is only the tranſitious occupation of a genius. Had the court of the firſt Charles been peaceful, how agreeably had the Prince's congenial propenſity flattered and confirmed the inclination of his uncle! How the muſe of arts would have repaid the patronage of the monarch, when for his firſt artiſt ſhe ſhould have preſented him with his nephew! How different a figure the ſame Prince made in a reign of a diſſimilar complexion; the philoſophical warrior, who could relax himſelf into the ornament of a refined court, was thought a ſavage mechanic, when courtiers were only voluptuous wits. Let me tranſcribe a picture of Prince *Rupert*, drawn by a man who was far from having the leaſt portion of wit in that age, who was ſuperior to its indelicacies, and yet was ſo overborn by its prejudices, that he had the complaiſance to ridicule virtue, merit, and talents. But Prince Rupert, alas! was an aukward lover. *Il etoit brame et vaillant juſq' a tenerité; ſon eſprit etoit ſujet a quelques travers, dont il eut ete bien faché de le corriger: il avoit genie fecond en experiences de mathematiques, et quelques talens pour la chemie: poli juſqu' a l'exces, quand l'occaſionne le demandoit pas, fier et mene brutal, quand il etoit queſtion de l'humaniſer. Il etoit grand, et n'avoit que trop mavais air, ſon viſage etoit ſec et dur, lors meme qu'il vauloit le radoucer, mais dans les mauvais humeurs c'etoit une vraie phiſionomie de reprove.* What pity it is that we, who wiſh to tranſmit this Prince's remembrance to poſterity in a fairer canvas, have none of thoſe inimitable colours to efface the harſher likeneſs. We can but oppoſe facts to wit, truth to ſatire. How unequal the pencils! Yet what theſe lines cannot do, they may ſuggeſt, they may induce the reader to reflect, that if the Prince was defective in the tranſieht varniſh of a court, he at leaſt was adorned by the arts, with that poliſh which alone can make a court attract the attention of ſubſequent ages.

We muſt take up the Prince in his laboratory, begrimed, uncombed, perhaps in a dirty ſhirt. On the day I am going to mention he certainly had not ſhaved and powdered to charm Miſs Hughes. For it happened in his retirement at Bruſſels, after the cataſtrophe of his uncle, going out early one morning, he obſerved a centinel at ſome diſtance from his poſt, very buſy in doing ſomething at his piece, the Prince aſked what he was about, he replied, that the dew, which had fallen in the night, had made his fuſil ruſty, and that he was ſcraping and cleaning it (*a*). The Prince looking at it, was ſtruck with ſomething like a figure eaten into the barrel, with innumerable little holes cloſed together like friezed work in gold or ſilver, part of which the fellow had ſcraped off. One knows what a mere good officer would have ſaid upon ſuch an occaſion; if a faſhionable officer, he might have damned the poor fellow, and given him a ſhilling; but the genie *fecond en experiences*, from ſo trifling an accident conceived *Mezzotinto*. The Prince concluded that ſome contrivance might be found to cover a braſs plate with ſuch a grained ground of fine preſſed holes, which would undoubtedly give an impreſſion all black, and if ſcraped away in proper parts, the ſmooth ſuperficies would leave the reſt of the paper all white. Communicating his idea to *Warner Vaillant* [*A*], a painter whom he maintained, they uſed ſeveral experiments, and at laſt invented a ſteel roller cut with tools, to make teeth like a file or raſp with projecting points, which effectually produced the black grounds; theſe being ſcraped away, and diminiſhed at pleaſure, left the gradations of light (*b*). The ſurprize occaſioned by the novelty of the invention, by its ſoftneſs and union of parts, cannot be better expreſſed than in the words of Mr Evelyn, whoſe abilities deſerved the compliment paid him by the Prince, of the firſt to whom this myſtery or ſecret, for ſo they held it, was imparted, and who was ſo dazzled with the honour of the confidence, or with the curioſity of the new art, that after encouraging the world to expect the communication, checked his bounty, and determined not to proſtitute the *arcanum*, but to diſcloſe it only to the elect. See his words below [*B*]. However, curious as the diſcovery was, it did not produce all it ſeemed to promiſe, it has diverſified prints rather than improved them; and though *Smith*, who carried the art to the greateſt height yet known, had conſiderable merit, mezzotintoes ſtill fall ſhort of fine engravings. But before the ſecret paſſed into his hands, it was improved by Blooteling (*c*), who found out the application of the chiſſel for laying grounds, which much exceeded the roller. George White afterwards made uſe of a graver for forming the black ſpot in the eyes, and ſharpening the light, which in preceding mezzotints, he obſerved, had never been diſtinct. Some have thought that the Prince only improved on *Rembrandt*'s method in his prints; but there is no account of the latter's making uſe of a method at all like that practiſed for mezzotints. Prefixed to Evelyn's account is a kind of Saracen's head performed by the Prince, with his honour's mark (*d*). There is another of the ſame in large, a man with a ſpear, and *R. p. f.* A woman's head looking down, in an oval, no name to it. Theſe are all his works of this kind. I have ſeen ſome pieces etched by him; and in Jervis's ſale, were ſome ſmall pieces drawn looſely with a pen on white paper, under them was written, *Deſſinati per il Principe Roberto, à Londres*, 23 *Sept.* The oldeſt piece of mezzotinto that *Vertue* had ſeen, was an oval head of Leopold William Archduke of Auſtria, with this inſcription, *Theodorus Caſparus à Furſtenburgh canonicus ad vivum pinxit et fecit.* This perſon undoubtedly received the ſecret before his honour returned to England.

[*A*] *Warner Vaillant.*] This painter came over to England with Prince Rupert, and ſtaid here ſeveral years: he drew from the life in black and white, and was admired for his mezzotintoes. One he had of the Emperor Leopold in 1658, before he came hither. At length he returned to Holland, where he died (1).

[*B*] *See his words below.*] They are as follows: ‘It would appear a paradox to diſcourſe to you of a graving without a graver, burin, point, or aquafortis, and yet is performed without the aſſiſtance of either. That which gives the moſt perite and dextrous artiſt the greateſt trouble, that is longeſt in finiſhing (for ſuch are the hatches and deepeſt ſhadowings in plates) ſhould be here the leaſt conſiderable, and moſt expeditious; that, on the contrary, the lights ſhould be in theſe the moſt laborious, and yet performed with the greateſt facility; that what appears to be effected with ſo little curioſity, ſhould yet ſo accurately reſemble what is eſteemed the very greateſt, *viz.* that a print ſhould emulate the very beſt of drawings and *chiaro oſcuro*, or, as the Italians term, the pieces of *Morbidezza:* ſo that nothing either of *Hugo da Carpi*, or any of thoſe other maſters who purſued his attempt, and whoſe works we have already celebrated, has exceeded, or indeed approached, eſpecially for portrait figures, tender landſcapes, and hiſtory, to which it ſeems to be moſt appropriate and applicable (2).’ Thus, ſays he, I have left it enigmatical, yet he thinks he has ſaid enough to give a hint to ingenious perſons how it is performed.—In truth, as Mr Walpole obſerves, they muſt have been more ingenious even than the inventor himſelf, to have diſcovered any thing from ſo indefinite a riddle. In antient ages they uſed to wrap up their doctrines and compoſitions of nonſenſe in ſuch unintelligible jargon; and the baby world, who preferred the being impoſed on to the being taught, thought themſelves extremely obliged for being told any ſecret which they could not comprehend. They would be reckoned mountebanks in this age, who ſhould pretend to inſtruct without informing; and one cannot help wondering that ſo benificent a genius as Evelyn's ſhould juggle with mankind, when the inventor himſelf had conſented that the new art ſhould be made public (3).

(*a*) In a MS. ſaid to be written by Mr Evelyn, and cited in the Gen. Dict. Vol. V. under [*F*], the invention is aſcribed to the ſoldier.

(*b*) This account Vertue had from Mr Killegrew of Somerſet-houſe, who had it from Mr Evelyn.

(*c*) See an account of Smith, Blooteling, and White, in Walpole's Catalogue.

(*d*) *Viz.* A crown incloſed in a circle.

(1) Walpole's Catalogue of Engravers, p. 76.

(2) Evelyn's Sculpture, p. 46.

(3) Idem.

S.

SAUNDERSON [Nicholas], Profeſſor of mathematics at Cambridge, was born January 1682, at Thurlſton near Penniſton in Yorkſhire, where his father, beſides a ſmall eſtate, enjoyed a place in the exciſe. When he was twelve months old, he was deprived by the ſmall-pox not only of his ſight, but of his eyes alſo (*a*). He was ſent early to the free-ſchool at Penniſton, and there laid the foundation of that knowledge in the Greek and Latin tongues, which he afterwards improved (*b*). As ſoon as he had gone through the grammar-ſchool, his father, whoſe occupation led him to be converſant in numbers, began to inſtruct him in the common rules of arithmetic. Here it was that his genius firſt appeared; he ſoon became able to work the common queſtions, to make long calculations by the ſtrength of his memory, and to form new rules to himſelf, for the more ready ſolution of ſuch problems as are often propoſed to learners, more with a deſign to perplex than inſtruct. At the age of eighteen he was introduced to the acquaintance of Richard Weſt, of Underbank, Eſq; a gentleman of fortune, and a lover of the mathematics, who, obſerving Mr Saunderſon's uncommon capacity, took the pains to inſtruct him in the principles of algebra and geometry, and gave him every encouragement in his power for the proſecution of thoſe ſtudies. Our author's paſſion for learning growing with him, his father encouraged it, and ſent him to a private academy at Attercliff, near Sheffield; but as the chief buſineſs there was to teach logic and metaphyſics, neither of which ſuited his genius, he made but a ſhort ſtay. He continued ſome time after in the country, proſecuting his ſtudies in his own way, without either guide or aſſiſtant (*c*). His education had been hitherto carried on at the expence of his father, who, having a numerous family, grew uneaſy under the burden; his friends, therefore, began to think of fixing him in ſome way of buſineſs for a ſupport. His own inclination leading him ſtrongly to Cambridge, it was reſolved he ſhould try his fortune there, as a teacher of the mathematics. Accordingly, in 1707, being now twenty-five years of age, he was brought to Cambridge by Mr Joſhua Dunn, then a fellow commoner of Chriſt college, where, though he was not admitted a member, the ſociety being much pleaſed with ſo extraordinary a gueſt, allotted him a chamber, the uſe of their library, and indulged him in every privilege that could be of advantage to him. And all the difficulties which ſeemed to obſtruct his deſign were removed by the kindneſs of Mr William Whiſton, who at this time ſat in the mathematical profeſſor's chair; and notwithſtanding he read lectures in the manner propoſed by Mr Saunderſon, ſo that an attempt of this kind looked like an encroachment on the privileges of his office, yet, as a good-natured man, and an encourager of learning, he readily conſented to the application of friends made in behalf of ſuch an extraordinary genius. Mr Dunn had been very aſſiduous in making known his character; his fame in a ſhort time had filled the univerſity; men of learning and curioſity grew ambitious and fond of his acquaintance; ſo that his lecture, as ſoon as opened, was frequented by many, and in a ſhort time became very much crowded. As the *Principia mathematica*, the *Optics*, and *Arithmetica univerſalis* of Sir Iſaac Newton, were the foundation of his lecture, it was not long before he became acquainted with the incomparable author, and even enjoyed his frequent converſation concerning the moſt difficult parts of his works (*d*). Upon the removal of Mr Whiſton from the profeſſorſhip, he was pitched upon to ſucceed him; for which purpoſe, a royal mandate was obtained for conferring on him the degree of A. M. and he was choſen Lucaſian profeſſor of the mathematics in November 1711, Sir Iſaac Newton all the while intereſting himſelf very much in the affair. He entered, as uſual, upon this office, with a ſpeech, in very elegant Latin, and a ſtyle truly Ciceronian (*e*). From this time he applied himſelf cloſely to the reading of lectures, and gave up his whole time to his pupils. He continued at Chriſt college till 1723, when he took a houſe in Cambridge, and ſoon after married a daughter of the reverend Mr Dickins, Rector of Boxworth in Cambridgeſhire [*A*], by whom

(*a*) They came away in an abſceſs, ſo that he retained no more idea of light and colours than if he had been born blind.

(*b*) So far as to hear the works of Euclid, Archimedes, and Diophantes, read in their original Greek.

(*c*) He needed no other than a good author, and ſome perſon that could read to him, being able, by the ſtrength of his own abilities, to ſurmount all difficulties that might occur.

(*d*) He lived in friendſhip alſo with the moſt eminent mathematicians of the age, Halley, Cotes, De Moivre, &c. and was a Eellow of the Royal Society.

(*e*) Tully was his favourite claſſic in proſe, as Virgil and Horace were in verſe.

[*A*] *He married a daughter of Mr Dickins.*] It was ſaid at the time by his friends, that his love was kindled by feeling her eye-laſhes. It is certain he acquired moſt of his ideas at firſt by the ſenſe of feeling, which he had in great acuteneſs and perfection, as it commonly happens to the blind, through the neceſſity of application. Yet he could not, as ſome have imagined, and as Mr Boyle was made to believe of a blind man at Maeſtricht, diſtinguiſhing colours by that ſenſe; and having made repeated trials, he uſed to ſay it was pretending to impoſſibilities. But he could with great nicety and exactneſs diſcern the leaſt difference whom he had a daughter. In 1728, when King George II. honoured the univerſity with a viſit, he was pleaſed to ſignify his deſire of ſeeing ſo remarkable a perſon: accordingly our profeſſor waited upon his Majeſty in the ſenate-houſe, and was collated LL. D. by the royal favour. But he did not long enjoy this honour; for though his conſtitution was naturally ſtrong and healthy, yet, being too ſedentary, and conſtantly confining himſelf to the houſe, he became at length, for want of exerciſe, a valetudinarian of a very ſcorbutic habit. For ſome years he frequently complained of a numbneſs in his limbs, which, in the ſpring of the year 1739, ended in a mortification of his foot, when his blood being in a very ill ſtate, no art or medicines were able to ſtop its progreſs. He died the 19th of April, in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age; and lies buried, according to his own requeſt, in the chancel of Boxworth church. He received the notice of his approaching death with great calmneſs and ſerenity; and, after a ſhort ſilence, reſuming life and ſpirit, he talked with as much compoſure as uſual. He was ſuppoſed not to entertain any great notion of revealed religion; yet we are told, he appointed to receive the ſacrament the evening before his death, which a delirium, that never went off, prevented him from doing. As to his character, it is well obſerved, that he was a man rather to be admired than loved. He had, indeed, much wit and vivacity in converſation, ſo that none could be a better companion: but, like his predeceſſor Mr Whiſton, he uttered his ſentiments of men not only freely but licentiouſly, with a kind of contempt and diſregard for decency and common-ſenſe; and which is worſe, he indulged himſelf in women, wine, and profane ſwearing, to a ſhocking exceſs; by which means he did more hurt to the reputation of the mathematics, than he did good by his eminent ſkill in the ſcience.

There was ſcarce any part of the mathematics on which he had not wrote ſomething for the uſe of his pupils; but he diſcovered no intention of printing any of his works till 1733, when his friends, alarmed by a violent fever that threatened his life, importuned him to ſpare ſome time from his lectures, and employ it in finiſhing ſome of his works, which he might leave behind him as a valuable legacy, both to his family and the public. He yielded ſo far to theſe intreaties, as to compoſe in a ſhort time his *Elements of algebra*, which he left perfect, and tranſcribed fair for the preſs. It was publiſhed by ſubſcription at Cambridge in 1740, in two volumes quarto, with a good mezzotinto print of the author, and an account prefixed of his life and character, whence the preſent article is extracted.

difference of rough and ſmooth in a ſurface, or the leaſt defect of poliſh. Thus he diſtinguiſhed in a ſet of Roman medals the genuine from the falſe, though they had been counterfeited with ſuch exactneſs, as to deceive a connoiſſeur, who had judged by the eye. His ſenſe of feeling was very accurate alſo in diſtinguiſhing the leaſt variation in the atmoſphere; and he has been ſeen in a garden when obſervations have been making on the ſun, to take notice of every cloud that interrupted the obſervation, almoſt as juſtly as they who could ſee it. He could tell when any thing was held near his face, or when he paſſed a tree at no great diſtance, provided the air was calm, with little or no wind; theſe he did by the different pulſations of the air upon his face. Our profeſſor was, perhaps, inferior to no blind perſon in the excellence of his hearing: he could readily diſtinguiſh to the fifth part of a note; and by his performance on the flute, which he had learnt as an amuſement in his younger years, diſcovered ſuch a genius for muſic as would probably have appeared, if he had cultivated the art, as wonderful as his ſkill in the mathematics. By his quickneſs in this ſenſe, he not only diſtinguiſhed perſons, with whom he had ever once converſed ſo long as to fix in his memory the tone of their voice, but in ſome meaſure places alſo. He could judge of the ſize of a room into which he was introduced, and of the diſtance he ſtood in to the wall; and if ever he had walked over a pavement in courts, piazzas, &c. which reflected a ſound, and was afterwards conducted thither again, he could exactly tell whereabouts on the walk he was placed, merely by the note it ſounded.

P

SCARBOROUGH [Sir CHARLES], an eminent phyſician of diſtinguiſhed ſkill in the mathematics, was born about the year 1616. After a proper foundation at ſchool, he was admitted, in 1632, of Caius college Cambridge; where having taken the firſt degree in arts in 1636, he was choſen into a fellowſhip, and commencing A. M. in 1639 (*a*), he took pupils. In the mean time, being deſigned for the profeſſion of phyſic, he applied himſelf to all ſuch preparatory ſtudies as are requiſite to that art. In this view, it became neceſſary to acquire a competent knowledge in the mathematics; the proſecution whereof bringing him into the acquaintance of Mr (afterwards Biſhop) Seth Ward, then of Emanuel college, they mutually aſſiſted each other in the ſtudy of that ſcience, and meeting with ſome inſuperable difficulties in Mr Oughtred's *Clavis mathematica*, they made a joint viſit to the author, then at his living of Aldbury in Surry. Mr Oughtred treated them with great humanity, being very much pleaſed to ſee ſuch ingenious young men apply themſelves to thoſe ſtudies, and in a ſhort time fully reſolved all their queſtions. They returned to Cambridge complete maſters of that excellent elementary treatiſe [*A*], and were the firſt

(*a*) See remark [*B*].

that

[*A*] *Complete maſters of the Clavis.*] The learned world is particularly obliged to Dr Scarborough for the third edition of the *Clavis*, as is declared by Mr Oughtred himſelf, who, in the preface to that edition publiſhed in 1652, after he had given a juſt character of Mr Chriſtopher Wren, ſpeaks thus of Dr Scarborough: *Acceſſit & alter hortator vehemens* D. Car. Scarborough, *Doctor medicinæ ſuaviſſimis moribus perſpicaciſſimoque ingenio vir: cujus tanta eſt in matheſi ſolertia, & ſupra fidem felix tenaxque memoria, ut omnes Euclidis, Archimedis aliorumque, nonnullorum ex antiquis propoſitiones recitare ordine, & in uſum proferre potis ſit.*

I ſhall take this opportunity of ſupplying an omiſſion in Mr Oughtred's article, Vol. V. That eminent mathematician had a daughter married to one Chriſtopher Brook, who had been inſtructed in the mathe-

matics

that read lectures upon it there(*b*). In the enſuing civil wars, Mr Scarborough became likewiſe a joint ſufferer with his brother Student for the royal cauſe, in being ejected from his fellowſhip at Caius. Upon this traverſe of fortune he withdrew to Oxford, and entering himſelf of Merton college, was incorporated A. M. of that univerſity June 23, 1646 [*B*]. The famous Dr William Harvey was then Warden of that college, and being employed in writing his treatiſe *De generatione animalium*, gladly accepted the aſſiſtance of our author(*c*), who likewiſe became acquainted with Sir Chriſtopher Wren, then a gentleman commoner of Wadham college, and engaged him to tranſlate *Oughtred's geometrical dialling* into Latin, which came out in 1649 (*d*). Our phyſician, upon leaving Oxford, took the degree of M. D. (*e*) ſettled at the metropolis, and practiſing his faculty with great reputation, he was made a fellow of the college of phyſicians, where he was particularly reſpected as a perſon of uncommon talents; and in 1658, by the ſpecial appointment of the preſident, he introduced, with an elegant Latin ſpeech, the Marquis of Dorcheſter for his admiſſion into the college that year (*C*]. In the mean time our Doctor had begun to read his highly celebrated anatomical lectures at Surgeons-hall, which he continued for ſixteen or ſeventeen years, and was the firſt who introduced geometrical and mechanical reaſonings upon the muſcles [*D*]. Such extraordinary merit did not eſcape the notice of King Charles II. who conferred on him, Auguſt 15, 1669, the honour of Knighthood, and appointed him his principal phyſician. He was retained in the ſame relation by his Majeſty's brother, both before and after his acceſſion to the throne (*f*),

(*b*) Athen. Oxon. under the article of Seth Ward.

(*c*) Faſti Oxon. vol i. col. 56. Dr Harvey had been a fellow of Caius college, and a benefactor to it. Carter's hiſt. of Camb.

(*d*) See Sir Chriſtopher's article, vol. vi. part I. p. 4161. remark [*F*].

(*e*) Carter's hiſt. of Cambridge.

(*f*) While in this ſtation being conſulted by poet Waller, he honeſtly pronounced his caſe to be incurable. See Mr Waller's article.

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matics by him, and becoming a mathematical inſtrument maker, he publiſhed *Oughtred's new quadrant of more natural, eaſy, and manifold performances than any heretofore extant*, 1649, in 2 ſheets, 8vo. as alſo *The ſolution of all ſpherical triangles, both right and oblique, by the planiſphere, &c.* Oxford, 1651, 8vo. This Brook had a ſervant's] place worth 30l. *per Ann.* given him by Dr Wilkins the warden, and dying in his houſe near that college, was buried in the cloyſter belonging to it, ſituated between the chapel and the library (1).

[*B*] *He was incorporated A. M. at Oxford.*] Mr Wood relates it thus (2): June 23, 1646, Charles Scarborough of Merton college, lately fellow of that of Caius, Cambridge, was then actually created by virtue of the letters of the chancellor of the univerſity (Marquis of Hertford) in which it is ſaid, *That he was M. A. of Cambridge of ſeven years ſtanding and upwards, and that he was ſpoiled of his library in the beginning of theſe troubles, and afterwards for his conſcience deprived of his fellowſhip at Cambridge*, &c. His letters teſtimonial under the hand of Dr William Harvey ſay alſo, *That he is well learned in phyſic, philoſophy, and mathematics*, &c.

[*C*] *He preſented the Marquis of Dorcheſter to a fellowſhip in C. M. L.*] The ſingular worth of this nobleman juſtly intitles him to the following account in the preſent memoir. His whole title was Marquis of Dorcheſter, Earl of Kingſton upon Hull, and Viſcount Newark. He was born at Mansfield in the county of Nottingham, in 1606, and created Marqueſs of Dorcheſter by King Charles I. at Oxford, in 1645 (3). From his youth he was very much addicted to books. He ſpent ſome time in Emanuel college Cambridge, and for many years ſeldom ſtudied leſs than near 12 hours a day, inſomuch that he had early paſſed through all manner of learning, both divine and human, and was reaſonably well verſed in the common law, ſo that he did no ſmall honour to his profeſſion in being admitted a bencher of Gray's-Inn (4), where he performed his exerciſe of reading in the hall before his admiſſion. In 1649 he found himſelf in an ill habit of body, cauſed, as he conceived, by a long ſedentary courſe of life, and trouble of mind for the murder of his ſovereign, and the deplorable condition of the nation. He was recovered from this chronical diſtemper by the advice of Dr Harvey, Sir Francis Prujean, and Sir *Charles Scarborough*, among others, who in a ſhort time brought him into a good ſtate of health; after which, that he might be as careful to preſerve it as he had been to obtain it, he applied himſelf, at the age of forty-three, to the ſtudy of phyſic: and though he fell to this ſtudy late, yet no man ever began upon a better foundation, nor purſued it with greater application; having then gone through the whole body of philoſophy, mathematics, and all other learning. In 1654 he preſented the college of phyſicians with 100l. to be laid out in books, as appears by their annals, where it is entered in theſe words: *Henricus Marchio Dorceſtrienſis, cujus inſignis peritia et indefeſſa ſtudia in utrcq; jure tam municipali quam civili, in mathematicis, in medicina, et ad ipſam ſpectantibus, chymicis, anatomiciſq; artibus cum illuſtribus titulis de victoria certant; centum libris in libros emendos erogandis muſeum Harveanum primus magnificeq; coboneſtavit ann. dom.* 1658. The ſame year he was elected a fellow of the college, which was entered by Sir George Ent, then regiſter, thus: *Die Julii 22, ann. dom. 1658; Illuſtriſſimus Vir Marchio Dornaviæ proponitur eligendus ſocius, omneſq ſocii preſentes in illius admiſſionem lætis animis ſuffragantur. Mox Dr Scarburgh a præſide ad id muneris deſignatus, tum illius virtutes, animumq vere heroicum, tum honorem hoc facto in ſocietatem noſtram collatum eleganti oratione extulit. Ipſeq, Marchio artis medicinæ præſtantiam decuſq; ac laudem ſibi a collegio conceſſam brevi quidem ſed nervoſa oratione aperte profeſſus eſt. Simul ſtatutis noſtris nomen ſuum adſcripſit; pollicituſq eſt ſe collegii ſtatum ac dignitatem ſartam tectam pro viribus conſervaturum; tandemq bellaria in præſentes omnes liberaliſſime effudit.* This moſt illuſtrious and learned nobleman, in his Latin oration made in the public hall of the college upon his admiſſion, expreſſed a great value for the art of phyſic, which, he ſaid, many princes and great men had highly eſteemed and made profeſſion of; and that for his own part, he took it for the greateſt honour (next to that conferred upon him by his Majeſty) to be ranked amongſt them; which eſteem he continued to the ſociety to the laſt, having been often heard to ſay, that he did believe them the learnedeſt ſociety of their profeſſion in the world, and therefore as a teſtimony of his value for them, he left the beſt library for phyſic, mathematics, civil law, and philology, in any private hand in this nation, for a choice collection of books to the value of above forty thouſand pounds (5). In ſhort, this noble and great Lord was a man of that exemplary loyalty to his Prince, and of thoſe great attainments and proficiency in learning, that he merits a juſt volume to ſet forth his deſerved praiſes. He died Dec. 8, 1680, in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age, of a gangrene and mortification in his left leg, which proceeded from an inflammation cauſed by rubbing off a little ſkin on that heel. After lying ſome time in ſtate at his houſe in Charterhouſe-yard, his corpſe was carried to Holme-Pierrepont, near Nottingham, the ancient ſeat of the family, where he lies interred among thoſe of his anceſtors (6).

[*D*] *He was the firſt who introduced geometrical and mechanical reaſoning into anatomy.*] His *Syllabus muſculorum*, was added to *The adminiſtration of all the muſcles of a human body, as they riſe in diſſection*, &c. and revived by William Molins, maſter in the ſurgery. This book was ſeveral times printed in 8vo. being uſed for many years in reading thoſe lectures. Sir Chriſtopher Wren made models of the muſcles, accurately formed in paſteboard, for the uſe of theſe lectures of Sir Charles's, by whom he had been cured of a dangerous illneſs. Theſe models, by credible report, were depoſited in the theatre at Surgeons-hall, and deſtroyed in the fire of London (7).

(1) Faſti Oxon. vol. i. col. 220, 221.

(2) Faſti Oxon. vol. ii. col. 56.

(3) His father Richard Pierrepont, of Holme Pierrepont, Eſq; was created Viſc. Newark and Earl of Kingſton in 1633. His mother was Gertrude Talbot, of the noble houſe of Shrewſbury.

(4) Upon this occaſion he treated the whole ſociety with a ſumptuous dinner.

(5) Which after his death was preſented to the college by his daughter, the Lady Grace Pierrepont, who knew it to be her father's intention.

(6) Goodall's hiſtory of the college of phyſicians, London, 1684, 4to.

(7) There is ſtill extant the firſt draught of a letter to Sir Charles, by Sir Chriſtopher Wren, from Oxford, concerning the bones of the arm; wherein is a hint of the paſteboards. *Parentalia, &c.* p. 238.

and continued in that ſtation to ſerve King William. He was likewiſe phyſician to the Tower of London (*g*), and was poſſeſſed of it till his death, which happened in the latter end of King William's, or the beginning of Queen Anne's reign. Dr Scarborough was a married man, and left a ſon of his own name, who was created D. C. L. at Oxford, Auguſt 25, 1702 (*h*), and in 1705 printed in folio, from his father's manuſcript, *An Engliſh tranſlation of Euclid's elements, with excellent explanatory notes.* Sir Charles alſo wrote *A treatiſe upon trigonometry*; *A compendium of Lily's grammar*, beſides *An elegy upon Mr Abraham Cowley.* His character, both in reſpect to his manners and learning, has been ſufficiently deſcribed in the courſe of this memoir. P

(*g*) Faſti Oxon. as before.

(*h*) Catalogue of Oxford degrees.

SECONDAT [Charles], Baron of Monteſquieu, a French author of diſtinguiſhed parts and learning, is juſtly entitled to a place in theſe memoirs, by his choice to make England the place of his reſidence for ſome years, and by the peculiar honour which he received from this country. He was deſcended from an ancient and noble family of Guienne, and born at the caſtle of La Brede near Bourdeaux, Jan. 18, 1689. He was bred to the law, and ſoon made a diſtinguiſhing figure in that profeſſion, which, however, he ſtudied not barely as a civilian, but as a philoſopher. At the age of 24, he was made *counſellor in the parliament of Bourdeaux*, Feb. 24, 1714, where he was received preſident July 13, 1716, in the room of an uncle who left him his fortune and his office, and being admitted April the third preceding into the ſociety then lately ſet up in that city for the improvement of Belles Lettres, he prevailed for a change of their firſt deſign into *an academy of ſciences for natural philoſophy*, of which he therefore may be called the firſt founder (*a*). In the mean time he engaged in a marriage in 1715, with Jane, daughter of Peter de Lartigue, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Molevrier (*b*). In 1721 he publiſhed, in 2 tomes 8vo. his *Perſian Letters*, but without his name [*A*]. He had expreſſed himſelf ſometimes very freely about matters of a nice nature, which there was reaſon enough to foreſee would bring the religious order upon him; accordingly he was no ſooner pointed at for the author, than a party roſe and united themſelves againſt his piece, ſo that when he offered himſelf ſome time after a candidate for a place in the French academy (*c*), the miniſter wrote a letter to that body, informing them that his Majeſty would never agree to the election of the author of the *Perſian Letters.* At length, however, he overcame all oppoſition [*B*], and was received into the academy Jan. 24, 1728, and his diſcourſe upon that occaſion, which is reckoned a very fine one, is printed among his works. Some time before this admiſſion, he had given up his civil employments, and devoted himſelf to his genius and taſte. He was no longer a magiſtrate, but only a man of letters. Thus quite at liberty he reſolved to travel, and going firſt to Vienna (*d*), he afterwards viſited Hungary, and paſſing through Venice, went to Rome (*e*). After travelling over Italy he came to Switzerland, and took a complete view of the countries watered by the Rhine. There was nothing more for him to ſee in Germany, for (ſays his elogiſt) *Frederic did not yet reign.* He ſtopped afterwards ſome time in the united Provinces, and at laſt went to England, where he took his abode for three years, and contracted intimate friendſhips with the greateſt men then alive. Locke and Newton were dead, and he had nothing to regret but his not having made this voyage ſooner. However, he had often the honour of paying his reſpects to their protectreſs Queen Caroline, King George the ſecond's conſort, who cultivated philoſophy upon a throne, and who properly eſteemed and valued Monſieur de Monteſquieu. He brought back from his travels neither a ſaucy diſdain for foreigners, nor a ſtill more miſplaced contempt for his own country. It was the reſult of his obſervations, that Germany was made to travel in, Italy to ſojourn in, England *to think in*, and France to live in. After his return he retired for two years to his eſtate at La Brede, and peaceably enjoyed that ſolitude, to which our having viewed the tumult and hurry of the world, ſerves to give a better reliſh. There he finiſhed his piece *On the cauſes of the grandeur and declenſion of the Romans*, which came out in 1734 [*C*], and met with univerſal applauſe. But whatever reputation our author

(*a*) Luckily the Duke de la Force, by a prize juſt founded at Bourdeaux, ſeconded the propoſal.

(*b*) He had a ſon and two daughters by her.

(*c*) On the vacancy occaſioned by the death of Monſieur de Sacy.

(*d*) There he often ſaw Prince Eugene, in whom he thought he could diſcover ſome remains of affection for his native country.

(*e*) Here he viewed the works of Raphael, Titian, & Michael Angelo, with great pleaſure, but he was no connoiſſeur in the fine arts.

[*A*] *He publiſhed his Perſian Letters anonymous.*] The deſcription of oriental manners, real or ſuppoſed, of the pride and phlegm of Aſiatic love, is but the ſmalleſt object of theſe letters; it only ſerves as a cloak for a delicate ſatire upon French manners, and for treating upon ſeveral important ſubjects, which the author goes to the bottom of, while he only ſeems to glance at them.

[*B*] *He overcame all oppoſition.*] The miniſter owned that he had not read the book, but that he was informed by perſons in whom he confided, that it was of a poiſonous and dangerous tendency. Our author thinking it prudent to ſtrike at the root of this riſing humour againſt him, waited on the miniſter, and declared to him, that for particular reaſons he had not owned *The Perſian Letters*, but that he would be ſtill farther from diſowning a work, for which he believed he had no reaſon to bluſh; and that he ought to be judged after a reading, and not upon an information. At laſt the miniſter did what he ſhould have begun with; he read the book, loved the author, and learned to place his confidence better. Hence the academy was not deprived of one of its greateſt ornaments, nor France of a ſubject which ſuperſtition and calumny had nearly effected; for Mr Monteſquieu it ſeems had frankly declared to the government, that he could not think of continuing in France after the affront which was about to be put upon him, but ſhould ſeek among foreigners for that ſafety and honour which he might have hoped for in his own country.

[*C*] *The cauſes of the grandeur and declenſion of the Romans.*] In this ſmall volume he has explained to us a vaſt and intereſting picture. By neglecting a detail, he has preſented within a ſmall compaſs a great variety of objects, and though he has pointed out thor had acquired by his laſt, or any of his preceding works, he had only prepared the way for a far grander undertaking in his *l'Eſprit des loix.* He had long ago formed the deſign, and meditated for twenty years upon the execution of it; or to ſpeak more properly, his whole life had been a continual meditation upon it. He had firſt ſtudied his own country with the utmoſt ſeverity; he had afterwards travelled over Europe, and profoundly ſtudied the different inhabitants [*D*]. This piece, notwithſtanding, had ſcarce made its appearance, when it was attacked by the ſame adverſaries as his *Perſian Letters* had offended. Hence burſt out a multitude of anonymous pamphlets, in which the author was accuſed of propagating irreligion, of Spinoziſm, and deiſm, and of having followed the ſyſtem of naturaliſm advanced in *Pope's eſſay on man.* Mr de Monteſquieu did not think theſe reproaches were to be neglected; ſilence might betray a conſciouſneſs of their juſtice, he therefore drew up *A defence of l'eſprit des loix*, which, on account of its moderation, truth, and delicacy of ridicule, may be regarded as a model in its way [*E*]. While inſects continued to teaze and diſturb him in his own country, England did him a very conſiderable honour. In 1752 Monſieur d'Aſſier, celebrated for the many medals he had ſtruck in honour of illuſtrious men, was ſent from London to Paris to ſtrike one of him [*F*]. This great man was peaceably enjoying that fulneſs of eſteem which his merits had procured him, when he fell ſick at Paris, in the beginning of February 1755. His health, naturally delicate, had begun to decay for ſome time paſt, partly by the ſlow but ſure effect of deep ſtudy, partly by the uneaſineſs which the envious and the bigotted had given him on account of his work, and partly by the way of life he was obliged to lead at Paris. He was oppreſſed with cruel pains ſoon after he fell ſick, nor had he his family or any relation near him; yet he preſerved to his laſt moments great firmneſs and tranquillity of mind. In ſhort, ſays his elogiſt, after performing every duty which decency required, he died with eaſe and the well-grounded aſſurance of a man, who had never employed his talents but in the cauſe of virtue and humanity. His death happened Feb. 10, 1755, at the age of ſixty-ſix. On the 17th of that month, the French academy performed as uſual a ſolemn ſervice for him; at which, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, almoſt all the members of that body, who were not abſent from Paris, thought it their duty to aſſiſt [*G*]. Beſides the pieces already mentioned, he wrote *The temple of Gnidus*,

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out much, leaves us ſtill more to reflect upon. His book might have been intituled, *A Roman hiſtory for the uſe of ſtateſmen and philoſophers.*

[*D*] *Studied the different inhabitants of Europe.*] The famous iſland (ſays Monſieur d'Alembert (pointing to Great Britain) which glories ſo much in her laws, and which makes ſo bad a uſe of them, had been to him in this long tour, what the iſle of Crete had formerly been to Lycurgus, a ſchool where he had learned well how to inſtruct himſelf, yet without approving every thing that occurred. In a word, proceeds our elogiſt, he had examined thoſe celebrated nations and men, who only exiſt at preſent in the annals of the world, and by that means attained the nobleſt title which a wiſe man can deſerve, namely, that of legiſlator to nations.

[*E*] *A model in that way.*] It is not pretended even by Monteſquieu's friends, that the *Spirit of laws* is without faults; that every point advanced in it is indiſputably right; but, continues Mr d'Alembert, that which ought to render the author dear to all nations, and ſerves to atone for far more and greater faults than there are in it, is that ſpirit of patriotiſm which dictated it. The love of the public good, a deſire of ſeeing men happy, diſcovers itſelf in every part of it; and had it no other merit but this, which is ſo rare and ſo valuable, it would be worthy on this account alone to be read by nations and kings. We already perceive, by happy experience, that the fruits of this work are not confined to uſeleſs ſentiments in the minds of its readers. Though the author ſurvived the publication of it but a ſhort time, he had the ſatisfaction in ſome meaſure to foreſee thoſe effects, which it begins to produce among us, namely, the natural love of Frenchmen for their country turned towards its true object, that taſte for commerce, for agriculture, and for uſeful arts, which inſenſibly ſpreads itſelf in our nation; and that general knowledge of the principles of government, which renders people more attached to what they ought to love.

[*F*] *To ſtrike a medal of him.*] Monſieur de la Tour, a moſt eminent painter, had ardently deſired to give a new luſtre to his pencil, by tranſmitting to poſterity our author's portrait, but he conſtantly rejected the painter's moſt preſſing ſollicitations. Mr d'Aſſier met with the ſame difficulty; but at length putting, in a pleaſant way, the like queſtion as Plato did to Diogenes, *Do you believe that there is not as much pride in refuſing my offer as in accepting it?* Monteſquieu was convinced, and gave his conſent.

[*G*] *The French academy performed a ſolemn ſervice for him.*] His elogy was then pronounced by Mr d'Alembert, which has furniſhed the chief materials of the preſent memoir; whence we further learn that Mr Maupertuis, ſo well known in England, prevailed with the *royal academy of ſciences and belles lettres* at Berlin, to admit an elogy, which he pronounced there in honour of our author. The honour indeed was ſingularly great, as it is not the cuſtom of that academy to pronounce the elogy of foreign members, nor had it been done before, except for the famousmathematician John Bernoulli (1). We may apply, ſays Mr d'Alembert, to Mr de Monteſquieu what was formerly ſaid of an illuſtrious Roman, that nobody ſhewed any joy at his death, or forgot him when he was no more. It is remarkable that all the public papers ſpoke of it as a misfortune; that even foreigners were eager to demonſtrate their regret upon it; and the elogiſt has taken care to obſerve, that the preſent Lord Cheſterfield cauſed to be inſerted in one of the London public papers the following article in honour of him. 'On the 10th 'of this month died at Paris, univerſally and ſincere'ly regretted, Charles Secondat, Baron of Monteſ'quieu, and preſident *à mortier* of the parliament of 'Bourdeaux. His virtues did honour to human na'ture, his writings juſtice; a friend to mankind, he 'aſſerted their undoubted and unalienable rights 'with freedom, even in his own country, whoſe pre'judices in matters of religion and government he 'had long lamented, and endeavoured, not without 'ſome ſucceſs, to remove. He well knew, and 'juſtly admired, the happy conſtitution of this coun'try, where fixed and known laws equally reſtrain 'monarchy from tyranny, and liberty from licenti'ouſneſs. His works will illuſtrate his name, and 'ſurvive him, as long as right reaſon, moral obliga'tion, and the true ſpirit laws ſhall be underſtood, 'reſpected, and maintained.' Mr d'Alembert then proceeds to give his perſonal character in theſe terms: 'He was, as we are told, a moſt ſweet, gay, and even 'tempered man; his converſation was ſpirited, agree'able, and inſtructive, yet like his ſtile conciſe, full 'of wit and ſallies, without gall, without ſatire. No 'body told a ſtory in a more lively manner, more 'readily, and with more grace and leſs affectation.

(1) Apparently by the application of Mr Leibnitz, of whoſe celebrated *Calculus differentialis* he was the firſt promoter, and a zealous advocate. See Dr John Keill's article.

Gnidus, which was publiſhed ſoon after the *Perſian Letters.* We have alſo a ſmall piece of his, called *Lyſimachus*; and another ſtill ſmaller *On Taſte.* His works were collected after his death, and printed in a very correct and ſplendid edition at Paris in 4to. They have alſo all of them been tranſlated and publiſhed in Engliſh at different times in London.

‘ He knew that the concluſion of an agreeable ſtory is always the point in view, and therefore was never tedious. He had a frequent abſence of mind, but always awaked from it by ſome unexpected ſtroke, which reanimated the languiſhing converſation. He was ſenſible to glory, yet did not wiſh to attain without deſerving it, but would have abhorred thoſe vile and ſhameful practices, which aim at erecting it upon the ruin of other mens fame. Worthy of every diſtinction and of every reward, he aſked nothing, and was not ſurprized that he was forgot; yet he adventured, even in delicate circumſtances, to protect at court men of letters, who were unfortunately perſecuted, and obtained favours for them. Though he lived with the great, whether out of neceſſity, or propriety, or taſte, their company was not neceſſary to his happineſs. He retired whenever he could to his eſtate in the country, and there met his books, his philoſophy, his repoſe. Surrounded at his leiſure hours with peaſants, after having ſtudied man in the commerce of the world, and in the hiſtory of nations, he ſtudied him alſo in thoſe ſimple people, whom nature alone has inſtructed; he converſed chearfully with them; he endeavoured, like Socrates, to find out their genius; he appeared as happy when converſing with them, as in the moſt brilliant aſſemblies, eſpecially he made up their quarrels, and comforted them under their diſtreſs by his beneſicence. Nothing does greater honour to his memory than the method in which he lived; which ſome, however, affected to blame as extravagant, though it flowed intirely from benevolent motives. Mr de Monteſquieu would not encroach upon the eſtate of his family, either by thoſe ſupplies which he gave the diſtreſſed, or by thoſe conſiderable expences which his travels, his weakneſs of ſight (for he was obliged at laſt to have a reader), or the printing of his works had expoſed him to; but tranſmitted it to his children as he received it from his anceſtors, and did not diminiſh nor add any thing to it, but the glory of his name, and the example of his life.’

P

SMITH [Edmund], an ingenious poet, was the only ſon of Mr Neale, an eminent merchant, by a daughter of Baron Lechmere, and born in 1668. Some misfortunes of his father, which were ſoon after followed by his death, occaſioned the ſon's being left very young in the hands of Mr Smith, who had married his father's ſiſter. This gentleman treated him with as much tenderneſs as if he had been his own child, and placed him under Dr Buſby at Weſtminſter ſchool, where, after the death of his generous guardian and uncle, he thought proper in gratitude to aſſume his name, and by that name removed from Weſtminſter to Chriſt church Oxford, where he was handſomely ſupported by his aunt Smith till her death, after which he continued a member of that ſociety till within five years of his own(*). He paſſed through the exerciſes of the college and univerſity with univerſal applauſe, and acquired a great reputation in the ſchools, both for his knowledge and ſkill in diſputations. He commenced A. M. July 8, 1696 (*a*), and continued in the college nine years after, taking his degrees till 1705 (*b*), in which time he acquired a long and perfect intimacy with all the Greek and Latin claſſics, with whom he had carefully compared whatever was worth peruſing in the French, Spaniſh, and Italian, to which languages he was no ſtranger, and in all the celebrated writers of his own country. He conſidered the ancients and moderns not as parties or rivals for fame, but as architects upon one and the ſame plan, the art of poetry. The firſt of his knowledge in that art, was his *Phædra* and *Hippolitus*, which was brought upon the ſtage at the theatre royal in 1707, and introduced with a prologue written by Mr Addiſon [*A*]. This was followed the next year by his poem to the memory of Mr John Philips (*c*), who died Feb. 8, 1708, and he finiſhed his own courſe two years after. He died in 1710, in the forty-ſecond year of his age, at Gartham, the ſeat of George Ducket, Eſq; in Wiltſhire, and was buried in that pariſh church. A few years before his death, he engaged in ſome conſiderable undertakings, by which he raiſed expectations in the world which he did not live to gratify [*B*]. His friends repreſented him as a man abounding both with great and good qualities, and there is no ſufficient reaſon to impute that panegyric to the partiality of friendſhip. Mr Smith, however, had ſome defects in his conduct; one was an extreme careleſſneſs in the article of dreſs, a ſingularity for which he was diſtinguiſhed with the title of *Captain Rag.* His perſon, however, was ſo well formed, that no negligence of dreſs could render it diſagreeable; inſomuch, that the fair ſex, who obſerved and admired him, uſed at once to commend and reprove him, by the name of the *Handſome Sloven.*

This article is extracted from the author's life prefixed to his works, by Mr Oldiſworth.

(*) Some time before his leaving Chriſt church, he was ſent for by his mother, and acknowledged by her to be a legitimate ſon, which is obſerved in order to wipe off the aſperſion caſt upon him of his being a baſtard.

(*a*) Catalogue of Oxford degrees.

(*b*) He ſpoke the annual Latin ſpeech in *Laudem Thomæ Bodleii.*

(*c*) Dr Meers, then principal of Braſen-noſe college, was very deſirous to have his countryman's true worth celebrated by Mr Smith, his intimate friend; with which view he invited Mr Smith to his lodge, and confined him in a room there till he had completed this excellent poem.

[*A*] *A prologue by Mr Addiſon.*] The play being brought upon the ſtage at a time when the Italian opera ſo much engroſſed the polite world, that ſenſe was altogether ſacrificed to ſound, Mr Addiſon took occaſion in this prologue to rally the vitiated taſte of preferring the unideal entertainment of an opera to the genuine ſenſe of a Britiſh poet. As to the play itſelf, the chief excellence of it is obſerved to conſiſt in the beauty and harmony of the verſification. It is not deſtitute of the pathetic, though more regard is paid to the purity and elegance of the language, than a poet more acquainted with the workings of the heart would have done. Upon the whole, notwithſtanding the high eſteem it has always been held in, it may perhaps be better conſidered as a fine poem than as an extraordinary play.

[*B*] *He engaged in ſome conſiderable undertakings*, &c.] His apologiſt aſſures us, that he had ſeen of his about ten ſheets of Pindar tranſlated into Engliſh, which he ſays exceeded any thing in that kind he could ever hope for in our language. That he had drawn out a plan for a tragedy of Lady Jane Grey, and had written ſeveral ſcenes of it; a ſubject afterwards nobly executed by Mr Rowe. But his greateſt undertaking was a tranſlation of *Longinus*, which he had finiſhed in a very maſterly manner. He propoſed a large addition to this work, in notes and obſervations of his own, with an intire ſyſtem of the art of poetry. in three books, under the titles of *Thought*, *Diction*, and *Figure.* He intended to make remarks upon all the ancients and moderns, the Greek, Latin, French, Spaniſh, Italian, and Engliſh poets; and to animadvert upon their ſeveral beauties and defects.

In ſhort, perſons (as he was acknowledged to be (*d*) addicted to drinking, are generally ſlovens; and in our poet this intemperance, in regard to drink, was taken to (as is often the caſe) for a refuge againſt poverty, calamities, and diſappointments. It ſunk him however into that ſloth and indolence, which has been the bane of many a bright genius. Upon the whole he was a good-natured man, a finiſhed ſcholar, a great poet, and a diſcerning critic; for according to an obſervation of Lord Shafteſbury's, *he kept the poet in awe by regular criticiſm, and as it were married the two arts for their mutual ſupport and improvement.* His few finiſhed writings have been already mentioned all except three or four only. They were all collected and publiſhed with the title of his works, in 1719, 8vo. by his friend Mr Oldiſworth, who prefixed a character of him, from whence this memoir is taken. P.

(*d*) His reflections upon the editors of Lord Clarendon's hiſt. of the rebellion, were apparently, if at all, made in his cups. See Bp Atterbury's article, remark [*EE*].

SOUTHERN [Thomas], an excellent dramatic writer, was the ſon of George Southern, of Stratford upon Avon in Warwickſhire (*a*), and born about the year 1662. He became a member of Pembroke college Oxford in 1680, and applying himſelf to the *Belles Lettres* and poetry, he wrote a tragedy intituled *The Perſian Prince a loyal brother*, which was acted and printed in 1682. June 20, 1683, he took the degree of A.B. (*b*) after which he removed to the Middle Temple, London, where he wrote his *Diſappointment*; *or Mother in faſhion*, which was acted at the theatre royal in 1684. His firſt play having recommended him to the favour of the Duke of York, after his acceſſion to the throne our author went into the army, and ſerved in the commiſſion of captain in the regiment of James Duke Berwick, then about to oppoſe the Prince of Orange's coming into England. This affair being over, and the regiment diſſolved, he retired to his ſtudies, and wrote ſeveral other plays, from which he is ſuppoſed to have drawn a very handſome ſubſiſtence. In the preface to his tragedy called the *Spartan Dame*, he owns he ſold it to the bookſellers for 150l. (*c*). He was the firſt who raiſed the advantage of play-writing to a ſecond and third night, of which Mr Pope ſings thus,

——Southern, born to raiſe
The price of prologues and of plays.

Dryden, who had the firſt reputation for writing prologues, had no more than five guineas, till upon Southern's applying to him for one, with five guineas, his uſual price, the laureat demanded ten, alledging that he had ſold them too cheap before. Dryden once took occaſion to aſk him how much he got by one of his plays? he replied 700l. which aſtoniſhed Dryden, as it was more by 600l. than he himſelf had ever got by his moſt ſucceſsful plays. But the ſecret we are told is, that Southern was not beneath the drudgery of ſollicitation, and often ſold his tickets at a very high price, by making applications to perſons of quality and diſtinction; a degree of ſervility which perhaps Dryden might think much below the dignity of a poet, and more in the character of an under player. Dryden had a high opinion of Southern's abilities, and prefixed a copy of verſes to a comedy of his called *The wife's excuſe*, acted in 1692. The night that Southern's *Innocent adultery* was firſt acted, which is perhaps the moſt moving play in any language, a gentleman took occaſion to aſk Dryden what was his opinion of Southern's genius? who replied, that he thought him ſuch another poet as Otway. The moſt finiſhed of all his plays is *Oroonoko*, the drama of which is built upon a true ſtory, related by Mrs Behn, in a novel. Beſides the tender and delicate ſtrokes of paſſion in this play, there are many manly ſhining ſentiments, and ſome have been of opinion, that the moſt celebrated even of Shakeſpeare's plays, cannot furniſh ſo many ſtriking thoughts, and ſuch a glow of animated poetry. Mr Southern died May 26, 1746, aged eighty-five years and upwards. The friendly aſſiſtance he gave to Mr Elijah Fenton in preparing his tragedy of *Mariamne* for the ſtage (*d*), may ſerve as a ſpecimen of his character. He lived the laſt ten years of his life in Weſtminſter, and attended the Abbey ſervice very conſtantly, being, as is ſaid, particularly fond of church muſic (*e*). His plays are in 2 vols. 12mo. P

(*a*) Athen.Oxon. vol. ii. col. iv. But another writer ſays he was born in Dublin in 1660, bred at the univerſity there, and quitted Ireland in 1680. Cibber's lives of the poets, vol. v.

(*b*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 221.

(*c*) Which in 1721, the time of its being publiſhed, was thought very extraordinary.

(*d*) See Fenton's article in this Supplement.

(*e*) Cibber's lives of the poets, *ubi ſupra.*

SPANHEIM [Ezekiel], an eminent ſtateſman and a learned writer, who though a foreigner by birth, yet occaſionally paſſed ſeveral years in England, and ended his days amongſt us. He was born in 1629 at Geneva, and apparently had the firſt part of his education in that city, whence he was carried by his father in 1642 to Leyden, where he was found to have made ſuch a progreſs in literature, that though no more than thirteen years of age, he immediately gained the friendſhip of *Daniel Heinſius* and *Salmaſius* [*A*].

Beſides

This memoir is extracted from Le Clerc's Bibl. choiſee, tom. xxii. Niceron, tom. ii. and his article in the General Dict.

[*A*] *Salmaſius.*] This Salmaſius, or Claudius de Saumiſe, became remarkable in the Engliſh annals for his conteſt with our poet Milton, and as he is generally thought to have meddled above his match in that diſpute, we are apt to ſink him beneath his juſt merit; it is certain he was a man of very uncommon abilities and immenſe erudition, deſcended of an ancient and noble family, and born at or near Semin in France, about 1596. His father, Benignus de Saumiſe, was a king's counſellor, eminent in the law, and a member of the parliament of Burgundy. He was alſo a man of great learning, and grounded his ſon in the Latin and Greek tongues himſelf. The ſon made as hopeful a progreſs as the fondeſt father could wiſh; we are told that he could conſtrue Pindar very exactly, and make Greek and Latin verſes at ten years of age. At eleven he was ſent to Paris (1), where the learned were all aſtoniſhed at ſuch forwardneſs of parts, and even erudition in a boy. He ſtayed here between two and three years, converſed much with the doctors of the reformed church, and confirmed himſelf in that religion, to which he was inclined be-

fore;

(1) His father, a Papiſt, propoſed to ſend him under the Jeſuits at Dijon, but he expreſſed a diſinclination to it, having conceived ſome prejudices againſt popery by the influence of his mother, who was a Proteſtant.

Beſides Greek and Latin, he applied himſelf to the oriental languages. In 1645, at the age of ſixteen, he publiſhed certain theſes againſt Ludovicus Cappellus upon Hebrew. In 1649 he loſt his father [*B*], and ſoon after returned to Geneva, where he was honoured with the title of profeſſor of eloquence, though he never performed the functions; but being invited by Charles Lewis, Elector Palatine, to be tutor to his only ſon, he went to that court, and executed his charge with good ſucceſs. In the mean time, while he employed part of his leiſure hours in perfecting his knowledge in the Greek and Latin, there aroſe a conteſt between the Elector Palatine and the Duke of Bavaria, which put our tutor upon examining all the books and records relating to the conſtitution of the Empire, and in 1657 he publiſhed a piece in French, aſſerting *The Elector Palatine's right to the poſt of vicar of the Empire, in oppoſition to the claims of the Duke of Bavaria.* Skill in

fore; and being now reſolved to embrace it openly, he aſked his father's leave to go to Heidelberg, upon obtaining which he ſet off from Paris with ſome merchants, who were going to Francfort fair, and arrived at Heidelberg in his fourteenth year. He brought recommendatory letters from *Iſaac Caſaubon*, with whom he had been particularly intimate at Paris; ſo that he was at once upon familiar terms with Denys Gothofred, Janus Gruter, and others. He immediately put himſelf under Gothofred to ſtudy the civil law, and applied to it with that intenſeneſs with which he applied to every thing (2). By the friendſhip of Gruter he had the free uſe of the Palatine library, and by his indefatigable ſtudies therein, he became now known every where to be what Iſaac Caſaubon had ſome years before pronounced him, *ad miraculum doctus*. After ſpending three years at Heidelberg, he returned to his parents in Burgundy, from whence he made frequent excurſions to Paris, and kept a correſpondence with *Thuanus*, *Rigaltius*, and the *literati* of thoſe times. He had begun his publications at Heidelberg, and continued them to the end of his life. They gained him as much glory as vaſt erudition can gain a man. His name was ſounded through all Europe, and he had the greateſt offers from foreign princes and univerſities (3). 'Tis ſaid that our univerſity of Oxford made ſome attempts to get him thither; 'tis certain the Pope made many, though Salmaſius had not only deſerted his religion and renounced his authority, but had actually written againſt the papacy itſelf. He withſtood all theſe ſollicitations, yet in 1632 he complied with an invitation from Holland, and went with his wife, whom he had married in 1621, to Leyden, with no other view but to honour it with his preſence. Upon the death of his very ancient father in 1640, he returned for a while to Paris, where he was highly careſſed by Cardinal Richlieu, and after his death by Mazarine. After three years abſence he returned to Holland. In the ſummer of 1650 he went to Sweden, to pay a viſit to Queen Chriſtina, with whom he continued till the ſummer following. The reception and treatment he met with from this Princeſs, as it is deſcribed by the writer of his life, is really curious and wonderful. She performed for him, ſays he, all offices which could have been expected even from an equal; ſhe ordered him to chuſe apartments in her palace, for the ſake of having him with her, *ut lateri adhæreret*, whenever ſhe would. But Salmaſius was almoſt always ill while he ſtayed in Sweden, the climate being too rough for his conſtitution. At theſe times the Queen would come to his bed-ſide, hold long diſcourſes with him upon ſubjects of the higheſt concern, and when no body was preſent, and all the doors being ſhut, ſhe would mend his fire, and do other neceſſary offices for him, *as help him to his breeches, and lift him to the cloſe ſtool* (4). Hitherto things had gone glorioſly with our hero. He had publiſhed many great and learned works, which had ſpread his fame all over the world, and nothing but applauſe and panegyric had ſounded in his ears. Happy therefore had this hero in letters been, if the good Queen of Sweden had cloſed all her kind offices to him with cloſing his eyes; but like his royal maſter Lewis XIV. who was a hero without letters, he was unhappily deſtined to ſurvive his glory. He was prevailed upon to undertake a taſk to which he was not fitted, I mean his book in defence of the royal family of England then in exile, which coming out in 1649, met with ſuch an antagoniſt in Milton (5), as though inferior perhaps in learning, ſurpaſſed him greatly in wit, fancy, and ſharpneſs of pen, which galled him ſo fatally, that notwithſtanding he begun an anſwer to Milton, yet he died before it was finiſhed (6), Sept. 3, 1653. His character is that of an univerſal ſcholar; he was knowing in divinity, in law, in philoſophy, in criticiſm, and ſo conſummate a linguiſt, that there was hardly a language he had not attained ſome maſtery in. He was complete in Greek and Latin; he underſtood the Hebrew, Arabic, Perſic, Chineſe, &c. and he was well acquainted with all the European languages. He was the greateſt ſcholar of his own, or perhaps of any time; but then his great learning was tarniſhed with ſome deteſtable qualities, as an immoderate love and admiration of himſelf, a contempt of others, and a perfect hatred of all who did not think exactly with him. His works are very numerous and various. The greateſt monuments of his learning are his *Notæ in hiſtoriæ auguſtæ ſcriptores*, and his *Exercitationes Plinianæ in Solinum* (7). In 1656 was publiſhed at Leyden in 4to. his *Epiſtolæ*, &c. with his life prefixed in that language, from which the preſent account of him is chiefly extracted.

[*B*] *He loſt his father.*] We have the following account of this gentleman Frederic Spanheim, that he was born at Amberg, in the Upper Palatinate, Jan. 1, 1600, of a good family, and educated under the inſpection of his father (8), in the college of Amberg, in 1613. Being ſent the next year to Heidelberg, he returned home in 1619, and was ſent ſoon after to Geneva, to ſtudy divinity. In 1621 he went into Dauphiné, and lived three years with the governor of Ambrun as his tutor. Then he returned to Geneva, and went afterwards to Paris, where he met with a kind relation, Samuel Durant, miniſter of Charenton. In April 1625 he made a voyage to England, where he continued four months, and was at Oxford; but being driven from thence by the plague, he returned to Paris, and was preſent at the death of his kinſman Durant, who left him his whole library. He now finiſhed his education by learning the oriental languages at Paris (9). In 1627 he diſputed at Geneva for a profeſſorſhip, and carried it; and about the ſame time married Charlotte du Port, daughter of Peter du Port, Lord of Mouillepied and Boiſmaſſon (10), a lady originally of Poictou. He was admitted a miniſter ſome time after, and in 1631 ſucceeded to the chair of divinity, vacated by Benedict Turretin. But tho' the utmoſt endeavours were uſed to keep him at Geneva, yet he left it upon an invitation from Leyden in 1642, and taking the degree of D. D. at *Baſil* as a qualification, he arrived at Leyden Oct. the 3d that year. He not only ſupported but increaſed the reputation he had brought with him; which however he lived to enjoy only till May 1649. His great labours ſhortened his days. His academical lectures and diſputations, his preaching, the books he wrote, and many domeſtic cares, did not hinder him for keeping up a large literary correſpondence; beſides this he was obliged to pay many viſits; he viſited the Queen of Bohemia and the Prince of Orange, and was in great eſteem at thoſe two courts. Queen Chriſtina did him the honour to write to him, in order to let him know how much ſhe eſteemed him, and what pleaſure ſhe took in reading his works. The chief of theſe are his *Dubeia Evangelica*; his *Exercitationes de gratia univerſali*, and his *Orationes* (11). Beſides theſe he publiſhed ſome memoirs of the life and death of the moſt ſerene Princeſs Louiſa Juliana, Electreſs Patatine, born Princeſs of Orange, which he undertook at the Queen of Bohemia's requeſt. He likewiſe wrote a letter *Ad Buchananum de controverſiis Anglicanis.*

theſe

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(2) He obliged his father greatly by this, and by his growing reputation and authority in learned matters, gained ſo much upon the old gentleman, as to draw him over after him to the reformed religion.

(3) The Venetians offered him a prodigious ſtipend, and with this favour that he ſhould not be obliged to read lectures above three times a year. They wanted chiefly to have him among them.

(4) Theſe laſt words are added by Mr Bayle, without ſufficient authority from the original Latin.

(5) See Milton's article.

(6) What he had done was publiſhed by his ſon Claudius Salmaſius, with a dedication to K. Charles II.

(7) As to his perſon, we may have an idea of it from a good print of him inſerted in his ſecond edition of *Tertullianus de pallio*, L. Bat. 1656, 8vo.

(8) His father, Wigand Spanheim, D. D. was a very learned man, and eccleſiaſtical counſellor to the Elector Palatine. He died in 1620, holding in his hand a letter from his ſon, which had made him weep for joy.

(9) He had learned Greek and Latin in his own country, French at Geneva, and Engliſh at Oxford.

(10) She reckoned among her anceſtors, the famous Budæus.

(11) His funeral oration on the death of Frederic Henry, Prince of Orange, is commended by Balzac, in the 19th letter of thoſe which are added to the collection of Conrart Bayle, to whom this account is owing.

theſe matters hath always been a ſure foundation and ſtep to preferment in the courts of Germany; and there is no doubt that it opened Mr Spanheim's way to thoſe great and various employments, in which he was afterwards engaged. In 1660 he publiſhed at Heidelberg a French tranſlation of the Emperor Julian's *Cæſars*, with notes and illuſtrations from medals and other monuments of antiquity (*a*). He had always an extraordinary paſſion for antiquities and medals, but had not yet ſeen Italy, where that ſtudy more eſpecially flouriſhed. On this account it was no doubt with the greateſt pleaſure, that he ſhortly after received a commiſſion from the Elector to go to Rome, in order to obſerve the intrigues of the Catholic electors at that court. He no ſooner arrived than he attracted the eſteem of Queen Chriſtina, at whoſe palace there was held an aſſembly of learned men every week; and he dedicated to her in 1664, his *Diſſertationes de præſtantia et uſu numiſmatum*, printed at Rome in 4to. (*b*). The ſame year he took a journey to Naples, Sicily, and Malta, and then returning to Rome, he found there the Princeſs Sophia, mother of George I. King of England. That Princeſs being highly pleaſed to meet with a gentleman whom ſhe had already known as a man of learning, and had correſponded with upon ſubjects of politicks and literature, could not be ſatisfied to part with him ſo ſoon as was likely to happen; and therefore, having obtained leave of the Elector her brother, carried him with her into Germany. Upon his return to Heidelberg in April 1665, he was received by the Elector his maſter with all poſſible marks of eſteem, and was afterwards employed by him in divers negotiations at foreign courts. The ſame year he went to that of Lorrain; next year to that of the Elector of Mentz; then to France; afterwards in 1668 to the congreſs at Breda, and then to France again. After all theſe journeys he returned to Heidelberg, but continued there no longer than while he was detained by a dangerous illneſs; for upon his recovery he was ſent by his maſter to Holland, and afterwards to England. In 1679 the Elector of Brandenburg having recalled his envoy at the court of England, gave his employment to Mr Spanheim, with the conſent of the Elector Palatine; who likewiſe, at the requeſt of the former Elector, gave him leave to continue entirely in that ſervice. Accordingly in 1680 he went to France, by order of his new maſter, with the title of envoy extraordinary. Upon the revocation of the edict of Nantz in 1683, he did great ſervices to many of the reformed, who found a place of refuge in his houſe when they durſt not appear abroad for fear of their perſecutors. In 1684 he went to Berlin, to receive the poſt of Miniſter of State; and the year after to England, to compliment King James II. upon his acceſſion to the throne. While he performed his maſter's buſineſs with the greateſt exactneſs, he all the time led the life of a very ſtudious man; he read and wrote a great deal, maintained a correſpondence with the learned all over Europe, and anſwered their letters with the utmoſt punctuality. After an embaſſy of nine years, he returned in 1689 to Berlin, where he paſſed his time in retirement and among his books, till after the peace of Ryſwick, when he was obliged again to quit his ſtudy, being ſent on an embaſſy once more to France, where he continued from 1697 to 1702. During this interval the Elector of Brandenburg having aſſumed the title of King, conferred on him that of Baron. With this title he went in 1702 ambaſſador to England, where he ſpent the remainder of his days, dividing his time between his maſter's buſineſs (*c*) and his ſtudies till his death, which happened Oct. 28, 1710, aged eighty-one, and he was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey (*d*). Beſides his works already mentioned, two pieces of his are inſerted in Grævius's collection of Roman antiquities, one in the 5th volume, *De nummo Smyrneorum inſcripto—Scilicet de Veſtâ et Prytanibus Græcorum diatriba*; the other in the 11th volume, intituled, *Orbis Romanus, ſeu ad conſtitutionem Antonini imperatoris de qua Ulpianus*, *Leg*. xvii. *Dig*. *De ſtatu hominum, Exercitationes duæ.* Notes of his upon Callimachus are inſerted in Grævius's edition of that author, Utrecht, 1697; and alſo notes upon the three firſt comedies of Ariſtophanes, in Kuſter's edition 1709. He was Fellow of the Royal Society, and a great benefactor to it. He had a brother, Frederic Spanheim, who was born at Geneva May 1, 1632, and died May 18, 1701, having wrote a great number of books, which were collected and printed at Leyden in three vols. folio. They are chiefly, if not altogether, upon ſubjects of theology, to which he was led by his profeſſion, as a miniſter of the reformed church (*e*). P

(*a*) At Leipſic in 1696, came out in folio, *Juliani imperatori opera Græce et Latine, cum variorum notis recenſente Ez. Spanheim*, but there is nothing in this edition except the preface, and very ample remarks upon the firſt oration of Julian, he not having leiſure and opportunity to proceed further.

(*b*) It was publiſhed at Paris in 1671, much enlarged, and after that with ſo many more additions, as to riſe from a 4to. to two large vols. in folio. The firſt printed at London in 1706; the ſecond at Amſterdam in 1717. This is his capital performance, and is juſtly eſteemed a treaſure of erudition.

(*c*) See Dr Grabe's article, under remark [*L*].

(*d*) He left an only daughter who married in England the Marquis de Montandre.

(*e*) See more of him in Niceron, tom. xxix.

STUBBE [Henry], an heteroclite genius, who is frequently mentioned in the courſe of this work (*), and therefore ſome more particular account may be expected of him, eſpecially as by uncommon parts he made a remarkable figure in his own times, though ſunk at preſent far into oblivion, yet his memory is ſtill preſerved by the diligence of the Oxford antiquary, from whom we learn that he was born Feb. 28, 1631, at Partney near Spilſbye, in Lincolnſhire, where his father was a miniſter; and being forced to leave Spilſbye on account of his anabaptiſtic principles, he went with his family to Ireland. But dying before the Iriſh rebellion in 1641, his widow, our author's mother, upon the breaking out of that rebellion, fled with her ſon Henry to Liverpool, and thence trudging it on foot to London, there ſhe got a comfortable ſubſiſtence by her needle, and ſent Henry, then ten years of age, to Weſtminſter ſchool, where Dr Buſby was ſtruck with his ſurprizing parts, and recommended him to the notice of Sir Henry Vane junior, who came one day accidentally into the ſchool. Sir Henry being anabaptiſtically inclined (*a*), took a fancy to

(*) See particularly the Articles of Glanville Joſeph, and Dr. John Wallis.

(*a*) See his article.

the boy, frequently relieved him with money, and gave him the liberty of reſorting to his houſe (*b*). The ſame patron got him ſoon after to be a King's ſcholar, and his maſter at the ſame time gave him money to buy books, cloaths, and his teaching for nothing on account of his wonderful proficiency. In 1649 he was elected a ſtudent of Chriſt-church in Oxford, where ſhewing himſelf too forward, pragmatical, and conceited, he was, as Mr Wood relates, often kicked and beaten [*A*]. While he was under-graduate, it was uſual with him to diſcourſe in the public ſchools very fluently in the Greek tongue (*c*), which conveys no ſmall idea of his learning. July 4, 1653, he proceeded A. B. after which he went to Scotland, and ſerved in the parliament army there till 1655, when he returned to Oxford, and commenced A. M. Dec. 3, 1656 (*d*), and at the motion of Dr Owen was made, in 1657, ſecond keeper under Dr Barlow of the Bodleian library. He made great uſe and advantage of this poſt for the furtherance of his ſtudies, and held it till 1659, when he was removed both from this and his ſtudent's place at Chriſt-church, having publiſhed the ſame year, *A vindication of his patron, Sir Henry Vane*; *An eſſay in defence of the good old cauſe*; *A letter to an officer in the army*, &c. *Miſcellaneous poſitions concerning governments*, and a piece, intituled, *Light ſhining out of darkneſs*, with *An apology for the Quakers*, in which he reflected upon the clergy and the univerſities. After his rejection he retired to Stratford upon Avon in Warwickſhire [*B*], in the view of practiſing phyſic, which he had ſtudied

[*A*] *Kicked and beaten.*] However, through the intereſt of his patron he was certainly of no ſmall conſequence, for the oath called the engagement being framed by the parliament that ſame year, was ſome time after ſent down to the univerſity by him, and he procured ſome to be turned out, and others to be ſpared, according as he was influenced by affection or diſaffection.

[*B*]. *He ſettled at Stratford in Warwickſhire.*] While he was there he publiſhed *The miraculous conformiſt; or, An account of ſeveral marvellous cures performed by the ſtroking of the hand of Mr Valentine Greatrakes*, Oxon, 1666. This comet, which was much gazed at, and raiſed the wonder of many in his time, deſerves ſome notice here, as follows. He was the ſon of William Greatrakes, Eſq; and born at Affane, in the county of Waterford, in Ireland, Feb. 14 (St Valentine's-day) 1628; was bred a Proteſtant in the free-ſchool at Liſmore till he was thirteen years of age; was deſigned for the college at Dublin, but the rebellion breaking out in that nation, he was forced with his mother to fly for refuge into England, where he was kindly received by his great uncle, Edmund Harris (1), after whoſe death his mother, to complete his education, placed him with one John Daniel Getſius, a high German miniſter, of Stoke Gabriel in Devonſhire, with whom he ſpent ſome years in the ſtudies of humanity and divinity, being treated by his preceptor with much love and kindneſs. After an abſence of five or ſix years, he returned to his native country, which he found in a moſt deplorable ſtate, and therefore retired to the caſtle of Caperquin, where he ſpent a year in contemplation, and ſaw ſo much of the madneſs and wickedneſs of the world (as he (2) ſays) that his life became a burthen to him. However, about 1649 he became a lieutenant in the regiment of Roger Lord Broghill, then acting in Munſter againſt the Iriſh Papiſts and others, as rebels to the then government. A great part of the army being diſbanded in 1656, he retired to his native country of Affane, and by the favour of the governor there, was made clerk of the peace for the county of Cork, regiſter for tranſplantation, and juſtice of the peace. But being removed from his places after the reſtoration, he grew diſcontented. In this diſpoſition being out of all employ in 1662, he felt an impulſe, or a ſtrange perſuaſion in his mind (of which he was not able to give any rational account to another) which did very frequently ſuggeſt, that there was beſtowed on him the gift of curing the King's evil. This, however, was ſo extraordinary even in his own conception, that conſidering what ſort of entertainment the ſtory was likely to meet with, he thought fit to conceal it for ſome time; but growing every day more ſtrongly poſſeſſed therewith, at length he communicated it to his wife (3), telling her he did verily believe that God had given him the bleſſing to cure the King's evil, for whether he were in private or public, ſleeping or waking, ſtill he had the ſame impulſe. Mrs Greatrakes looked on it as no better than an idle fancy; but the matter was cleared up in a few days after. One William Maker, of Salterbridge, in the pariſh of Liſmore, brought his ſon grievouſly afflicted with the king's evil, both in the eyes, cheek, and throat, to our author's wife for ſome help by her ſkill in ſurgery. She acquainting her huſband with it, he ordered the child to be brought to him, when laying his hands upon him, he prayed to God for Jeſus ſake to heal him. This being frequently repeated, the child was perfectly cured in a month's time. Upon this ſucceſs one Margaret Mackſhane, in the ſame pariſh, applying to him, he cured her to the wonder of all, though ſhe had been afflicted with the diſorder ſeven years and upwards, far worſe than the former. Hence his fame increaſed, and he cured the ſame diſeaſe in many others, not meddling with any other diſtempers till about the end of three years, when he cured ſome agues; all done by ſtroking with his hands. Afterwards he pretended the like impulſe for the gift of healing all kinds of diſeaſes. This impulſe he felt on the Sunday after Eaſter, April 2, 1665, and on Wedneſday following, going to one Mr Dean's houſe at Liſmore, he cured a man of a great pain in his loins, and five ulcers in his leg, ſo that the man went about well, and in two days fell to work at his trade, which was that of a maſon. After this our doctor cured many diſeaſes of all ſorts by ſtroking, and his name was wonderfully cried up. In the mean time as he pretended to have ſome extraordinary aſſiſtance from the Holy Ghoſt in working theſe cures, the clergy thought proper to take cognizance of the matter, and being cited into the Biſhop's court, he was prohibited from proceeding any further in that courſe. Upon this he came to England in Jan. 1665, where he was engaged by Edward Lord Conway, to go to his ſeat at Ragley in Warwickſhire, to try the force of his ſtroking faculties upon his lady, who for many years had laboured under a moſt violent head-ach; but here the obſtinacy of the diſorder baffled his utmoſt endeavours; yet continuing there three weeks, he cured innumerable people in thoſe parts, which occaſioned Dr Stubbe to publiſh the piece afore-mentioned. Greatrakes afterwards received the royal commands to wait upon his Majeſty at Whitehall, where he performed ſeveral cures, as he did alſo in and about London. But he was not always ſucceſsful; on the contrary, March the 7th this year, being employed by one Mr J. Creſſet, in Charter-houſe-ſquare, his ſtroking had a very bad effect, whereupon there came out *Wonders no miracles*; or, *Mr Valentine Greatrakes's gift of healing examined*, &c. Lond. 1666, 4to. This piece was written by David Lloyd, reader to the Charter-houſe, who reflected much upon Greatrakes, repreſenting him as little better than a cheat. In anſwer to it our ſtroker publiſhed, *A brief account of Mr Valentine Greatrakes, and divers of his ſtrange cures lately by him performed*, London, 1666, 4to. (4). To the end was annexed the teſtimonies of ſeveral eminent and worthy perſons, of the chief matters of fact therein related, and the whole was drawn up in the form of a letter to the honourable Robert Boyle, Eſq; who was a patron of our ſtroker, as was alſo Dr Henry More (5), and ſeveral other members of the Royal Society, before whom he was examined (6). He had the character among many of a very pious

and

(*b*) To fill that belly, ſays our author, which otherwiſe had no ſuſtenance but what one penny could purchaſe for his dinner, and without any breakfaſt, except he got it by making ſome boy's exerciſe. *Epiſtol. diſcourſe of phlebotomy*, in the preface.

(*c*) In 1651 he publiſhed *Horæ ſubceſivæ; ſeu Prophetiæ Jonæ et hiſtoriæ Suſannæ paraphraſis Greca verſibus heroicis*, 8vo. To which are added his tranſlations into Greek of *Miſcellanea quædam epigrammata, a Th. Randolpho, W. Craſhavio, &c.*

(*d*) He publiſhed that year, 1. *Epiſtola Latina cum poemat. Lat. et Græc. ad dom.* Hen. Vane. Sir Henry was then a ſtudent at Oxford, but wore no gown, and died ſoon after. 2. *Otium literarum, ſive miſcellanea quædam poem.* printed with the poems of Henry Birkhead, of All-ſouls col. where alſo are inſerted his *Deliciæ poetarum Anglic. in Græcum tranſlatæ*, and *elogiæ Romæ et Venetiarum*, ſecond edit. in 1658.

(1) Brother to Sir Edward Harris, Knt. his mother's father.

(2) Brief account of Val. Greatrakes, &c. Lond. 1666, 4to. p. 17. He ſays his ſoul was as weary of this habitation of clay, as ever was galley ſlave of the oar, which brought his life even to the threſhold of death, ſo that his legs had hardly ſtrength to carry his enfeebled body about.

(3) He had been married ſome time.

(4) The materials of this account are extracted from that book.

(5) The Doctor aſcribed the cures to an extraordinary refined and purified ſtate of the blood, whence he thought might iſſue a ſanative as well as there did a malignant contagion in a contrary ſtate, which was univerſally maintained. See Dr H. More's article.

(6) Birch's hiſt. of the Royal Society, and a letter to Mr Boyle in Gen. Dict. vol. viii. p. 21. notes *a. b.*

ſtudied for ſome years, and upon the reſtoration he applied to Dr Morley, ſoon after Biſhop of Winchester, for protection, aſſuring him of an inviolable paſſive obedience (*); and upon the re-eſtabliſhment of epiſcopacy, he received confirmation from the hands of his dioceſan. In 1661 he went to Jamaica, being honoured with the title of his Majeſty's phyſician for that iſland; but the climate not agreeing with him, he returned and ſettled at Stratford. Afterwards he removed to Warwick, where he came into very conſiderable practice, as he did alſo at Bath, which he frequented in the ſummer ſeaſon. However, he did not apply ſo cloſely to his buſineſs as to abate his attention to the tranſactions of the literary world, and was often himſelf a principal party concerned [C]. The writings of our author, though his life (as will be ſeen) was no long one, were extremely numerous, and upon various ſubjects [D]. Thoſe which he publiſhed before the reſtoration, were againſt monarchy, miniſters, univerſities, churches, and every thing that was dear to the royaliſts; yet he did this more to pleaſe and ſerve his friend and patron Sir Henry Vane, than out of principle or attachment to a party; and when his antagoniſts inſulted him for changing his tone afterwards, he made no ſcruple at all to confeſs it (e). The truth is, ſays Mr Wood, who knew him at Oxford, that he was no frequenter of conventicles, no taker of the covenant or engagement, no contractor of acquaintance with notorious ſectaries; that he neither enriched, or otherwiſe advanced himſelf during the late troubles, or ſhared the common odium and dangers, or proſperity of his benefactor. On this account he eaſily made his peace with the royaliſts after the reſtoration; yet not as it ſhould ſeem without ſome overt-acts on his part. Thus, for inſtance, beſides conforming to the church of England, he wrote a ſmall piece againſt *Harrington's Oceana* in 1660, which in his preface to *The good old cauſe*, printed in 1659, he had extolled as if it were the pattern in the mount. By theſe means he made amends for all the offences he had given. After a life of almoſt perpetual war and conflict in various ways, this extraordinary man came to an extraordinary end. Being at Bath in the ſummer ſeaſon, he had a call from thence to a patient at Briſtol, and whether becauſe it was deſired, or from the exceſſive heat of the weather, he ſet out in the evening, and taking a bye way (f), he was drowned in paſſing a river about two miles from Bath, on the 12th of July, 1676. His body was taken up next morning, and the day after buried in the Abbey church at Bath, when his old antagoniſt, Mr Glanville, who was the rector, preached his funeral ſermon. Soon after a phyſician of that place made an epitaph for him, which is inserted below [E].

(*) Which was all, he ſaid, he could or would pay till the covenant was renounced.

(e) In the preface to his Epiſtolary diſcourſe.

(f) Mr Wood ſays his head was then intoxicated with bibbing, but more with talking, and ſnuffing ſpowder.

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and extraordinary perſon (7). However, his own account of himſelf puts it beyond a doubt that he was an Enthuſiaſt.

[C] *A principal party concerned.*] Before the reſtoration he had joined Mr Hobbes, with whom he was intimately acquainted, againſt Dr Wallis (8). After the reſtoration, came out his *Indian Nectar; or, A diſcourſe concerning chocolate*, &c. London, 1662, 8vo. One Antonio Colminero, of Ledeſma, a Spaniard, and M. D. was the firſt, perhaps, that wrote upon this ſubject, which was done into Engliſh by Capt. James Wadſworth, and printed under the title of *Chocolate, or an Indian drink*, &c. London, 1652, 8vo. Several pieces againſt the Royal Society, in a controverſy with Mr Glanville (9). He was encouraged in this affair by Dr Fell, who it ſeems was no admirer of the Royal Society; and he made himſelf ſo obnoxious to that body, that, as himſelf informs us, they threatned to write his life.

[D] *His writings are extremely numerous.*] Beſides thoſe already mentioned, he wrote the following, 1. *Medice, cura teipſum: or, The apothecaries plea, in ſome ſhort and modeſt animadverſions upon a tract, intituled,* A ſhort view of the frauds and abuſes of the apothecaries, &c. by Chriſtopher Merret, Dr of phyſic, London, 1671, 4to. 2. *An epiſtolary diſcourſe concerning phlebotomy*, &c. ibid. 3. *A diſcourſe concerning the ſweating ſickneſs temp. Hen.* VII. 4. *A relation of the ſtrange ſymptoms happening by the bite of an adder, and the cure thereof.* Theſe two laſt are printed with the *Epiſtolary diſcourſe*. 5. *A caveat for the Proteſtant clergy*, &c. London, 1671, and again in 1678. 6. *Roſemary and bays; or, Animadverſions upon a treatiſe called,* The rehearſal tranſpoſed 1672, 4to. 7. *A juſtification of the preſent war againſt the united Netherlands*, &c. London, 1672. 8. *A farther juſtification of the preſent war againſt the united Netherlands*, Lond. 1673, 4to. For the compiling of theſe two laſt pieces, our author was allowed the uſe of the paper-office at Whitehall, and when both were finiſhed he had given him 200l. out of his Majeſty's Exchequer, and obtained a great deal of credit with all people, eſpecially from the courtiers. 9. *The Paris gazette.* This being written againſt the marriage of James Duke of York, with Joſepha Maria, the Princeſs of Modena, gave great offence to many. It was printed in a half ſheet, after the manner of our gazettes, and was preſented with great confidence to ſeveral members of parliament, whereupon a writ was iſſued out againſt him. He was taken in the beginning of the next month, hurried in the dark from one private priſon to another, threatened with hanging, and put to a great expence; ſo that all the credit he had got before was loſt among the generality. 10. *Directions for drinking the Bath water.* 11. *Ars coſmetica; or, Beautifying art*, reprinted in 1679. Stubbe alſo tranſlated from Latin into Engliſh, 1. *Introduction to Geography*, written by Cluver, Oxon, 1678, 8vo. 2. *The arts of grandure and ſubmiſſion*, London, 1665, 8vo. written by John Caſa, Archbiſhop of Benevento. 3. *The hiſtory of the united provinces of Achaia*, Lond. 1673. written by Jacobus Gothofredas; and others, ſays Mr Wood, which I have not ſeen.

[E] *Epitaph.*] It runs thus:

Memoriæ ſacrum. Poſt varios caſus et magna rerum diſcrimina, tandem heic quieſcunt mortalitatis exuviæ Henrici Stubbe, medici Warwicenſis, quondam ex æde Chriſti Oxon, rei medicæ, hiſtoriæ, et mathematicæ peritiſſimi, judicii vivi, et librorum belluonis; qui quum multa ſcripſerat, et plures ſanaverat, aliorum ſaluti ſedulo proſpiciens, propriam neglexit. Obiit aquis frigidis ſuffocatus 21 *die A. D. Julii* 1676, *Ætatis ſuæ.*—

(7) Life of Dr H. More, by Wood, p. 124.

(8) See Dr Wallis's article, note (2), and remark [*X*].

(9) See his article.

T.

THOMSON [James], an excellent Britiſh poet, was the ſon of a miniſter in Scotland, and born at Ednam in the ſhire of Roxburgh, Sept. 11, 1700. He gave early marks of genius, which was diſcernable through the rudeneſs of his puerile eſſays; and after the uſual courſe of ſchool education at Jedburgh, was ſent to the univerſity of Edinburgh, with a deſign of breeding him to the church. In the ſecond year of his admiſſion, his ſtudies were for ſome time interrupted by the death of his father; but his mother ſoon after repaired with her family, which was very numerous, to Edinburgh, where ſhe lived in a decent frugal manner, till her favourite ſon had not only finiſhed his academical courſe, but was even diſtinguiſhed, and patroniſed as a man of genius. But finding little or no taſte in Scotland for works of that kind [*A*], he began to turn his views towards London, to which an accident intirely determined him ſoon after. The divinity chair of Edinburgh was then filled by Mr Hamilton, whoſe lectures our author attending about a year, there was preſcribed to him for the ſubject of an exerciſe, a pſalm, in which the power and majeſty of God are celebrated; of this pſalm he gave a paraphraſe and illuſtration, as the nature of the exerciſe required, and in a ſtyle ſo highly poetical, that it ſurprized the whole audience. The profeſſor complimented him upon it, but at the ſame time told him, that if he thought of being uſeful in the miniſtry, he muſt keep a ſtricter rein upon his imagination, and expreſs himſelf in a language more intelligible to an ordinary congregation. Thomſon concluded from this, that his expectations from the ſtudy of theology might be very precarious, even though the church had been more his free choice than it probably was; ſo that having ſoon after received ſome encouragement from a lady of quality, a friend of his mother, then in London, he quickly prepared for his journey; and although this encouragement ended in nothing beneficial, it ſerved then for a good pretext to cover the imprudence of committing himſelf to the wide world, unfriended and unpatronized, and with the ſlender ſtock of money he was then poſſeſſed of. But his merit did not lie long concealed; Mr Duncan Forbes (*a*), afterwards lord preſident of the ſeſſion in Scotland, received him very kindly, and recommended him to ſome of his friends (*b*). The good reception he met with where-ever he was introduced, emboldened him to riſk the publication of his *Winter*, in March 1726, which was no ſooner read than univerſally admired, and from that time he was courted by all men of taſte. Dr Rundle, afterwards Biſhop of Derry in Ireland, took him into his intimate confidence and friendſhip; promoted his character every where; introduced him to his great friend Lord Chancellor Talbot, and ſome years after recommended him to his Lordſhip for a proper companion to his eldeſt ſon upon his travels. Mean while he continued to cultivate his muſe, and publiſhed the three other ſeaſons, *The Summer* in the year 1727; *Spring* in 1728, and *Autumn* in 1730, 4to. (*c*). We have alſo ſome other poetical performances of his printed before his going abroad [*B*] in the attendance upon the honourable Mr Charles Talbot. In this tour he made ſeveral judicious obſervations. Upon his return with his charge to England, the Chancellor appointed him ſecretary of briefs, a place of little attendance, ſuiting his retired indolent way of life, and equal to all his wants. In this happy circumſtance he finiſhed his poem upon *Liberty* [*C*], but while he was writing the firſt part, he received a ſevere ſhock by the death of his noble friend and fellow traveller in 1733, which was likewiſe ſoon followed by another ſtill more ſevere, and of more general concern, the death of Lord Talbot himſelf, in 1736 (*d*). The ſecretary's place falling with his

(*a*) A gentleman of letters, and a learned writer. See his article.

(*b*) Particularly to Mr Aikman, whoſe premature death he has, with great affection, commemorated in a copy of verſes written on that occaſion.

(*c*) Theſe are generally eſteemed the beſt of his works. See a particular euloge of them in Warton's Eſſay on the writings and genius of Pope, p. 41. edit. 1756, 8vo.

(*d*) This loſs was pathetically lamented by our author in a poem to his memory.

[*A*] *Little or no taſte in Scotland.*] Mr Murdock obſerves, that though the ſtudy of poetry was about this time become pretty general in Scotland, the beſt Engliſh authors being univerſally read, and imitations of them attempted, yet taſte had made little progreſs; the major part criticiſed according to rules and forms, and thus were very able to diſcern the inaccuracies of a poet, while all his fire and enthuſiaſm eſcaped their notice.

[*B*] *Performances printed before his going abroad.*] In 1727 he publiſhed his *Poem to the memory of Sir Iſaac Newton*, then lately deceaſed: and the ſame year the reſentments of our merchants for the interruption of their trade by the Spaniards in America running very high, Mr Thomſon zealouſly took part in it, and reſolved upon writing his poem *Britannia*, to rouſe the nation to revenge. After this he wrote his tragedy of *Sophoniſba*, which was acted with great applauſe in 1729.

[*C*] *His poem upon liberty.*] In his travels with Mr Talbot, he had viſited moſt of the courts and capital cities of Europe, and how particular and judicious his obſervations were, appears by this poem, which conſiſts of five parts thus, intituled, *Ancient and modern Italy compared; Greece, Rome, Britain, the proſpect.*

patron, he found himſelf from an eaſy competency reduced to a ſtate of precarious dependance, in which he paſſed almoſt all the remainder of his life. Yet could not his genius be depreſſed, or his temper hurt by this reverſe of fortune; he reſumed in time his uſual chearfulneſs, and never abated one article in his way of living, which though ſimple, was genial and elegant. The profits ariſing from his works were not inconſiderable; his tragedy of *Agamemnon*, acted in 1738, yielded a good ſum. But his chief dependance during this interval, was on the protection and bounty of his Royal Highneſs Frederic Prince of Wales, who upon the recommendation of Lord Lyttelton, then his chief favourite, ſettled on him a handſome allowance, and always received him very graciouſly. In 1739 he wrote his tragedy of *Edward and Eleanora*, deſigned for the ſtage but never acted [*D*]. His next dramatic performance was *The maſque of Alfred* (*e*), written by command of the Prince of Wales, for the entertainment of his Royal Highneſs's court, at his ſummer reſidence at Clifden, where it was acted in 1740, on the birth day of his eldeſt child the Princeſs Auguſta (*f*). In 1745 appeared with applauſe upon the ſtage, our author's *Tancred and Sigiſmunda*. In the mean time he had been finiſhing his *Caſtle of indolence*, which was the laſt piece he publiſhed himſelf. In 1746 Lord Lyttelton procured for him the place of ſurveyor general of the Leeward Iſlands, and he enjoyed it to his death. Preſently after he had prepared for the theatre his tragedy of *Coriolanus*, he was ſeized with a fever, which deprived the world of a very good man, as well as a very good poet, on the 27th of Aug. 1748. His remains were depoſited in the church of Richmond, under a plain ſtone without any inſcription [*E*]. His executors were the Lord Lyttelton and Mr Mitchel, by whoſe intereſt the orphan play *Coriolanus* was brought upon the ſtage with great advantage; from the profits of which, and from the ſale of his MSS and other effects, all demands were duly ſatisfied, and a handſome ſum remitted to his ſiſters. A collection of his works, with his laſt corrections and improvements, was publiſhed in 1762, in 2 vols. 4to. and 4 vols. 12mo. With the profits ariſing from the former, which was printed by ſubſcription, it was propoſed to erect a monument to his memory in Weſtminſter Abbey, which has been ſince executed in an elegant and even ſumptuous manner [*F*]. To both theſe editions is prefixed, by his countryman Mr Patrick Murdock, an account of his life and writings, from which the preſent memoir is extracted.

(*e*) He was aſſiſted in it by Mr David Mallet, his countryman, and good friend on many occaſions.

(*f*) Married this year, 1764, to the hereditary Prince of Brunſwick.

[*D*] *Never acted.*] The favour of his Royal Highneſs happened to be of ſome prejudice to our author in the refuſal of a licence for acting this tragedy, which was a conſequence of the miſunderſtandings that then ſubſiſted between the court of the Prince of Wales and that of his father; and this quarrel continuing ſome time, occaſioned the like refuſal of a licence to act a play written by one Paterſon, our author's deputy in the ſurveyor's place.

[*E*] *A plain ſtone without any inſcription.*] To ſupply this defect, the following character is given of him by Mr Murdock: 'Mr. Thomſon, ſays he, himſelf hints ſomewhere in his works, that his exterior was not the moſt promiſing, his make being rather robuſt than graceful, and he appeared worſt when ſeen walking alone in a thoughtful mood, but when accoſted by a friend, and entered into converſation, he would inſtantly brighten into a moſt amiable aſpect; his features no longer the ſame, and his eye darting a peculiar animated fire. He had improved his taſte upon the beſt originals, ancient and modern, but could not bear to write what was not ſtrictly his own. What he borrows from the ancients, he gives us in an avowed faithful paraphraſe or tranſlation, as we ſee in a few paſſages taken from Virgil, and in that beautiful picture from the elder Pliny, where the courſe and gradual increaſe of the Nile are figured by the ſtages of a man's life. The autumn was his favourite ſeaſon for poetical compoſition, and the deep ſilence of the night, the time he commonly choſe for ſuch ſtudies, ſo that he would often be heard walking in his ſtudy till near morning, humming over what he was to correct and write out the next day. The amuſements of his leiſure hours were civil and natural hiſtory, voyages, and the beſt relations of travellers; and had his ſituation favoured it, he would certainly have excelled in gardening, agriculture, and every rural improvement and exerciſe. Although he performed on no inſtrument, he was paſſionately fond of muſic, and would ſometimes liſten a full hour at his window to the Nightingales in Richmond gardens. Nor was his taſte leſs exquiſite in the arts of painting, ſculpture, and architecture. In his travels he had ſeen all the moſt celebrated monuments of antiquity, and the beſt productions of modern art; and had ſtudied them ſo minutely, and with ſo true a judgment, that in ſome of his deſcriptions in the *Poem of liberty*, we have the maſter pieces there mentioned ſet in a ſtronger light perhaps than if we ſaw them with our eyes. As for the more diſtinguiſhing qualities of his mind and heart, they are better repreſented in his writings than they can be by the pen of any biographer. There his love of mankind, of his country and friends, his devotion to the Supreme Being, founded on the moſt elevated and juſt conceptions of his operations and providence, ſhine out in every page. So unbounded was his tenderneſs of heart, that it took in even the brute creation. He was extremely tender towards his own ſpecies; he is not indeed known through his whole life to have given any perſon one moment's pain by his writings or otherwiſe. He took no part in the political ſquabbles of his time, and ſo was reſpected, and left undiſturbed by both ſides. Theſe amiable virtues, this divine temper of mind, did not fail of their due reward. The beſt and greateſt men of his time honoured him with their friendſhip and protection; the applauſe of the public attended all his productions; his friends loved him with an enthuſiaſtic ardor, and ſincerely lamented his untimely death.'

[*F*] *His monument in Weſtminſter Abbey.*] He is repreſented at full length, in a ſitting poſture, with his right hand upon a book open, and his left arm reſting on an urn embelliſhed with four figures in baſs relief, on the other ſide ſtands a ſmall winged figure, holding over the urn in his right hand a chaplet of bays: under are theſe lines:

> Tutor'd by thee ſweet poetry exalts
> Her voice through ages, and informs the page
> With muſic, image, ſentiment, and thought
> Never to die.
>
> *Obiit Ætatis* 48, *A. D.* 1748.
>
> This monument was erected in MDCCLXII.

THORNHILL [Sir JAMES], an eminent painter, was deſcended from an antient family in Dorſetſhire, and was born, in 1676, at Thornhill, the ſeat of his grandfather, in that county, whoſe ill oeconomy obliged the ſon to apply to his uncle, Dr Sydenham, at London, for ſome aſſiſtance in his education. He had naturally a turn to the art of deſigning, and that famous phyſician ſupplied him with the neceſſary means for ſtudying it under a maſter of ſome reputation. But our young genius in a few years became ſenſible of this maſter's defects, and being driven to truſt to his own judgment, he applied himſelf with indefatigable diligence to improve his talents, and thereby made a ſurprizing proficiency in his art. In this deſign he travelled through Holland and Flanders, and from thence went into France, where he bought ſeveral good pictures [*A*], and, without proceeding

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[*A*] *He bought ſeveral good pictures in France.*] Among others was a Virgin of Annibal Carracce, and the hiſtory of Tancred by Pouſſin. It was Annibal Carracce who, with his brother Auguſtino and couſin german Ludovico, laid the foundation of that celebrated ſchool, which has ever ſince gone by the name of the Carracces academy. Annibal was born in 1560, at Bologna in Italy (1). His father, though by trade a taylor, was very careful to give his ſons a good education. Annibal at firſt ſtudied painting in company with his brother, in their father's houſe; but the difference of their tempers made them quarrel perpetually, and hindered the fruit of their ſtudies: Auguſtino was fearful and ſtudious; Annibal bold and venturous: Auguſtino loved the company of men of ſenſe and quality; Annibal was always for converſing with his equals, and avoided the ſociety of thoſe that were better born than himſelf: Auguſtino pretended to domineer by his right of ſeniority, and the variety of his learning; Annibal deſpiſed that, and minded only deſigning: Auguſtino was very ſolicitous to profit by his ſtudies, and not to let any punctilio of ſcience eſcape him; Annibal was more lively, and made his way every-where eaſy. Thus it being almoſt impoſſible to make them agree, their father parted them, and ſent the elder to Ludovico Carracce, who would alſo have his brother Annibal with him, when he moderated their antipathy. Their ambition to excel in the art increaſing every day, they all three entered into a very ſtrict friendſhip. After which, Annibal, for his further improvement, paſſing through Lombardy, could not contain his rapture at the ſight of Correggio's works in Parma. Thence proceeding to Venice, the new charms which he found there in the works of Titian, Tintoret, and Paolo Veroneſe, put him upon copying the pictures of thoſe great men with care. At laſt all three united in founding a ſchool, as afore-mentioned, which was ſupported by the principles of Lodovico, the cares of Auguſtino, and the zeal of Annibal. Their reputation reaching to Rome, Cardinal Edvardo Farneſe ſent for Annibal to paint the gallery of his palace there. The guſto which he took at Rome from the antient ſculpture, made him change his Bolognian manner, which had very much of Correggio's in it, to follow a method more learned, and more expreſt, but more dry, and leſs natural in the deſign and in colouring. He put it in practice in the Farneſe gallery, and ſeveral other works which he performed there. When he had finiſhed the gallery, the Cardinal gave him 500 crowns of gold, which he thought ſo much beneath the excellence of the work, and diſproportioned to the time it took him up, that he could not ſpeak a word to the perſon that brought it. His chagrin at this, as he conceived, ill uſage, threw him into a conſumption. However, his melancholy did not hinder his amours; and his debauches at Naples, whither he retired for the recovery of his health, helped him forward to his grave, in the fiftieth year of his age, *anno* 1609. He did not underſtand the *claro obſcuro*, and his local colours are not much to be valued. He had an excellent genius for landſkips, in which, however, he was outſtript by Nicholas Pouſſin.

This painter was born at a little city in Normandy in 1594. His father, John Pouſſin, was of noble extraction, but born to a very ſmall fortune. His ſon Nicholas, therefore, having choſen painting for his profeſſion, determined to ſet up for himſelf as ſoon as poſſible. At the age of eighteen he went to Paris to learn the rudiments of his art, where a Poicto[illegible] Lord put him to a face-painter, whom he left in three months, and placed himſelf under one Lallemant, with whom, however, he ſtaid but a month, believing he ſhould profit more by ſtudying the works of great maſters, than by the diſcipline of ordinary painters. He worked a while in diſtemper, and did it with extraordinary facility. He had drawn ſeveral pictures at Paris, and among the reſt the death of the Virgin for the church of *Notre Dame*, when he ſet out for Rome in the thirtieth year of his age. There the Chevalier Marino, who had known him at Paris, recommended him to Cardinal Barberino: but the Cardinal having no opportunity of getting acquainted with him, and Marino dying ſoon after, Pouſſin had no body to aſſiſt and encourage him; he could ſcarcely maintain himſelf, and was forced to give away his works for ſo little as would hardly pay for his colours: this was his laſt ſhift. However, his courage did not fail him, he minded his ſtudies aſſiduouſly, reſolving, whatever came of it, to make himſelf maſter of his profeſſion. He had little money to ſpend, and that keeping him out of company, he retired by himſelf, and deſigned the beautiful things that are at Rome, as well antiquities as the works of the famous Roman painters. In theſe laſt, indeed, he did not much exerciſe himſelf; he thought it enough to examine them well, to make his reflections upon them, and that what he ſhould do more, would be ſo much time loſt: but he had another opinion of the antique figures, he deſigned them with care; and formed ſuch an high idea of them, that they were his principal object. His cloſe friendſhip with two ſculptors, L'Algard and François Hamand, in whoſe houſe he lodged, ſtrengthened, and, perhaps, begat this inclination; be that as it will, he never left it, and it increaſed in him as he grew older, which may be ſeen in his works. At firſt he copied one of Titian's pieces, being pleaſed with his colouring, and the touches of his landſkips, and endeavoured to imitate them. It is obſervable that his firſt pieces are painted with a better goût of colouring than the laſt. He alſo made curious obſervations on the works of Raphael and Dominicino, who of all painters, in his opinion, invented beſt, deſigned moſt correctly, and expreſſed the paſſions moſt lively, three things which Pouſſin looked upon as the moſt eſſential parts of painting. At length he returned to France, at the invitation of Lewis XIII. who aſſigned him a penſion, and a lodging ready furniſhed at the *Tuilleries*. Here he drew the picture of the Lord's Supper for the chapel of the caſtle of St Germain, and that which was in the Jeſuits novitiate at Paris. He began the labours of Hercules in the gallery of the Louvre; but the faction of Voüet's ſchool railing at him and his works, put him out of humour with his own country. The noiſe and buſtle of Paris was diſagreeable to him, he therefore ſecretly reſolved to return to Rome, pretending he went to ſettle his domeſtic affairs, and fetch his wife; but when he got there, he thought no more of France, and never left Italy afterwards. Having lived happily to the age of ſeventy-one, he died paralytic, *anno* 1665. He left no grand compoſitions behind him, applying himſelf wholly to eaſel pieces, of a ſize fit for a cabinet; theſe he ſent from Rome to Paris, which were eagerly bought up by the French. His eſtate, however, amounted to no more than 60,000 livres; but he valued his eaſe above riches, and preferred his abode at Rome, where he lived without ambition, to making his fortune elſewhere. In a viſit from Biſhop Maſſini, who was afterwards a Cardinal, their converſation laſted inſenſibly till it was night, when the prelate riſing to take his leave, Pouſſin took the candle in his hand, lighted him down ſtairs, and waited upon him to his coach. The Biſhop, ſorry to ſee him do it himſelf, could not help ſaying, *I very much pity you, Monſieur* Pouſſin, *that*

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(1) All the three Carracches were born there; Ludovico in 1555, who died in 1628; Auguſtino born in 1557, and died in 1605.

ceeding to Italy, returned to England. Here his merit ſoon ſpread his character, and raiſed his reputation to the higheſt pitch; inſomuch that, young as he was, Queen Anne made him her ſerjeant-painter, and, when St Paul's cathedral was finiſhed, employed him to adorn the dome of that noble ſtructure with the hiſtory of the ſaint whoſe name it bears (*a*). That great deſign he executed in a grand and beautiful manner, and afterwards performed ſeveral public pieces, particularly at Hampton-court and Greenwich hoſpital [*B*], which diſplay a true genius, and a great judgment and knowledge in treating the allegory; talents which muſt neceſſarily produce great and rich compoſitions. Theſe great works having eſtabliſhed his reputation, procured him much employment in painting eaſel pictures for perſons of quality and fortune. By this means having acquired a conſiderable ſtock of wealth, he laid out part of it in purchaſing the family eſtate, which had been ſold by his father, at Thornhill, and where he rebuilt the houſe in a beautiful manner, to which he retired in the ſummer-time, and was choſen member of parliament for Weymouth in that county, to which church he preſented a curious altar-piece done by himſelf. He had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him by King George II. but he did not live to enjoy it many years, being taken out of this world, after a year's ſickneſs, in 1732, at Thornhill. In his perſon he was well-ſhaped, and his humour was agreeable. He deſigned a great deal from practice, with a great facility of pencil. His genius, ſo well turned for hiſtory and allegory, was no leſs ſo for portrait, landſkip, and architecture; he even practiſed the laſt as a man of buſineſs, having built ſeveral houſes. Sir James was a married man, and was ſurvived by two of his children, a ſon and a daughter. His ſon was bred a watch-maker, but quitted that buſineſs at his father's death, being appointed to ſucceed him in the place of ſerjeant-painter to the King. His daughter, who was born in 1712, was married, in 1731, to Mr William Hogarth, an eminent comic painter, whoſe merit demands particular notice. He was born in 1698, in the pariſh of St Bartholomew, London, and was put apprentice to an engraver in ſilver plate, after the death of his father, a perſon of good learning, though of ſmall fortune. The ſon probably choſe this occupation, as it required ſome ſkill in drawing, to which his genius was particularly turned: accordingly, having made ſome progreſs in the art during his apprenticeſhip, he proſecuted it with indefatigable diligence, till at length he acquired a complete maſterſhip therein, and that without any foreign aſſiſtance. His uncommon talents brought him into the notice of Sir James Thornhill, whoſe daughter he married a little before her father's death. In the mean time, not content with mere drawing, he proceeded to finiſh his deſigns with colouring, in which he likewiſe ſucceeded to admiration (*b*). He had occaſionally been a benefactor to his pariſh, and preſented that hoſpital with a capital piece, *The pool of Betheſda*, in 1736, when he was choſen a governor of it. The deſign of this piece furniſhed him with an opportunity of diſplaying his particular talent in expreſſion; the diſeaſes of the afflicted attending that pool are marked in the ſtrongeſt manner, nor is the figure of Chriſt leſs diſtinguiſhed by the meekneſs and benevolence of the Son of Man. When the Found-

(*a*) There are a ſet of prints engraved after them.

(*b*) But is ſomewhat dry and harſh.

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you have not one ſervant. And I pity you more, replied Pouſſin, *that you have ſo many*. He had no children, nor any diſciples.

His character among the painters is that of a great maſter; but by preferring the antique ſculpture to nature, his naked figures look more like painted marble than natural fleſh. His invention in hiſtorical and fabulous ſubjects is ingenious, as are alſo his allegories. His landſkips are admirable for their ſites, the novelty of the objects which compoſe them, the naturalneſs of the earth, the variety of the trees, the lightneſs of the touches, and the ſingularity of the matters that enter the compoſition. He was not always happy in the diſpoſition of his figures, his attitudes on the ſame line are not varied enough. His draperies are commonly of the ſame ſtuff, and the folds too many. We may perceive by his works in general, that he knew nothing of local colours and *claro obſcuro*. His genius was rather of a noble maſculine and ſevere character than graceful. His manner was new and ſingular, he was the author of it; and as he had no diſciples, ſo neither had he *any* followers. Take him altogether, he was not only the beſt painter of his own nation, but equal to the beſt painters of Italy.

Sir Ja. Thornhill afterwards purchaſed ſeveral other pieces of the moſt diſtinguiſhed maſters in his art, being diligent to make ſuch a collection as did honour to his taſte, and was ſhewn by him very readily to ſtrangers.

[*B*] *Hampton-court and Greenwich hoſpital.*] In the royal palace at Hampton-court he painted an apartment, wherein the Queen, and Prince George of Denmark her huſband, are repreſented allegorically; as alſo another piece, painted intirely on the wall, where the ſame ſubject is treated in a different manner. The other parts of the paintings there were done by *Antonio Verrio* the Neapolitan. But our painter's maſterpiece is the refectory and ſaloon of the ſailors hoſpital at Greenwich. The paſſage to this refectory is through a veſtibule, where Sir James has repreſented, in two colours, the winds in the cupola, and on the walls boys, who ſuſtain pannels to receive the names of the benefactors. From thence you aſcend into the refectory, which is a fine gallery, very lofty; in the middle of which King William and Queen Mary are allegorically repreſented ſitting, and attended by the virtues and love, who ſupport the ſceptre; the monarch appears giving peace to Europe. The twelve ſigns of the zodiac ſurround the great oval in which he is painted; the four ſeaſons are ſeen above; laſtly, Apollo, drawn by his four horſes, making his tour through the zodiac. In the angles, the painter has repreſented the four elements, and the coloſſal figures that ſupport the baluſtrade, where the portraits of thoſe able mathematicians that have perfected the art of navigation, are painted, ſuch as Tycho Brache, Copernicus, and Newton. The cieling is all by his own hand, but he employed a Polander to aſſiſt him in painting the walls, which he has adorned with thoſe virtues that are ſuitable to the intention of the fabric, ſuch as liberality, hoſpitality, and charity. The ſaloon above is not ſo beautiful as the cieling; you aſcend to it by ſeveral ſteps: the cieling repreſents Queen Anne and Prince George of Denmark, ſurrounded with heroic virtues, Neptune and his train bringing their marine preſents, and the four quarters of the world preſenting themſelves in divers attitudes to admire them. King George I. is painted on the wall facing the entry, ſitting with all his family around him: on the left hand is the landing of King William, on the right hand that of King George I. at Greenwich. Theſe great works would certainly have been more eſteemed, had they been all done by Sir James's own hand; they are intirely from his deſigns, but in viewing them one cannot help criticiſing their incorrectneſs; one would even wiſh there were fewer figures.

ling hoſpital was finiſhed, our painter enriched it with another piece upon a like religious ſubject, *Moſes brought to Pharaoh's daughter*. Hitherto he was ſeen in grave, hiſtory paintings, a walk in which he had many competitors; but in the mean time he launched out into an unbeaten track, in which he became inimitable. It is ſaid that the firſt inlet to his excellence in burleſque was the being employed to draw deſigns for a new edition of Hudibras: however that be, it is certain that, in comic-life-painting, he exceeded all that went before him [*C*]. The ingenious Abbot Du Bos has often complained, that no hiſtory painter of his time went through the ſeries of actions and miſfortunes of an hero from his cradle to his grave. What Du Bos wiſhed to ſee done, Hogarth performed. Soon after the peace of Aix la Chapelle he went to Paris, the conſequence of which was his humorous print of the *Roaſt beef of Old England* carried into Calais by a jolly friar. While our painter was ſketching for this purpoſe one of the gates of the town here introduced, he had like to have been taken into cuſtody as a ſpy (*c*): in remembrance of which, he has inſerted his own pug-face (*d*) in a corner of the print, with a ſerjeant clapping him on the ſhoulder. About 1750 he publiſhed his *Analyſis of beauty*, in quarto, which, though ſtrongly attacked in regard to ſome of his notions, yet is replete with thoſe ſtrokes that ever characterize the works of genius (*e*). About 1757 his brother-in-law reſigned the place of King's ſerjeant-painter in his favour. He had ſome time before bought a houſe at Chiſwick, near London, where, having now ſacrificed enough to his fame and fortune [*D*], he uſually paſſed the greateſt part of the ſummer ſeaſon, yet not without viſiting occaſionally his houſe in Leiceſter-fields. About 1762 he complained of an inward pain in ſome of his vitals, which continuing, brought on a general decay, that proved incurable. On the 25th of October 1764, he was brought from Chiſwick to Leiceſter-fields in a very weak condition, yet was remarkably chearful; and receiving an agreeable letter from a friend in *Pennſilvania*, he drew up the rough draught of an anſwer to it; but going to bed, he was ſeized with a vomiting, upon which he rung his bell, and was found in ſuch a condition, that he expired in two hours after. His corpſe was afterwards conveyed to Chiſwick, and interred there. He left a very conſiderable fortune of his own acquiring, which is come into the poſſeſſion of his truly mournful widow, who had

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[*C*] *He excelled in comic painting.*] It has been well obſerved (2), that it is unjuſt to give his life pictures of this kind the character of burleſque or groteſque, ſince both the one and the other convey to us a departure from nature, to which Hogarth almoſt always ſtrictly adhered. That work in this taſte which firſt appeared, was his *Harlot's progreſs*, where he launches out his young adventurer a ſimple girl upon the town, and conducts her through all the viciſſitudes of wretchedneſs to a premature death. This was painting to the reaſon and to the heart. None had ever before made the art ſubſervient to the purpoſes of morality and inſtruction: a book like this is fitted to every ſoil, and every obſerver; and he that runs may read.

The *Rake's progreſs* ſucceeded the former, which, though not equal to it, yet came ſhort only of that ſingle excellence, no other could come near him in that way. His great excellence conſiſted in what we may term the furniture of his pieces: for in ſubjects and hiſtory pieces, the fewer little circumſtances there are to divide the ſpectator's attention from the principal figures, is reckoned a merit; ſo in life painting, the greater variety there is of thoſe little domeſtic images, it gives the whole a greater degree of force and reſemblance. Thus in the Harlet's progreſs, we are not diſpleaſed with James Dalton's wig-box on the bed-teſter in her lodgings in Drury-lane; particularly too if it be remembered, that this James Dalton was a noted highwayman of that time. In the pieces of *Marriage a-la-mode*, what can be more finely or ſatirically conceived, than his introducing a gouty Lord, who carries his pride even into his infirmities, and has his very crutches marked with a coronet!

[*D*] *Sacrificed enough to his fame and fortune.*] This will appear from the following exact liſt of his prints, as they are bound together in a book, with

	£.	s.	d.
A frontiſpiece	0	3	0
1. Harlot's progreſs, in ſix prints	1	1	0
2. Rake's progreſs, in eight prints	2	2	0
3. Marriage a-la-mode, in ſix prints	1	11	6
4. Four times of the day, in four prints	1	6	0
5. Before and after, in two prints	0	5	0
6. Midnight converſation	0	5	0
7. Diſtreſſed poet	0	3	0
8. Enraged muſician	0	3	0
9. Southwark fair	0	3	0
10. Mr Garrick in the character of King Richard III. (3)	0	7	6
11. Calais, or the Roaſt beef of Old England	0	5	0
12. Paul before Felix	0	7	6
13. Ditto, with alterations	0	6	0
14. Moſes brought to Pharaoh's daughter (4)	0	7	6
15. March to Finchley (5)	0	10	6
16. Strolling actreſſes dreſſing in a barn	0	3	0
17. Four prints of an Election	2	2	0
18. Biſhop of Wincheſter	0	3	0
19. The effects of idleneſs and induſtry, exemplified in the conduct of two fellow apprentices, in twelve prints	0	12	0
20. Lord Lovat	0	1	0
21. Sleeping congregation	0	1	0
22. Country inn yard	0	1	0
23. Paul before Felix, in the manner of Rembrandt	0	5	0
24. Various characters of heads, in five groupes	0	2	6
25. Columbus breaking the egg	0	1	0
26. The bench	0	1	6
27. Beer ſtreet and Gin-lane, two prints	0	3	0
28. Four ſtages of cruelty, four prints	0	6	0
29. Two prints of an invaſion	0	2	0
30. A cock match	0	3	0
31. The five orders of periwigs	0	1	0
32. The medley	0	5	0
33. The times	0	2	0
34. Mr Wilkes	0	1	0

Our painter alſo engraved the figure of the late Mr Charles Churchill the ſatiriſt. There was it ſeems ſome quarrel between the painter and the poet, who publiſhed a poem upon Hogarth, in which he has done juſtice to him as a painter, but drawn his character as a man quite *outre*. This poem has died with the ſubject, and Hogarth's picture of Churchill was but little eſteemed.

	£.	s.	d.
35. The bruiſer (6)	0	1	6
36. Finis	0	2	6

To which may be added the author's treatiſe, intituled,

	£.	s.	d.
The analyſis of beauty, in 4to. with two explanatory prints	0	15	0

N. B. In this catalogue is omitted his famous Sigiſmunda weeping over her lover's heart.

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(*c*) This affront might perhaps occaſion that remark of his, that the French houſes were gilt and b—ſh—t.

(*d*) His pug-face can never be deemed a reflection upon him, as he himſelf was ſo ſenſible of the reſemblance, that he humorouſly repreſented his own favourite pug dog by his ſide in his own portraits.

(*e*) In this work he ſhews, by a variety of examples, that round ſwelling figures are moſt pleaſing to the eye, the truth of which has of late been further confirmed by an ingenious writer on the ſame ſubject.

(2) In the Britiſh Chronicle, p. 550, 4to.

(3) It is ſaid that Mr Duncomb of Yorkſhire gave him 200 l. for this. Garrick is repreſented in the tent ſcene.

(4) He preſented the original painting to the Foundling hoſpital, of which he was a governor.

(5) This piece, for ſome court pique or diſappointment, is inſcribed to the King of Pruſſia, *an encourager of ſciences*. It is now at the ſame hoſpital.

(6) This print repreſents Churchill in the figure of bear.

all along lived with him in the utmoſt harmony and happineſs, rendered exquiſite by a peculiar chearful diſpoſition, ſweet temper, and pleaſant humour, which endeared him to all his friends and acquaintance. A handſome monument is preparing to be erected to his memory by his widow. P

The materials of this article are taken from Ward's Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 193 to 197 incluſive, edit. 1750, fol.

TOOKE [Andrew], an eminent ſchoolmaſter, and an ingenious mathematician, was the ſecond ſon of Benjamin Tooke, citizen and ſtationer of London, where he was born, in 1673; and after going through Charter-houſe ſchool, was ſent to Clare-hall in Cambridge, and in 1690 admitted a ſcholar of the houſe. He proceeded A. B. in 1693, was choſen uſher of the Charter-houſe ſchool in 1695, and was created M. A. in 1697 (*a*). He was then reſident, upon his own charge, at the ſchool, in which he acquitted himſelf ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the maſter and other officers of the houſe, that they recommended him to ſucceed Dr Hooke in the profeſſorſhip of geometry at Greſham college in 1703 [*A*]; in conſequence of which, he was choſen into that place July 5, 1704; and, on the 30th of November following, became a Fellow of the Royal Society, who met in a room of his apartment, till they left the college in 1710. He was a diligent obſerver of the college affairs, and generally drew up ſuch memorials, and other papers, as were thought neceſſary by the profeſſors, relating to their common affairs. In 1723 a conſiderable eſtate of ſeveral thouſand pounds was left him by his elder brother, Mr Benjamin Tooke, a bookſeller at the Middle-Temple gate in Fleet-ſtreet, London, who died May 24, that year. But notwithſtanding this addition to his fortune, he held his place of uſher to the Charter-houſe ſchool, apparently with the view of being raiſed to the head of it, upon the death of Dr Thomas Walker, which happening in the eighty-firſt year of his age (*b*), June 12, 1728, our uſher was accordingly choſen to ſucceed him on the 17th of July following. In May 1729 he married the widow of Dr Henry Levett, phyſician to the Charter-houſe, which vacating his lecture at Greſham, he reſigned it June 26th following. From this time he attended no other buſineſs but his ſchool, nor that without difficulty, he had ſome years before gradually declined in his health, which ended at laſt in a dropſy, that carried him off January 20, 1731, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. He was interred in the Charter-houſe chapel, where is placed againſt a pillar a white marble monument, in the form of a ſhield, inſcribed with a Latin eulogium in length, emulating that of his predeceſſor Dr Walker, which faces it. Mr Tooke had taken deacon's orders before he left Cambridge, and ſometimes preached; but devoted himſelf principally to the inſtruction of youth, in which he greatly delighted, and for which he ſeemed no leſs fitted by his temper than learning. He was naturally of a pleaſant and facetious diſpoſition, which rendered his company very agreeable, and much coveted by all who knew him. He had made a large collection of books, and publiſhed ſeveral pieces himſelf [*B*]. He left no iſſue, and was ſucceeded in his eſtate by a brother named Richard, who died in the Temple May 23, 1737, and was buried in the church of St Bartholomew the Leſs Weſt Smithfield.

(*a*) By diploma it ſhould ſeem, he being at that time reſident in the Charter-houſe. Ward.

(*b*) He publiſhed a book under the title of *Walker's particles*, &c. in good eſteem, being very uſeful for grammar-ſchools.

[*A*] *Recommended to ſucceed Dr Hooke.*] The teſtimonial, which was dated March 23, 1703, runs thus:

'We the maſter and officers of the Charter-houſe, do hereby certify the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, and the reſt of the Honourable Committee for Greſham affairs, That Andrew Tooke, maſter of arts, formerly of Clare-hall in Cambridge, hath been uſher of the Charter-houſe ſchool for theſe eight years laſt paſt; during which time, he hath approved himſelf a perſon of piety and probity in his life, and of modeſty and ſobriety in his converſation. We do further teſtify, That, among his other ſtudies, he hath ſucceſsfully applied himſelf to the mathematical ſciences, both in theory and practice. Witneſs our hands,

'Tho. Burnet, *Maſter*,
'John King, *Preacher*,
'Wm. Hempson, *Regiſter*,
'Ro. Payne, *Receiver*,
'Tho. Walker, *Schoolmaſter*,
'Ralph Welstead, *Reader*.'

By the date of this teſtimonial it appears, that the election had been long expected before it was made. But this delay was occaſioned by a ſcheme then on foot, for pulling down Greſham college, and erecting other buildings on part of the ground, which being revived on the death of Dr Hooke, who had oppoſed it, the choice of one to ſucceed him was deferred till that deſign was dropt again.

[*B*] *He publiſhed ſeveral pieces.*] Theſe are, 1. *Synopſis Græcæ linguæ*, &c. Lond. 1711, 8vo. 2. *The Pantheon*, &c. Lond. 1713, 8vo. The tenth edition was printed in 1726. 3. *The whole duty of man according to the law of nature*, tranſlated by Mr Benjamin Motte from the Latin of Samuel Puffendorf De officio hominis & civis, libri duo; *the fourth edition, with the notes of Mr Barbeyrac*, &c. Lond. 1716, 8vo. 4. He tranſlated Biſhop Gaſtrell's Chriſtian inſtitutes into Latin, which was publiſhed with the title of *Inſtitutiones Chriſtianæ*, &c. Lond. 1718, 8vo. 5. *Ovidii Naſonis Faſtorum, libri ſex*, &c. Lond. 1720, 8vo. 6. A ſupplement to the account of Greſham college, inſerted in the ſecond appendix of Stowe's Survey of London, Vol. II. part ii. p. 18. edit. 1720, by Strype. 7. An exact copy of *The laſt will and Teſtament of Sir Thomas Greſham, Knt. to which is added an abridgment* (1) *of an act of parliament paſſed in the twenty-third of Queen Elizabeth, A. D.* 1581, *for the better performing the laſt will of Sir Thomas Greſham, Knt. as alſo ſome accounts concerning Greſham college, taken from the laſt edition of Stowe's* Survey of London, *printed in the year* 1720, *and elſewhere:* Lond. 1724, 4to. 8. Some epiſtles in the Engliſh edition of Pliny's Epiſtles and panegyric, tranſlated by ſeveral hands, and publiſhed by Mr Harley, in 11 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1724 (2).

P

(1) This, tho' called an abridgment, was found by Mr Ward, upon comparing it with the original, to contain the whole act.

(2) Mr Tooke's epiſtles are diſtinguiſhed by the letters A. Z. at the top.

TRAPP [Joſeph], a divine of excellent parts and learning, and no leſs piety, was the ſecond ſon of Mr Joſeph Trapp, Rector of Cherrington in Glouceſterſhire, where he was born, in 1679. After an education in ſchool learning under his father, he was ſent, at the age of ſixteen, in 1695, to Wadham college Oxford; and having taken his firſt degree in arts at the regular period, was choſen a fellow of his college. He commenced A. M. May 13, 1702, and entered into holy orders. It is ſaid he became chaplain to Sir Walter St John, grandfather to the famous Henry Viſcount Bolingbroke. However that be, it is certain that, in the early part of his life, he indulged too much in voluptuous courſes, and cultivated the academical ſtudies no farther than was neceſſary to his improvement in the belles lettres. Poetry was his favourite ſtudy, his talents lay chiefly that way, and he ſoon made a diſtinguiſhed figure therein, by writing his tragedy called *Abramule, or Love and Empire*, which was brought upon the ſtage in 1704. Four years after which, he obtained, in 1708, the poetry profeſſorſhip at Oxford, then lately founded by Dr Henry Birkhead [*A*]. He was the firſt profeſſor, and did honour to the place, reading the lectures in Latin regularly, purſuant to the will of the founder, every term in the public ſchools. They were drawn up in very elegant language, and were conſtantly attended by very crowded audiences, not only from the novelty of the inſtitution, but from the real merit of every performance [*B*]. Thus he diſcharged this office with univerſal applauſe, during the ten years of its continuance in his perſon, according to the rule of the foundation; at the end of which period (*a*), he turned his thoughts to the more immediate buſineſs of a clergyman, and coming to the capital, was appointed Lecturer of St Martin's in the Fields, Weſtminſter, by the intereſt of Dr Lancaſter, then Vicar of that church (*b*), and Provoſt of Queen's college Oxford. He made an equal figure in the pulpit to his former appearance in the roſtrum, and was likewiſe attended with equally crowed audiences (*c*). In the mean time ſiding with the Tory party in ſtate affairs, he had been early appointed chaplain to Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke, who preſented him to the rectory of Harlington in Middleſex, a living of good value; and in 1721 he obtained the vicarage of the united pariſhes of Chriſtchurch in Newgate-ſtreet and St Leonard's Foſter-lane in London (*d*). Here he fixed his reſidence in the parſonage-houſe ſituated in a court of the adjoining hoſpital, and entered into matrimony. He was much beloved by his pariſhioners, and being a diligent and faithful paſtor, to which duty he even made his poetical talents ſubſervient, in a poem, intituled, *The four laſt things, or Death and Judgment, Heaven and Hell*, of which he preſented a printed copy to every one of his pariſhioners. In 1729, and the following year, he preached the ſermons at Lady Moyer's lecture, which he printed, under the title of *The doctrine of the moſt holy and ever bleſſed*

(*a*) He was ſucceeded by Mr Warton, father to the preſent profeſſor.

(*b*) See an account of him in Biog. Brit. Vol. VI. part i. 3735. *G.*

(*c*) The celebrated authoreſs Mrs Aſtel came conſtantly from her houſe at Chelſea to hear him. See an account of her in Biog. Brit. Vol. VI. part i. p. 3713. under *P.*

(*d*) He is ſaid to have been Lecturer of St Laurence Jewry.

[*A*] *Dr Henry Birkhead.*] Mr Wood (1) gives us the following account of this founder: That he was the ſon of John Birkhead, and born in the pariſh of St Gregory near St Paul's cathedral, London, educated in grammar learning under the famous Mr Thomas Farnaby (2), entered a commoner of Trinity college Oxford in Midſummer term 1633, at the age of ſixteen; and being admitted ſcholar thereof May 28, 1635, was ſhortly after ſeduced by a Jeſuit, and conveyed to St Omers by one Kemp, a member of the Jeſuits college there; but being regained to the church of England, he returned to Oxford, where he proceeded A. B. February 11, 1663 (3), and was afterwards, by the intereſt of Archbp Laud, elected a fellow of All-ſouls in 1638, being then eſteemed a good philologiſt. He commenced M. A. June 5, 1641 (4), and was made ſenior of the act celebrated that year. Afterwards he entered upon the law line, kept his fellowſhip during the uſurpation, and had liberty allowed him by the delegates of the univerſity, in April 1653, to propoſe a diſpenſation to the Congregation for taking the degree of doctor of phyſic (not of law) by accumulation, conditionally that he performed the exerciſes relating thereto. After the reſtoration he reſigned his fellowſhip, and became regiſtrary of the dioceſe of Norwich, which he reſigned in 1681, had a chamber in the Middle-Temple, London, lived ſome time there and elſewhere in a retired and ſcholaſtical condition for many years. He had the character of an excellent Latin poet, a good Grecian, and well verſed in all humanity learning. He publiſhed, 1. *Poemata in elegiaca, iambica, polymetra, antitechnemata & metaphraſes, membranatim quadripartita*, Oxon. 1656, 8vo. 2. *Otium literarum, ſive miſcellanea quædam poemata, &c.* 1656, 8vo. Theſe are printed with the *Miſcellanea* of Henry Stubbe. 3. He alſo publiſhed, with a preface, ſome of the philological works of Henry Jacob (5), *anno* 1652. 4. He alſo wrote ſeveral Latin elegies on divers loyal perſons that had ſuffered for the cauſe of King Charles the Firſt (6), which are ſcatteredly printed in various books, under the covert letters ſometimes of *H. G* (7). His foundation of the poetry lecture was not completed till after the compiling of Mr Wood's book.

[*B*] *The merit of his lectures.*] They were publiſhed afterwards with the title of *Prælectiones poeticæ, &c.* in 8vo. He has ſhewn there, in very elegant Latin, how perfectly he underſtood every ſpecies of poetry, what noble rules he was capable of laying down, and how critically and juſtly he could give directions for forming a juſt poem. If by a juſt poem is underſtood an heroic hoem, it cannot be denied that he ſhewed afterwards, by his *tranſlation of Virgil*, that a man may be able to direct, who cannot execute, or that he may have the critic's judgment without the poet's fire; he has ſtuck cloſe to Virgil in every line, has expreſſed the deſign, the characters, contexture, and moral of his poem; in ſhort, has given Virgil's account of the actions. He was prompted to this undertaking by ſeveral miſtakes in his author's ſenſe, which he obſerved in Dryden's tranſlation. He alſo charges Dryden with adding or retrenching, as his turn is beſt ſerved by either, and with being leaſt a tranſlator where he ſhines moſt as a poet: and whereas it is a juſt rule laid down by Lord Roſcommon, that a tranſlator, in regard to his author, ſhould *fall as he falls, and as he riſes, riſe*; Mr Dryden, he obſerves, frequently acts the very reverſe of this precept, of which he produces ſome inſtances (8). In general it is allowed, that Dryden often runs out into a blameable diffuſeneſs, Trapp ſaw the fault, but, in a reſolution to avoid it, run into the other extreme of too much preciſion, a fault which was wittily ridiculed in the following epigram:

> *Keep to thy preaching, Trapp, tranſlate no further,*
> *Is it not written,* Thou ſhalt do no murder?

Nor did he ſucceed much better by his tranſlation of Milton's Paradiſe loſt into Latin verſe, which he publiſhed at his own expence, and was a conſiderable loſer. However, he wrote ſeveral occaſional ſmall poems, which are not unworthy of him, ſome in Engliſh, and one in Latin, printed in the *Muſæ Anglicanæ*, beſides a longer piece, intituled, *The four laſt things, &c.* mentioned above.

(1) In Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1006.

(2) See an account of him under Elijah Fenton's article in this Supp.

(3) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 267.

(4) Id. Vol. II. col. 2.

(5) See his article in this Supp.

(6) He made a preſent of his works both in proſe and verſe to Dr R. Bathurſt, and a copy of them is now in the library of Trinity college Oxford. Life of R. Bathurſt, by Warton, p. 159, edit. 1761, 8vo.

(7) One of his name wrote a tragedy called *Cla's fury, or Lirenda's miſery*, Lond. 1646, 4to. the ſubject of which is the Iriſh rebellion in 1641. This author was no academian, only a merchant of Briſtol.

(8) Preface to Æneis, p. 83. 89.

Trinity defended and proved, to which he ſubjoined ſome *Sermons on the parable of Dives and Lazarus*. About the ſame time he wrote *A preſervative againſt unſettled notions and want of true principles in religion*, the third edition of which came out in 1730. During his Lecturerſhip at St Martin's, which he held to his death, he was much concerned to ſee the great increaſe of Popery in that pariſh; and, in the view of giving a check to it, he publiſhed a piece, intituled, *The church of England defended againſt the falſe reaſoning of the church of Rome*. After a painful and laborious life ſpent in the faithful diſcharge of his miniſterial duties, he expired November 22, 1747 [*C*], with the character of a pathetic and inſtructive preacher, an excellent ſcholar, a diſcerning critic, and a very exemplary liver. He had been created D. D. at Oxford by diploma February 1, 1727 (*e*), and no doubt would have been rewarded with higher preferments in the church, had his friends continued to ſhare in the ſtate. He left one ſon, an only child, of his own name, who was bred at New college Oxford, where he took the degree of A. M. Jan. 14, 1742 (*f*); and entering into holy orders, became Rector of Stratfield-Sea and Stratfield-Turgis in Hampſhire. In 1752 he publiſhed a collection of his father's ſermons, with the title of *Sermons on moral and practical ſubjects*, in two volumes octavo.

(*e*) Catalogue of Oxford degrees.

(*f*) Idem.

[*C*] *He died at Chriſtchurch.*] In which church a monument is erected, with this inſcription:

> To the memory of the Reverend and Learned JOSEPH TRAPP, twenty-ſix years Vicar of the united pariſhes of Chriſtchurch Newgate ſtreet and St Leonard's Foſter-lane, London, and Rector of Harlington in Middleſex. He died the 22d of November 1747, ætatis 67.

Underneath is the *following epitaph, written by* himſelf:

Death, judgment, heaven, and hell; think, Chriſtians,
You ſtand on vaſt eternity's dread brink. (think,
Faith and repentance, piety and prayer,
Deſpiſe this world, the next be all your care.
Thus while my tomb the ſolemn ſilence breaks,
And to the eyes this cold dumb marble ſpeaks,
Tho' dead, I preach, if e'er with ill ſucceſs
Living, I ſtrove th' important truths to preſs,
Your precious, your immortal ſouls to ſave,
Hear me, at leaſt, O hear me from my grave.

P

TRENCHARD [JOHN], a ſtateſman and patriot of diſtinguiſhed merit, was deſcended from an antient and wealthy family (*a*), being the ſon of Sir John Trenchard, ſecretary of ſtate to King William III. who having this ſon born to him in 1669, was not wanting to give him a liberal education; after which, deſigning to breed him to the law, he ſent him to one of the inns of court in London. Here he applied himſelf diligently to that ſtudy, became well ſkilled in it, and was called to the bar; but quitted in a ſhort time the practice of that profeſſion. His father's example concurring with his own inclination, led him to the ſtudy of politics and ſtate affairs; and this humour was particularly encouraged by his obtaining the place of a commiſſioner for the forfeited eſtates in Ireland, after the reduction of that kingdom by King William in 1690. This favour flattered his ambition, entered him into the miniſtry, and he ſoon made a conſiderable figure. By the deceaſe of an uncle, and a marriage to a gentlewoman with a conſiderable fortune, he came into the poſſeſſion of a good eſtate, and the proſpect of a much better, which alſo fell into his hands on the demiſe of his father [*A*] in 1695, whom he ſucceeded likewiſe in the Houſe of Commons, being elected a burgeſs for Taunton in Somerſetſhire (*b*). In this ſituation he ſoon became a leading member, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his writings in the political way. He had for ſome time diſcerned the miſchiefs which threatened the conſtitution by a ſtanding army, and as ſoon as the neceſſity of it was removed by the peace of Ryſwick in 1697, he reſolved to exert his talents againſt its continuance. In this ſpirit he publiſhed the ſame year his remarkable pamphlet, intituled, *An argument ſhewing that a ſtanding army is inconſiſtent with a free government, and abſolutely deſtructive to the conſtitution of the Engliſh monarchy*. This was further urged by *A ſhort hiſtory of ſtanding armies in England*, publiſhed in 1698. Theſe pieces were drawn up with ſo much eloquence and force of reaſon, as procured a majority in the parliament, which obliged the King to ſend home his Dutch guards, and reduce the army to a very moderate ſtandard, though with great reluctance (*c*). After this, he proceeded to employ the preſs by ſeveral other pieces, upon the various occurrences of ſtate affairs, from 1709 to 1719 [*B*], when he began to turn his thoughts upon the ſubject of religion. He had before taken into his houſe, as an amanuenſis, Mr Thomas Gordon, a Scotſman, of good learning and parts, who improved them ſo much by his maſter's converſation and inſtructions, as to become a

(*a*) See his monument in remark [*D*].

(*b*) The family ſeat, called *Ley*, lies in that county, about four miles from Briſtol.

(*c*) See his monumental inſcription below.

[*A*] *His father.*] This gentleman was bred at New college Oxford, of which he became a fellow; after which, being elected one of the repreſentatives in parliament for the borough of Taunton in Somerſetſhire, he joined the Whig party, and in that ſtation was very active againſt Mr (afterwards Biſhop) Kenner, on occaſion of a pamphlet publiſhed by him in 1680 (1). In the ſame ſpirit continuing ſteady to his ſtate principles till the Revolution, he ſucceeded in the office of principal ſecretary of ſtate Henry Lord Viſcount Sidney, who reſigned thoſe ſeals March 3, 1691, O. S (2). This poſt he held to his death, which happened in the beginning of May 1695 (3).

[*B*] *He publiſhed ſeveral pamphlets.*] Theſe are, 1. *The natural hiſtory of ſuperſtition*, 1709, 8vo. 2. *Conſiderations on the public debts*. 3. *A compariſon of the propoſals of the Bank and South Sea company*. 4. *A letter of thanks*, &c. 5. *Thoughts on the Peerage bill*. 6. *Reflections on the Old Whig*. Theſe laſt five were all publiſhed in 1719, 8vo.

(1) Biog. Brit. Vol. IV. p. 2821.

(2) Salmon's Chron. *Hiſt.* under that year.

(3) Idem, under that year.

fellow-writer with him; and in November 1720 they began in conjunction to publiſh periodically a ſeries of Letters, under the name of *Cato* [*C*], upon various and important ſubjects relating to the public. Theſe were firſt printed in the London, and afterwards in the Britiſh Journal, and were continued, with very great reputation, almoſt to the death of Mr Trenchard, who gave way to fate in December 1723 [*D*]. The immediate cauſe of his death

[*C*] *Cato's letters.*] Some of theſe were written by Mr Trenchard, under the name of *Diogenes*, upon ſeveral points of religion, which were thought exceptionable, and animadverted on by Mr John Jackſon, who, in 1725, printed *A defence of human liberty, in anſwer to Cato's letters* (4), in the Britiſh Journal, N° XXX and XXXI; and in Cato's letters Mr Trenchard having beſtowed the higheſt commendations upon Barclay's Apology for the Quakers, excepts againſt his firſt principle of immediate revelation, which our author would willingly exchange for human reaſon: *And this done*, he ſays, *he could have readily ſubſcribed to a great part of his ſyſtem.* The ſame cenſure being made by others, occaſioned Barclay to write an anſwer in Latin, which came out in 1686 in Engliſh, under the title of *The poſſibility and neceſſity of inward and immediate revelation of the ſpirit of God proved*, &c (5). After Mr Trenchard's death, theſe papers were collected and publiſhed by Mr Gordon, under the title of *Cato's letters; or, eſſays on liberty, civil and religious, and other important ſubjects*, in four volumes octavo, the fourth edition of which came out in 1737. In the preface the publiſher ſets forth their purpoſe and deſign in the following terms: 'As they were (ſays he) 'the work of no faction or cabal, nor calculated for 'any lucrative or ambitious ends, or to ſerve the purpoſes of any party whatſoever, but attacked falſhood 'and diſhoneſty in all ſhapes and parties, without temporizing with any, but doing juſtice to all, even to 'the weakeſt and moſt unfaſhionable, and maintaining the principles of liberty againſt the practices of 'moſt parties; ſo they were dropped without any 'ſordid compoſitions, and without any conſideration, 'ſave that it was judged that the public, after all its 'terrible convulſions, was become calm and ſafe. 'They had treated of moſt of the important ſubjects 'in the world, and meddled with public meaſures 'and public men only in great inſtances.'

[*D*] *He died in* 1723.] The following monumental euloge of him was publiſhed by Mr Gordon in *The Independent Whig*:

M. S.
Johannis Trenchard Armigeri,
Qui, quamvis antiqua ſtirpe ortus, multiſque
Opibus florens,
Neque domo neque pecunia ſibi laudem
Aſſecutus eſt.
Quam alii claritudine generis,
Majoribus innixi;
Quam alii divitiis
Gloriam oſtentant, fortuitam et inanem;
Hic virtute ingenioque
Sinceram, propriamque, et manſuram ſibi, comparavit.
Solertiâ et morum ſanctitate imaginibus domus præluxit.
Vim animi, integritatem vitæ, illuſtrium ſuoq; caritatem,
Pauci æquârunt, anteceſſêre nulli.
Pueritia vix egreſſus foro vacavit,
Legum peritus, cauſis orandis validus;
Sed jurgiis forenſibus atque lucro ſtatim valedicens
Seceſſum dilexit, vitamque privatam:
Reipublicæ tamen curam nunquam ſibi neglectam
Neque depoſuit, nec fruſtra exercuit;
Dominationis cujuſvis generis hoſtis perpetuus
Et vere timendus.
Libertatis priſcique moris
Cuſtos rigidus, vindex acer,
Simul naturæ humanæ, pravitatis hominum,
Ambituſque, et calliditatis potentium,
Gnarus et probe ſuſpicax.
Prætextus eorum à conſultis à Domino
Magiſtratum diſcriminare valuit,
Vimque et ſuperbiam quandocunque laceſſerunt
Summa facundia increpare auſus eſt.
Miſſionem exercitus,
Poſt finem belli Gallici Gulielmo Principe,
Oratione ſcripta adhuc juvenis
Efflagitavit atque obtinuit
Invitis aulicis et frementibus.
Par ipſe et ſummis negotiis,
Et honores meritus, ſed aſpernans
Artibus privati præcelluit.
Myſtarum Rabiem,
Triſtes Fanaticorum ineptias,
Libertati civium inhiantium
Semper averſatus,
Petulantiam illorum et aviditatem
Acriter redarguit et coercuit.
Nec Deum Optimum Maximum
Truculentiæ effræni vel vociferatui inani annuere,
Aut lapſu et erroribus mentis offendi,
Ratus eſt.
Annos V poſt L vixit, ſibi ſatis,
At non patriæ, non amicis, nec uxori.
Cæterum, ut ſine labe vitam *tranſegerat*,
Mortem abſque *formidine obiit*,
Liberis viris et bonis nunquam non deſiderandus.
Manet monumenta ingenii ſemperque manebunt
Scriptis multi generis ſacrata.

Thus Engliſhed by the ſame author:

A monument erected to the memory
Of John Trenchard Eſq;
A gentleman deſcended from an antient family,
And conſpicuous for abundant wealth;
Yet neither from his race nor fortune
Did he derive his principal renown.
Some boaſt a glory derived from the luſtre of a long deſcent,
And rely upon the merit of their anceſtors;
Others paint the glory of their wealth.
Vain and accidental is all ſuch glory.
His was of his own acquiring,
Perſonal and permanent,
The pure reſult of his virtue and parts.
In his native accompliſhments, and truth
Of his morals,
He gained a ſplendor ſurpaſſing that of his houſe.
In vigour of ſpirit, integrity of life,
In tenderneſs to his country, to his kindred and friends,
Few ever equalled him,
None ever ſurpaſſed him.
Whilſt yet a youth, he attended the bar,
Learned in the laws, and a powerful pleader;
But, ſoon abandoning the ſtrife of ſuits,
He preferred retirement and a private life.
He was concerned, however, for the public,
A concern ever inſeparable from his thoughts,
He neither renounced or exerciſed in vain.
Of incroachments of domination of every kind
A conſtant and formidable foe,
Of public liberty and primitive inſtitutions
A rigid aſſertor, a powerful champion.
From obſervation he knew, from a juſt principle he ſpoke
The frailty of human nature, and the flatteries of men,
Acquainted with the ambition and artifice of men in power,
Between

(4) See his article in this Supplement.

(5) See his article in Biog. Britan. Vol. I.

death appeared to be an ulcer in his kidnies. He is ſaid to have thought too much, and with too much ſolicitude, to have done what he did too intenſely, and with too much vigour and activity of the head, which brought upon him many bodily diſorders, and is ſuppoſed at laſt to have worn out the ſprings of life. He left no writings at all behind him, except two or three looſe papers, once intended for *Cato's letters (d)*. He had no iſſue by his wife, who, finding Mr Gordon very uſeful in managing her affairs, continued him in her ſervice, was much pleaſed with his company, and, having paid a decent tribute of tears to the memory of her deceaſed huſband, entered ſome time after into a ſecond marriage with this ingenious friend and companion [*E*], who had ſeveral children by her. She ſurvived him, is ſtill living, and is now the ſecond time a widow.

(d) Gordon's preface to thoſe letters.

Between their outward pretences and real purſuits,
He could well diſtinguiſh,
As between the worthy magiſtrate and lawleſs ruler.
Ever reſolute to encounter every public violence,
And all the inſolence of power,
With conſummate eloquence,
The diſbanding of the army after the war,
In the reign of King William,
By an argument written and publiſhed in his youth,
He undertook to procure,
Urged it with great force,
And even ſucceeded in it,
Againſt the threats and rage of the courtiers.
To the higheſt affairs his parts were equal;
But he deſerved public honours,
And deſpiſing them, he ſhone in the accompliſhments
Of private life.
To the whole crew of viſionaries and myſtics,
To the direful followers of all bigots,
His enmity was bent and perpetual,
As men ever ſtriving againſt the liberty, againſt the poſſeſſions
Of their fellow Chriſtians;
Eloquent, he expoſed, he reſtrained
The petulant ſpirit and force of ſuch men.
That the God of nature, ſupremely great,
Supremely good,
Could never approve of cruelty,
Or advert to clamour and empty ſounds,
Or could ever be offended with the miſtakes
And roamings of the human ſoul,
Was what his rational heart could never conceive.
To the age of almoſt LV he lived,
An age to himſelf ſufficiently long;
But not ſo to his country, nor his friends,
Nor to his lady.
As he had paſſed his life without blemiſh,
He encountered death without fear:
A man by all virtuous men beloved and admired,
Worthy to be for ever lamented.
He died on the XVI day of December MDCCXXIII.
Of his genius and parts, there are monuments remaining,
Such as will for ever remain
Conſecrated to time and poſterity,
In writings of various kinds.

This long and fulſome inſcription is inſerted as being the beſt authority for the occurrences above related concerning Mr Trenchard's life, and in that light, it is hoped, the reader will bear with that fulſome flattery not elegantly expreſſed therein.

The ſame friend having drawn his character at large in his preface to *Cato's letters*, gives, in the dedication, the ſubſtance of this monumental euloge, declaring, 'that he has ſet him no higher than his own 'great abilities and many virtues ſet him; that his 'failings were ſmall, his talents extraordinary; his 'probity equal to his talents; and that he was one 'of the worthieſt, one of the ableſt, and one of the 'moſt uſeful men, that ever any country was bleſſed 'withal.'

[*E*] *This ingenious friend.*] Beſides *Cato's letters* (13), he was a joint writer with Mr Trenchard in another periodical paper, which appeared firſt in 1720, and after Trenchard's death, was continued ſeveral years by Mr Gordon, who afterwards publiſhed the collection under the title of *The Independent Whig*, in which the ſame ſpirit which appears with more decent language in *Cato's letters* againſt the adminiſtration in ſtate, ſhews itſelf under much more glaring colours againſt the hierarchy in the church; which, like ſome other violent party papers, met with its advocates, one of whom was ſo much captivated with it, as to encourage the author by a large annuity. After all, it is univerſally agreed that the beſt work of Mr Gordon is his tranſlation of *Tacitus*, enriched with various diſcourſes by the editor. He alſo publiſhed an Engliſh tranſlation of *Salluſt* in the ſame manner.

(13) He is the reputed author of *A letter to the Ld Archbp* [Wake] &c. Lond. 1719, 8vo. See an account of it in Vol. VI. part ii. p. 4089. remark [*M*].

V.

This article is extracted chiefly from Mr Walpole's *Anecdotes of painting.*

VANDYCK [Sir ANTHONY], a moſt illuſtrious painter, who lived many years, married, and died in England, was the ſon of a merchant at Antwerp, where he was born, in 1598, of a mother who was admired for painting flowers in ſmall, and for her needle-works in ſilk. He was firſt placed with Henry van Belen, who had ſtudied at Rome, and painted figures both in large and ſmall. But the fame of Rubens drew away to a nobler ſchool the young congenial artiſt; Rubens, much pleaſed with his excellent talents, concealed nothing from him, that was neceſſary to make him a ſkilful artiſt; and the progreſs of the diſciple ſpeedily raiſed him to the glory of an aſſiſtant to his maſter. This favour was of the higheſt advantage, and enabled him to perform ſeveral hiſtorical pieces of his own deſigning (*a*), two or three of which he made preſents of to Rubens, as he did alſo the famous portrait of Rubens's wife, to which branch of the art his genius particularly lay [*A*]. After this, he went, by the advice of Rubens, to Italy. His firſt reſidence was at Genoa, from whence he went to Venice, which may be called the metropolis of the Flemiſh painters, who ſeem ſo naturally addicted to colouring, that they ſee Italy only with Flemiſh eyes. Here he imbibed ſo deeply the tints of Titian, that he is allowed to approach nearer to the carnations of that maſter than even Rubens [*B*]. From Venice he went to Rome, where he lived ſplendidly, avoiding the low converſe of his countrymen, and was diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Pittore Cavaliareſco*. It was at Rome that he drew that capital portrait of Cardinal *Bentivoglio*, who had been nuncio in Flanders, had a partiality for their artiſts, and as he celebrated their hiſtory with his pen, was almoſt immortalized by one of their beſt pencils. From Rome he went by invitation to Palermo; there he painted Prince *Philipert* of *Savoy*, the viceroy, and a paintreſs of ſome note, *Sophoniſba Angiaſcula*, then at the age of ninety-one; but the plague ſoon drove him from Sicily. He returned to Genoa, where he had gained the higheſt reputation, and where he had done many conſiderable works. He returned to Antwerp, and practiſed both hiſtory and portrait; of the former he did that incomparable altar-piece for the monaſtery of the Auguſtines at Antwerp, where St Auguſtine is repreſented ſtedfaſtly looking up to heaven, which appears all open and ſhining with light; of the latter are the celebrated heads of his contemporary artiſts; he drew them in *chiaro oſcuro*, in ſmall pannels; admirable is the variety of attitudes and airs of heads; but in thoſe pieces he meant to ſurpaſs as well as record. His fame ſoon reached Holland, the Prince of Orange ſent for him to draw his Princeſs and children's pictures, which he performed to admiration. At length hearing of the favour which was ſhewn to the arts by King Charles I. he came to England, and lodged with his friend Geldorp a painter, hoping to be introduced to the King. It is extraordinary that he was not, he went away chagrined; but his Majeſty ſoon learnt what a treaſure had been within his reach, and ordered Sir Kenelm Digby (who had ſent to Vandyck) to invite him over. He came, and was lodged among the King's artiſts at Black-friars. Thither the King went often by water, and viewed his performances with ſingular delight, after ſitting to him himſelf, and beſpeaking pictures of the Queen, his children, and his courtiers. He likewiſe made him his painter, conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, July 5, 1632, and granted him a ſalary of 200l. a year, which was ſettled

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(*a*) Particularly one of ſeizing our Saviour in the garden, and another the crowning him with thorns.

[*A*] *His genius particularly lay to portraits.*] It has been ſaid that Vandyck applied himſelf to portraits by the advice of Rubens, who began to grow jealous and envious of him in hiſtory painting. This jealouſy, Mr Walpole thinks, Rubens's liberal nature was not capable of entertaining, and aſcribes the envy, if there was any, or at leaſt emulation, rather to the ſcholar than the maſter. 'If Rubens (ſays he) gave the advice mentioned, he gave it with reaſon, not maliciouſly; Vandyck had a particular genius for portraits, his draperies are finiſhed with an accuracy not appoſite for hiſtorical compoſitions in colouring, of which he is fond, particularly of white and blue; his back-grounds are heavy, and have great ſameneſs; beſides, his invention was cloudy and tame, nor does he any-where ſeem to have had much idea of the paſſions and their expreſſions; portraits require none. If Rubens had been jealous of Vandyck, would he, as all their biographers agree, have adviſed him to go to Italy, whence himſelf has drawn the greateſt lights?'

[*B*] *He approached nearer to the carnations of Titian than Rubens did.*] Mr Walpole obſerves that Sir Anthony had more delicacy than Rubens, but, like him, never reached the grace and dignity of the antique; he ſeldom even arrived at beauty. His Madonnas are humble, his ladies ſo little flattered, that one is ſurprized he had ſo much cuſtom. He has left us to wonder that the famous Counteſs of Carliſle ſhould be thought ſo charming; and had not Waller been a better painter, Sachariſſa would make but little impreſſion now. One excellence he had (which no portrait painter ever attained, except Sir Godfrey Kneller) the hands are often the fineſt part of his pictures.

upon him by patent the following year 1633 (*b*). The King at the ſame time preſented him with a maſſy gold chain, and with his picture ſet round with diamonds. His induſtry was indefatigable [*C*], as appears from the number of his works; for though he died at the age of forty-two, yet they are not exceeded by thoſe of *Rubens:* yet he was much addicted to his pleaſure and expence. He was fond of muſic, and generous to muſicians. His exceſſes and ſedentary life brought on the gout, and hurt his fortune, which he ſought to repair, not like his maſter by the laboratory of his painting-room, but by that real folly the purſuit of the philoſopher's ſtone, in which, perhaps, he was encouraged by the example and advice of his friend Sir Kenelm Digby. Towards the latter end of his life, King Charles paſſed on him for a wife Mary, the daughter of Lord Ruthven Earl of Gowry, whoſe father being accuſed of a conſpiracy againſt King James I. his eſtate was confiſcated; ſo that he had little portion with her, except her quality and beauty, in which ſhe ſurpaſſed moſt of the ladies of the Engliſh court, and had the honour of being allied to the Engliſh crown. This dignity flattered his humour, which naturally led him to appear magnificently dreſſed; he had alſo a numerous and gallant equipage, and kept ſo good a table in his apartment, that few princes were more viſited, or better ſerved. But it is certain the match did him no ſervice with the King, who, on the contrary, began to treat him with ſome coldneſs. This change drove him to Paris, in hopes of being employed there in ſome public work. He wanted to vie with his maſter in completing what he had left unfiniſhed in the Luxembourg gallery; but he was diſappointed, *Pouſſin* was then the favourite at that court. He therefore returned to England, and in the ſame humour of executing ſome public works in competition with Rubens, he propoſed to the King, by Sir Kenelm Digby, to paint the walls of the Banquetting-houſe with *The hiſtory and proceſſion of the order of the Garter.* The propoſal ſtruck the King's taſte, and Vandyck drew a ſmall ſketch of the deſign in *chiaro oſcuro:* but the project came to nothing. It has been commonly ſaid, that it was rejected on the extravagant price of 80,000 l. demanded by our painter (*c*), which is thought by ſome to be incredible (*d*). However that be, it is certain the civil war prevented any further thoughts of it, and the death of Vandyck would have interrupted the execution. He died in Black-friars December 9, 1641, and was burried on the 11th at St Paul's cathedral, near the tomb of John of Gaunt (*e*). He was in perſon low of ſtature, but well proportioned; very handſome, modeſt, and extremely obliging; and moreover a great encourager of all his countrymen, who excelled in any art, moſt of whoſe pictures he drew with his own hand, and which were engraven after him by the beſt engravers of that time (*f*), and ſome were etched by himſelf. By his wife he had a daughter [*D*], who ſurvived him, and was afterwards married to Mr Stepney, a gentle-

(*b*) It is preſerved in the Rolls, in it he is ſtyled Painter to his Majeſty.

(*c*) See Fenton's notes on Waller's poem to Vandyck.

(*d*) Mr Walpole, for inſtance, declares his diſbelief of it.

(*e*) Lady Lempſter, mother of the laſt Earl of Pomfret, who was at Rome with her Lord, wrote a life of Vandyck, with ſome deſcription of his works. If any monument was ſet up for him, it was deſtroyed by the the fire of London.

(*f*) Namely, Bolſwaert, Voſterman, Pontius, &c.

[*C*] *His induſtry was indefatigable.*] He often detained the perſons of thoſe that ſat to him at dinner, for an opportunity of ſtudying their countenances, and of retouching them after dinner. Sir Peter Lely told a friend, that *Laniere* aſſured him he had ſat to him ſeven intire days from morning to evening, and that notwithſtanding Vandyck had not once let him look at the picture, till he was contented with it himſelf (1). Agreeable to this remark of Mr Walpole, it is obſerved by Mr De Piles, that our painter took his time to draw a face when it had its beſt looks on; he obſerved its charms and graces, he kept them in his mind, and not only imitated nature, but heightened it as far as he could, without altering the likeneſs. He always dreſſed his figures according to the faſhion of the times, from which he drew what was moſt for the advantage of painting, and ſhewed by it, that nothing is too hard for art and genius, which can make the moſt ungrateful things beautiful. Thus, beſides the truth in Vandyck's pictures, there is an art which the painters before him ſeldom made uſe of; nay, Vandyck himſelf has not always put his artifice in practice, without abuſing it, eſpecially in the latter part of his life. Indeed, his laſt portraits want much of the beauty and correctneſs of his firſt: his judgment was ripe betimes; for his moſt valuable pieces were drawn while he has young, when he did his beſt to eſtabliſh his reputation. The portraits he drew of the moſt ſkilful painters his friends, his performances at Genoa, and thoſe he did in the firſt ſix or ſeven years of his abode in England, are his fineſt productions, and what acquired him the character of the beſt painter of his time. Some of his laſt works which are alſo in England are ſlight things, the colouring is weak, and falls into the lead; nevertheleſs his pencil is happy every-where, it is light, flowing, mellow, and contributes not a little to the life, which Vandyck put into every thing he painted. If his performances are not alike perfect, all in the laſt degree, they carry with them, however, a great character of ſpirit, nobleneſs, grace, and truth; inſomuch, that one may ſay of him, that, excepting Titian only, Vandyck ſurpaſſes all the painters that went before him, or have come after him, and that his hiſtory pieces, in the opinion of good judges, deſerve a place among the painters of the firſt rank (2). To conclude, as this great maſter did the greateſt number, of the moſt valuable of his performances in England; as the genius of our country preferring portraits to hiſtory pieces, inclined him to apply himſelf wholly to painting after the life, as he received all the encouragement in England which was due to his merit, lived, married, and died here, ſo he moſt deſervedly ought to be placed in our ſchool, of which he is the honour, and indeed of the art itſelf (3).

[*D*] *He had a daughter by his wife.*] Beſides her, Vandyck had alſo a natural daughter, called *Maria Tereſa*, to whom, as appears by his will in Doctor's-Commons, he left 4000 l. then in the hands of his ſiſter Suſannah Vandyck, a nun in a convent at Antwerp, whom he appoints truſtee to this daughter. To his ſiſter Iſabella he bequeaths 150 gilders yearly; and in caſe his daughter Tereſa dies unmarried, he bequeaths the 4000 l. to another ſiſter, married to Mr Derrick, and her children. To his wife Mary, and his new born daughter Juſtiniana, he gives all his goods, effects, and means due to him in England from King Charles, the nobility, and all other perſons whatſoever, to be equally divided between them. The executors of his will were Mr Aurelius de Mighan and Katherine Cowley, to which Katherine he left the care of his daughter to be brought up, allowing 10 l. *per annum*, till ſhe is eighteen years of age. Other legacies he gives to his executors and truſtees for their trouble, and 3 l. each to the poor of St Paul's, and St Anne's Black-friars, and to each of his ſervants male and female. They were prevented in the punctual execution of this will, the proof of which was not made till 1663, when the heirs and executors from abroad, and at home, aſſembled to ſettle the accounts, and recover what debts they could, but with little effect. In 1698 and 1703 the heirs, with Mr Carbonnel, who had married the daughter of Vandyck's daughter, made further inſpection into his affairs and demands from his creditors; but what was the iſſue does not appear.

(1) Vandyck was fond of muſic, and an encourager of the art, in which Laniere excelled, and was retained with a large ſalary by K. Ch. I. and it was this portrait that determined his Majeſty to invite Vandyck to England a ſecond time. Walpole. See alſo the article of Villiers, in Vol. VI. part i. p. 4042, under remark [*E*], note 26.

(2) De Piles in Engliſh, p. 268, 269, 3d edit.

(3) Addition to De Piles, by J. B. p. 270. There is a liſt of Vandyck's works in Le Conte's cabinet, Vol. I. p. 182.

man

man who rode in the horſe guards, on their firſt eſtabliſhment by King Charles II. Their grandſon George Stepney Eſquire was envoy at ſeveral courts in the reign of King William, and at the ſame time made a diſtinguiſhed figure among the poetical band, by his elegant performances in that art (*g*), and dying in 1707 (*h*), was interred in Weſtminſter abbey, where there is a handſome marble monument erected to his memory, with an elegant Latin inſcription. Sir John Stepney, another deſcendent, died in the road from Bath to Wales in 1748. Lady Vandyck his widow was married again to Richard Pryſe, ſon of Sir John Pryſe, of Newton-Aberbechen in Montgomeryſhire, but had no iſſue by her. He was firſt married to Heſter, daughter of Sir Hugh Middleton, and was created a Baronet Auguſt 9, 1741. P

(*g*) Several of them are inſerted in the *Works of the mine poets.*

(*h*) At the age of 44, after he had ſerved his country ſucceſsfully for 20 years, Boyer's Life of Q. Anne, p. 43. Appendix.

VIRGIL [Polydore], a writer of ſome learning and genius, who flouriſhed in England, though born at Urbino in Italy, in the fifteenth century, near the cloſe of which he commenced author, by a collection of Proverbs, publiſhed in 1498. This was an improvement in that branch of literature, nothing of the kind having been before publiſhed by any of the moderns, except Eraſmus [*A*]. The novelty raiſed a general curioſity to ſee it, and occaſioned the printing of three or four editions in a very ſhort ſpace. This ſucceſs animated him to a more difficult enterprize, namely, *De rerum inventoribus*, printed in 1499 [*B*]. In the beginning of the ſixteenth century he was ſent by Pope Alexander VI. to collect the papal tribute, called *Peter pence*, in England; and he recommended himſelf ſo well there, and was ſo well pleaſed with the country, that having obtained the dignity of Archdeacon in the church of Wells, and a Prebend of Nunnington in that of Hereford, he reſigned his office of collector to the Pope, and reſolved to ſpend the remainder of his life in England. Here, in 1505, he was put upon a more conſiderable work by Henry VII. this was nothing leſs than a *Hiſtory of England*, upon which he ſpent above twelve years, and brought it down to the end of that King's reign: but, as Mr Bayle obſerves, it is not much valued by the Engliſh [*C*]. In 1526 he finiſhed his treatiſe *Of prodigies* [*D*], with a preface, dated that year at London: it is written in the way of dialogues, in which he ſtrongly attacks all the fallacy of divination. He was not a zealous Papiſt in all points, and was not at all diſguſted with England upon the alterations made under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. [*E*]; nor did he think of leaving it till 1550 or 1551, when his old age required a warmer and more ſouthern climate. His deſire of returning to Rome was granted, on the 2d of June that year, he was diſmiſſed with a gift of three hundred crowns from the King, and with the liberty alſo to hold both his benefices [*F*] for life, which continued till 1555, when he died at Urbino, his native place. He had a brother, John Matthew Virgil, who, as he informs us, was well ſkilled in the Greek and Latin. He practiſed phyſic at Ferrara, and afterwards taught logic publickly there, and then was made profeſſor of philoſophy in the univerſity of Padua. He arrived before the age of thirty years to be a

[*A*] *No modern author had publiſhed any book of that nature.*] He boaſted of having preceded Eraſmus upon this ſubject, and even charged that author with a deſign to rob him of the honour due to him (1). But Eraſmus, in his anſwer dated December 1521, demonſtrates how much Polydore was miſtaken in fancying that he had publiſhed his book of proverbs before Eraſmus, who expoſtulates with him in great candor and good-nature (2). Eraſmus reſpected him as a man of merit and abilities, and was not willing to quarrel with him. Polydore, indeed, ſaid a great many harſh things of him, in the preface to a new edition of his proverbs, accuſing him of vanity and envy, treating him as a plagiary, and was expreſly angry that Eraſmus, in the preface to the firſt edition of his Adagies, had made no mention of his book. But Polydore abounded in money, as collector of the Pope's *annates*, and we find him generous to Eraſmus, and ſending him money to purchaſe a horſe (3). Eraſmus had perſuaded Froben to print Polydore's book (4), who likewiſe in return yielded to ſtrike out of the fourth edition of his *Proverbs* every thing injurious to Eraſmus, to whom he dedicated the tranſlation of a book of St Chryſoſtom (5). Thus we ſee this little quarrel did not break off their friendſhip (6).

[*B*] *De rerum inventoribus.*] In his epiſtle dedicatory before-mentioned he declares, that in this book, as well as his Proverbs, he had opened the way to all other writers. He publiſhed at firſt three books only, with the dedication, in 1499. He added five others in 1517, and dedicated them to his brother John Matthew Virgil, profeſſor of philoſophy at Padua. Mr Bayle hence corrects a miſtake of *Voſſius* (7), in telling us that this work of Polydore Virgil contains eight books, which were firſt printed in 1499, as alſo another miſtake of Sir *Thomas Pope Blount*, who ſays, in his *Cenſura authorum*, p. 452, that theſe eight books were printed at Straſbourg, in 4to. 1509. Bayle alſo obſerves that *Moreri* had committed the ſame miſtake with *Voſſius*.

[*C*] *Not valued by the Engliſh.*] In proof of this, Bayle quotes Sir *Hen. Savil*, in *Præf. ad rerum Anglicarum ſcriptores*, and *Humf. Lluyd*, in *Deſcript. Angl. apud Pope Blount cenſ. author.* p. 452. Theſe call him a malignant ſlanderer of the Engliſh; whereas *Paulus Jovius* (8) remarks, that the French and Scots complain that he has too much flattered the Engliſh nation. Bayle alſo mentions (9) that *John Leland* has taken notice of ſeveral of Polydore's faults. John Caius, in his Antiquities of Cambridge (10), charges him with having burnt ſeveral manuſcripts, in order to prevent a diſcovery of the faults in his hiſtory. The ſame thing is related of Paulus Æmilius, his neighbour and contemporary, and of ſeveral others, who have ſought the ſame fame with Plato and Ariſtotle, burning ſeveral books after they had extracted the quinteſſence of them, in order to form the books which were afterwards publiſhed in their names.

[*D*] *His treatiſe of Prodigies, &c.*] In the Baſil edition of 1545, the dedicatory epiſtle of which was wrote by himſelf, and dated at London 1543, there are prefixed three other treatiſes, 1. *De patientia & ejus fructu, lib.* ii. 2. *De vita perfecta, lib.* i. 3. *De veritate & mendacio, lib.* i.

[*E*] *He was not a zealous Papiſt in all points.*] Though in moſt of his writings he aſſerted the doctrine of the Romiſh church, yet he is ſaid to have defended the marriage of the clergy, and to have condemned the worſhip of images, with ſome other ſuperſtitious practices of that church (11).

[*F*] *Liberty to hold both his benefices.*] He had preſented the church of Wells with a ſuit of hangings for the quire, upon which were wrought a laurel tree, and theſe words, *Sunt Polydori munera Virgilii* (12).

(1) See the epiſt. dedicat. libri de inventor. dated at Urbino, Aug. 5, 1499.

(2) Paulus Jovius Elog. p. 213, as quoted by Jortin, in his Life of Eraſmus, Vol. I. p. 280.

(3) Eraſm. epiſt. xxv. lib. xxi. p. 1093, as cited by Bayle, under this article, remark [*A*].

(4) Mattaire, as cited by Jortin, ubi ſupra.

(5) Eraſmus's words ſignifying this fact are: *Idem opuſcula* (Chryſoſtomi monachum) *in Anglia vertit Virgilius Polydorus ſatis feliciter, mihi dicatum. Excuſum eſt autem Lutetiæ.* Epiſt. xiv. lib. xxv. p. 1354.

(6) See Eraſmus's letter to Polydore in 1526, cited by Bayle, as before.

(7) De hiſt. Lat. p. 678.

(8) Elog. cap. cxxxv. p. 179.

(9) De hiſt. Lat. p. 679.

(10) Lib. i. p. 521. apud Pope Blount cenſ. author. p. 451, 452.

(11) Idem ibid. To which may be added, that the church of Rome approves only the edition of his book *De rerum inventoribus* publiſhed by Gregory XII. in 1676, as it was purged by the inquiſitors.

(12) Knight's Life of Eraſmus, p. 169. who, however, has copied a miſtake of Burnet, that our Italian lived only forty years in England, whereas he certainly lived here near fifty years.

good philoſopher, a good phyſician, and a good orator; and beſides, above all theſe attainments, he was a man of ſtrict probity. Polydore alſo aſſures us, that his great grandfather, Anthony Virgil, was very well ſkilled in phyſic and aſtrology, and ſome time taught philoſophy at Paris. P

VOSSIUS [Isaac], a man of diſtinguiſhed learning, who lived many years in England, and died here, though a foreigner by birth, being the ſon of the famous John Gerard Voſſius [*A*], and born of his ſecond wife at Leyden in 1618. He was educated by his father, and made early ſo great a figure in the literary world, that his merit having reached the ears of Chriſtina Queen of Sweden, ſhe was ſo much ſtruck with it, that ſhe condeſcended to correſpond with him by letters, and employed him in ſome literary commiſſions. He even made ſeveral journeys into Sweden by her order, and had the honour of teaching her Majeſty the Greek language. After the death of his father in 1649, he was offered to ſucceed in the hiſtory profeſſorſhip at Amſterdam; but he refuſed it, preferring a ſtudious retirement to any honours (*a*). In 1663 he received a handſome preſent by a bill of exchange from Lewis XIV. of France, in a very complaiſant letter by his miniſter Monſ. Colbert [*B*]. In the year 1670 he came to England, and going to Oxford,

(*a*) Niceron's Memoirs, tom. xiii.

[*A*] *The ſon of John Gerard Voſſius.*] This very learned and excellent man, who was preferred in England, had his birth at a town near Heidelberg in Germany in 1577. His father was a native of Ruremond, but upon embracing the Reformed religion, went into the Palatinate, where he ſtudied divinity, and became a miniſter in 1573. Thence, the year after this ſon was born, he removed to Leyden, and was admitted of that univerſity. After this he made ſome other removes, and ſettled at length in Dort, where he buried his firſt wife, married a ſecond, and died about three months after, leaving his ſon Gerard, at the age of eight years, in circumſtances not ſufficient to do him juſtice in an education equal to his natural parts; however, he ſupplied all defects by his indefatigable application. He began his ſtudies at Dort (1), and having learned Latin, Greek, and philoſophy, he went, in September 1595, to Leyden, where he purſued thoſe ſtudies, joining mathematics to them, and took the degrees of A. M. and D. Philoſ. in March 1598. Then he applied himſelf to divinity and the Hebrew tongue; and his father having left him a library well furniſhed with books of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory and theology, he became betimes deeply verſed in thoſe parts of knowledge. The curators of Leyden univerſity were upon the point of chuſing him profeſſor of phyſic, when he was appointed director of the college at Dort. There, in February 1604, he married a miniſter's daughter, who died the ſame month in 1607, having brought him three children. Six months after he married a ſecond wife, by whom he had five ſons and two daughters (2). Theſe children were educated with the utmoſt care, ſo that his houſe was called the habitation of Apollo and the muſes: he had the misfortune to ſurvive them all (3), except Iſaac [*a*]. In 1614 an attempt was made to draw him to Steinfurt, to be divinity profeſſor there; but he thought it better to accept the director's place of the theological college then juſt founded by the States of Holland at Leyden. Four years after this, he was made profeſſor of eloquence and chronology in the ſame academy, which was a place more agreeable to his taſte. In the diſputes which then run very high in Holland about grace and predeſtination, he had, notwithſtanding all imaginable care to keep himſelf clear, become ſuſpected and obnoxious to the Gomariſts, who had prevailed in the ſynod of Dort held in 1612, becauſe he had openly favoured the Remonſtrants. He had alſo, in his hiſtory of the Pelagian-controverſy, printed in 1618, affirmed that the ſentiments of St Auguſtine upon grace and predeſtination were not the moſt antient, and that thoſe of the Remonſtrants were different from thoſe of the Semi-Pelagians. He did not ſeparate himſelf from the communion of the Anti-Remonſtrants or Gomariſts, yet they knowing full well that he neither approved their doctrines nor their conduct, had him turned out at the ſynod of Tergou, held in 1620. The year after another ſynod was held at Rotterdam, where a decree paſſed for receiving him again, provided he would neither ſay or do any thing againſt the ſynod of Dort, and would alſo retract the errors advanced in his *Hiſtory of Pelagianiſm.* To engage him to a compliance, a ſtop was put to his taking pupils, which being a loſs too great for his circumſtances, he made ſome promiſes of this kind in 1624. But whatever diſgrace his Pelagian hiſtory might fix upon him, and whatever detriment it might be to him in Holland, it procured him both honour and profit in England, Archbiſhop Laud eſteemed it infinitely, and obtained from King Charles I. a prebend for him in the church of Canterbury, while he reſided at Leyden (4). He came over to be inſtalled, took the degree of L L. D. at Oxford (5), and then returned. This was in 1629, and the town of Amſterdam having, in 1630, formed a deſign of erecting an univerſity, fixed their eyes upon Voſſius as the foundation-ſtone of its reputation and credit, he went thither in 1633, to be profeſſor of hiſtory. He died there in 1649, aged ſeventy-two years (6), after having publiſhed as many works as, when they came to be collected and printed at Amſterdam in 1695 and the five following years, amounted to ſix volumes in folio. His principal things are, *Etymologicon linguæ Latinæ: De origine & progreſſu idololatriæ: De hiſtoricis Græcis: De hiſtoricis Latinis: arte grammatica: De vitiis ſermonis & gloſſematis Latino barbaris: Inſtitutiones oratoriæ: Inſtitutiones poeticæ: Ars hiſtorica: De quatuor artibus popularibus grammatice, gymnaſtice, muſice, & graphice: De philologia: De univerſa matheſeos natura & conſtitutione: De philoſophia: De philoſophorum ſectis: De veterum poetarum temporibus.* All his writings are in good eſteem.

(1) Here he had for a ſchool-fellow Erycius Puteanus, with whom he ever after lived in the cloſeſt friendſhip and intimacy.

(2) This fertility of his penis being attended with a ſimilar fertility of his pen, made Grotius ſay, with ſome pleaſantry, 'That he did 'not know whether Voſſius 'had a better 'knack at getting children or 'writing books:' *Scriberetne accuratius, an gigneret felicius.*

(3) One of his daughters, a very accompliſhed perſon, came to an untimely end; having an inclination to ſlide, according to the cuſtom of the country, upon the canals near Leyden, the ice broke under her, and ſhe was drowned.

(4) This prebend did more than indemnify him for the loſſes he had ſuſtained.

(5) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II, col. 183.

(6) Niceron's Memoirs, tom. xiii.

[*B*] *A letter with a purſe from Lewis XIV.*] The letter begins thus:

> 'Sir,
>
> 'Though the King be not your ſovereign, he is 'willing, nevertheleſs, to be your benefactor, and 'has commanded me to ſend you the bill of exchange 'hereunto annexed, as a mark of his eſteem, and as 'a pledge of his protection. Every one knows that 'you worthily follow the example of the famous 'Voſſius your father, and that having received from 'him a name, which hath rendered him illuſtrious by 'his writings, you will preſerve the glory of it by 'yours. Theſe things being known to his Majeſty, 'it is with pleaſure that he makes this gratification of 'your merit (7),' &c.

(7) Niceron, as before.

[*a*] His other ſons were, 1. *Denys Voſſius*, born at Dort, and became learned in the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, Arabic, French, Italian, and Spaniſh languages; he wrote, among other ſmall pieces, *Maimonides de Idololatria, cum Latina verſione & notis*, which was ſubjoined to his father's work *De Origine & Progreſſu Idololatriæ*; likewiſe ſome notes of his upon Cæſar's Commentaries are to be found in Grævius's edition, Amſterdam 1697. 2. *Francis Voſſius*, who publiſhed, in 1640, a Latin poem upon a naval victory gained by the celebrated *Van Trump*. 3. *Gerard Voſſius*; he wrote notes upon Paterculus, printed by Elzevir in 1639, 12mo. 4. *Matthew Voſſius*, who publiſhed *Annalium Hollandiæ Zelandiæque, libri quinque*, Amſt. 1635, 4to.

There was alſo Gerard Voſſius, a very learned man, but no relation to the family of John Gerard Voſſius. He was an eccleſiaſtic of the church of Rome, employed in ſome conſiderable offices under the Popes, and died at Liege, where he was born, March 25, 1609. He publiſhed a Latin commentary upon Cicero in *Somnium Scipionis* at Rome 1575; and all the works of *Gregory Thaumaturgus, Ephrem Syrus*, and ſome pieces of John Chryſoſto Theodoret, with Latin verſions and notes *.

* Idem ibid.

was entertained there with great humanity and friendſhip by ſome of the chief heads of colleges, and created L L. D. September 6th that year. Oxford being thus made very agreeable to him, he continued in that univerſity in the proſecution of his ſtudies; and in 1673 he printed there, in octavo, a piece intituled *De poematum cantu & viribus Rythmis*, in which there are ſome very curious remarks. The ſame year King Charles II. collated him to a canonry at Windſor, and aſſigned him lodgings in the caſtle (*b*). In 1677 he invited his nephew Mr Francis Du Jon [*C*], then at Oxford, to live with him as a companion at Windſor, where he continued to proſecute his ſtudies with his uſual intenſeneſs, the fruits of which appeared in ſeveral other pieces, printed before he was ſeized with his laſt illneſs. While he lay upon his death-bed, Dr Haſcard Dean of Windſor, with one of the canons, in a viſit, preſſed him to receive the ſacrament, but could not prevail, though they begged of him at laſt, that if he would not do it for the love of God, he would at leaſt do it for the honour of the chapter: but he replied, *I wiſh you would inſtruct me how to oblige the farmers to pay me what they owe me; this is what I would have you do for me at preſent.* This reply ſhews, however, that he was not apprehenſive how near he was to a ſtate of incapacity of receiving thoſe debts. Such ſort of replies are ſaid to have been common with him; and that once when a brother of his mother was ſick, and a miniſter was for giving him the communion, he oppoſed it, ſaying, *This is a pretty cuſtom enough for ſinners; but my uncle, far enough from being a ſinner, is a man without vices* (*c*). In this ſtate of religious incredulity he was carried into the next world, Feb. 10, 1688 *(d)*. He left behind him the beſt private library, as it was then ſuppoſed, in the world; which, to the ſhame

(*b*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. col. 183.

(*c*) Des Maizeaux, in the Life of St Evremond.

(d) Niceron.

[C] *Francis Du Jon.*] This learned author, who is better known by the name of *Francis Junius*, was deſcended from a noble family (8), and the ſon of the famous theologiſt *Francis Junius*, by Joan his third wife, daughter of *Simon de l'Hermite*. He had his birth at Heidelberg in Germany, *anno* 1589, and was educated in puerile learning at Leyden in Holland. After his father's death, in 1602, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the mathematics, with a deſign to enter into the army of the Prince of Orange; but the wars wherein that Prince was engaged being ended in a truce for twelve years, in 1609, Junius took a different reſolution, and turning his thoughts to the ſtudy of ſacred letters, he collected, digeſted, and publiſhed ſome of his father's writings. He went afterwards to France, and thence, in 1620, croſſed the ſea to England, where, for his great learning and ſweet temper, he became grateful to learned and good men, and was taken into the family of the Earl of Arundel, as his librarian, wherein he continued about thirty years; in which time, and for about ten years after, he made ſeveral excurſions (9) to Oxford, for the advantage of the Bodleian and other libraries, and converſation with the literati there. At the ſame time he kept a literary correſpondence with Hugo Grotius, Claud. Salmaſius, Gerard John Voſſius (10), who had married his ſiſter, Dr James Uſher, Archbiſhop of Armagh, and other learned men of that time. After he had been ſettled ſome time in England, he found in ſeveral libraries, eſpecially in thoſe of Bodley and Cotton, divers Saxon books of great antiquity, which being obſerved by him to be here neglected, he began to ſtudy that language, to which he was the more induced, as the knowledge of it would add much to the finding out the original of the Belgic (which was in a manner natural to him) the German, and Engliſh tongues. To the Saxon he added a competent knowledge of ſome northern tongues, as the Gothic, Francic, Cimbric or Runic, and Friſic. After he had ſpent thirty years in England, he took a journey into Weſt Frieſen, or to ſome towns in the weſt part of Friſic, as Worcom, Staveren, Malqueram, whoſe inhabitants uſed the antient and intaminated Friſic language, which is of great affinity with the Engliſh-Saxon. Here ſpending about two years, he returned into Holland, where he procured the moſt antient Gothic book called *The ſilver book*, becauſe the four Evangeliſts are therein deſcribed in ſilver Gothic letters (11). In Holland he was viſited by *Colomeſius*, who obſerves, that though he was then about fourſcore years of age, yet was he ſtill very vigorous, that he ſtudied thirteen or fourteen hours every day. In 1674 he returned to England, in order to peruſe ſuch Engliſh-Saxon books which he had not yet done, eſpecially thoſe in the Cottonian library and elſewhere, and in October 1676 he retired to Oxford, where he continued till Auguſt 1677, when he went, upon the earneſt invitation of his nephew Dr Iſaac Voſſius (as above-mentioned) to Windſor, purpoſely to end his days there, in which reſolution he gave his manuſcripts and collections to the public library, where he had ſpent ſo much time; and intending to have his bones laid in ſome church or chapel in Oxford, took lodgings in a houſe oppoſite to Lincoln college, for the ſake of Dr Maſhal, Rector of that college, whom he had formerly inſtructed in the Gothic and Saxon languages. Afterwards he intended to put ſome of his notes and collections in order; and being diſturbed by frequent viſits, he removed to an obſcure houſe in Beef-hall-lane in St Ebbe's pariſh, where he digeſted ſome notes and collections for the preſs, and made a deed of gift of ſuch manuſcripts as were of his own compoſition to the Bodleian library (12). In Auguſt 1677 he went, as above related, upon the earneſt invitation of his nephew Dr Iſaac Voſſius, to Windſor, where he continued ſome time in good health and chearfulneſs, till he was ſeized with a fever, which carried him off November 19 that year, whereupon he was buried in St George's chapel in that caſtle, where the following year a table of white marble was fixed to the wall near his grave, with the following inſcription:

M. S.

Franciſco Junio, Franciſci Junii Biturigis filio, nobilitate generis, integritate morum, et omnigena doctrina conſpicuo viro: nato Heidelbergæ anno Salutis MDLXXXIX. Qui per omnem ætatem ſine querela aut injuria cujuſquam Muſis tantum et Sibi vacavit. Univerſitas Oxonienſis, cui ſcripta et monumenta laboris ſui moriens pene nonagenarius commiſit, in grati animi ſignificationem lubens meritoque titulum poſuit an. MDCLXXVIII.

He publiſhed, 1. A piece intituled, *De pictura veterum, lib.* 3. Amſtelod. 1637, 4to. which he turned into Engliſh, and publiſhed in 1638, 4to. with a dedication to the Earl of Arundel's lady, daughter of Gilbert Earl of Surrey. The laſt edition was printed at Rotterdam, in folio, 1694, with ſo many amendments and additions, that it may in a manner be called a new thing. To which is added of our author's fabric, *Catalogus architectorum, mechanicorum, ſed præcipue pictorum, cælatorum, tournatorum aliorumque artificum & operum quæ fecerant.* This edition was printed by *Joh. Georg. Græviuſ* of Utrecht, in an excellent character, and upon a good paper, with the author's life and his picture prefixed; who obſerves, that there is a great deal of admirable learning and moſt exact criticiſms in this book. 2. *Obſervationes in Willerami Francicam paraphraſin Cantici Canticorum*, Amſt. 1655, 8vo. 3. *Gloſſarium Gothicum*, &c. already mentioned. 4. *Etymologicon Anglicanum*, was publiſhed by Edward Lye A. M. Vicar of Little Houghton in Northamptonſhire, with large additions from our author's other manuſcripts, as alſo from Dr Hickes, Skinner, *&c.* to which is likewiſe added the life of Junius, more correct than that by Grævius.

(8) His great grandfather Will. du Jon, was Ld of Bouffaniere, and his maternal grandfather was Lord of Bentiſapt. Bayle.

(9) At leaſt eight times, the laſt of which was in 1658 and 1659.

(10) There are eighteen letters of his, dated from 1608 to 1637, in *Gerardi Voſſii & clarorum virorum ad eum epiſtolæ*, &c.

(11) He publiſhed this in 1665, 4to. to which he added the obſervations of Dr Tho. Marſhal. See ſome account of this Doctor in Abp Uſher's article, remark [*NN*], p. 4076, in Vol. VI. 1ſt part.

(12) A catalogue of them making in number 24, may be ſeen in Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 603, 604.

and reproach of England, was ſuffered to be purchaſed and carried away by the univerſity of Leyden (*e*).

As to his character, he was certainly a man of a very ſingular caſt. It has been often obſerved, that the human mind is endued with a ſuſceptibility of contrary qualities; Iſaac Voſſius was a notorious inſtance of the truth of that obſervation. King Charles II. who knew his nature and character well, uſed to call him the ſtrangeſt man in the world; for there is nothing his Majeſty would ſay which he refuſes to believe, except the Bible. St Evremond, who uſed to ſpend the ſummer ſeaſon with the court at Windſor, there often ſaw Voſſius, and gives the following deſcription of him: ‘ Voſſius (ſays he) underſtood almoſt all the languages in Europe, without being able to ſpeak one of them well: he knew to the very bottom the genius and cuſtoms of antiquity, yet was an utter ſtranger to the manners of his own times: he expreſſed himſelf in converſation as a man would have done in a commentary upon Juvenal or Petronius: he publiſhed books to prove that the Septuagint verſion was divinely inſpired, yet diſcovered in private converſation that he believed no revelation at all; and his manner of dying, which was far from being exemplary, ſhewed that he did not; and yet, to ſee the frailty of the human underſtanding, he was in other reſpects the weakeſt and moſt credulous man alive, ready to ſwallow, without chewing, any extraordinary and wonderful thing, though never ſo fabulous and impoſſible (*f*).’ A glaring inſtance of this credulity is related by Mr *Renaudot*, who tells us (*g*), that Voſſius having had frequent conferences with Father Martini, during that Jeſuit's reſidence in Holland to print his *Atlas Chinois*, made no ſcruple of believing all told him concerning the wonderful things in China; and that he did not ſtop where Martini ſtopped, but proceeded further, even to infer as a certain fact the antiquity of the Chineſe accounts above that of the books of Moſes (*h*). Our author's character is juſtly exhibited by a critic of our own country, in a ſketch drawn in very elegant Latin: *Erant in Voſſio*, ſays he, *multæ literæ, ingenium excellens, judicium etiamſi non maximum at tantum quantum ei ſatis ſuperque fuit; qui niſi omnia me fallunt, quid in quaque re verum eſſet, leviter curavit perſpicere. Satis habuit nova, devia, mirabilia, in critica, in philoſophia, in theologia, quærere & excogitare; vera anne falſa eſſent, id vero aliis exquirendum reliquit, qui ſua iſtuc intereſſe exiſtimarent* (*i*). Thus Engliſhed: ‘ Voſſius was a man of great learning, had excellent parts, and judgment alſo, if not the greateſt, yet what was more than ſufficient for his taſte; who, if I am not much deceived, never troubled his head about what was the truth in any queſtion whatſoever, whether criticiſm, or philoſophy, or theology, were the ſubject; it was quite enough for him to caſt about for and invent things new, out of the way, wonderful; but whether theſe ſtrange and newly diſcovered things were true or falſe, was a point, which he left to be executed by thoſe who might think it worth their while.’

To this I ſhall add, as a proper concluſion, an extract from the *Memoirs de Trevoux* (*k*), where the different natures of Gerard and Iſaac Voſſius are contraſted, by drawing a parallel between them, which very well illuſtrates the character of each. ‘ Nothing (ſay thoſe journaliſts) can be more oppoſite than the characters of this father and ſon, nothing more different than the frame of their underſtandings. In the father, judgment prevails; in the ſon, imagination: the father labours ſlowly, the ſon goes on with eaſe: the father diſtruſts the beſt founded conjectures; the ſon loves nothing but conjectures, and thoſe bold and daring: the father forms his opinions upon what he reads; the ſon conceives an opinion, and then reads: the father endeavours to penetrate the ſenſe of the authors he cites, and pays a proper deference to their authority, as to maſters; the ſon impoſes his own ſenſe on theſe authors, and regards them as ſlaves, who ought to give teſtimony as he would have them: the father's aim was to inſtruct, the ſon's to parade and make a noiſe; truth was the father's darling object, novelty the ſon's: in the father we admire vaſt erudition, orderly arranged and clearly expreſſed; in the ſon a dazzling turn of ſtyle, ſingular thoughts, and a vivacity which even pleaſes in a bad cauſe: the father has written good books, the ſon has written curious books [*D*]. Their hearts

‘ alſo

(*e*) Niceron.

(*f*) Des Maizeaux Life of St Evremond, 4th edit. in French, 1726, p. 234.

(*g*) Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine, p. 395.

(*h*) Shaftſbury is thought to point to him in his Characteriſt. Vol. I. p. 345.

(*i*) Thirlbii Dedic. ad edit. Juſt. Mart. Lond. 1723, fol.

(*k*) Pour Januier, 1713, p. 185.

[*D*] *The ſon hath written curious books.*] This appears from the following account of them. His firſt publication was *Periplus Scylacis Caryandenſis & anonymi Periplus, ponti Euxini, Græce & Latine, cum notis*, Amſt. 1639, 4to. This is inſerted in the new augmented edition which James Gronovius gave of theſe authors, under the title of *Geographia antiqua*, Leydæ 1697, 4to. 2. *Juſtini hiſtoria, cum notis*, Leydæ 1640, 12mo. 3. *Ignatii epiſtolæ & Barnabæ epiſtola, Gr. & Lat.* Amſt. 1646, 4to. He was the firſt who publiſhed the genuine epiſtles of Ignatius, and he did it from a Greek manuſcript in the Florentine library, which was found to agree exactly with the antient *Latin verſion* publiſhed two years before by Archbiſhop Uſher. His notes have been inſerted in Le Clerc's edition of the *Patres apoſtolici*. 4. *Pomponius Mela de ſitu orbis, cum obſervationibus*, Hagæ Com. 1658, 4to. Salmaſius is much abuſed in theſe notes. 5. *Diſſertatio de vera ætate mundi*, &c. ibid. 1659, 4to. This diſſertation, in which it is attempted to eſtabliſh the chronology of the Septuagint upon the ruin of that of the Hebrew text, was attacked by many authors, and particularly by *Hornius*, to whom Voſſius replied in, 6. *Caſtigationes ad ſcriptum Hornii de ætate mundi*, ibid. 1659, 4to. Hornius wrote a defence the ſame year; to which Voſſius replied the ſame year in, 7. *Auctarium caſtigationum*, &c. Hornius publiſhed another piece ſtill the ſame year; and then Father Pezron maintained Voſſius's opinion in *L'antiquité de temps retablie*. 8. *De Septuaginta Interpretibus eorumque tranſlatione & chronologia diſſertationes*, 1661. 9. *Appendix ad hunc librum, ſeu reſponſiones ad objecta variorum theologorum*, 1663, 4to. His three next publications, *viz.* 10. *De luce*, 11. *De motu marium & ventorum*, 12. *De Nili & aliorum fluminum origine* (13), are of little conſequence. 13. *De poematum cantu*, &c. Oxon. already mentioned. 14. *De Sybillinis aliiſque, quæ Chriſti natalem præceſſere oraculis*,

(13) This was reprinted in *Variarum obſervationum liber Catullus, & in eum Iſaaci Voſſii obſervationes.*

‘ alſo were as unlike and different as their heads. The father was a man of probity, and regular in his manners, was unhappily born a Calviniſt, yet had the ſervice of his religion always in his view, diſcovered many of its errors, and approached as nearly to the true faith as mere reaſon could enable him: the ſon was a libertine both in principle and practice, made religion the object of his inſults, and only ſtudied to find out the weak ſides of it; his obſcene and ſhameful notes on Catullus, printed at the cloſe of his life, ſhew alſo plainly enough what kind of man he was.’

culis, ibid. 1679. There is a great deal of erudition as well as a great deal of obſcenity in theſe notes of Voſſius. The greateſt part of a treatiſe by Adrian Beverland *De proſtibilis veterum*, the printing of which had been prohibited, was inſerted in them; which being known, the preſs was ſtopped, and the edition, though begun and carried on in Holland, was brought to England to be finiſhed, as may appear from the different character of types at the end, the title, and the preface. 15. *Variarum obſervationum liber*, containing *De antiquæ Romæ, & aliarum quarundam urbium magnitudine, De artibus & ſcientiis Sinarum, De origine & progreſſu pulveris bellici apud Europæos, De triremium & liburnicarum conſtructione, De emendatione longitudinum, De patefacienda per Septentrionem ad Japanenſes & Indos navigatione, De apparentibus in Luna circulis, Diurna telluris convergie omnia gravia ad medium tendere*; to which are ſubjoined, *De Sybillinis oraculis, Reſponſio ad objecta nuperæ criticæ ſacræ & ad iteras P. Simonii objectiones altera reſponſio.* Voſſius's propenſity to the marvellous, and his prejudices for antiquity, appear from the firſt page of this book of various obſervations: where he tells us, that *antient Rome* was twenty times as big as Paris and London put together are at preſent, and aſſigns it fourteen millions of inhabitants: which, however, is nothing in compariſon of the ſingle town of *Hanchon* in *China*, whoſe inhabitants, he aſſures, amount to twenty millions, beſides the ſuburbs. We may ſay of this *Variarum obſervationum liber*, as we may of Iſaac Voſſius's works in general, that they all ſhew ingenuity, and that there are in them ſome ſingular and ſtriking obſervations; but that yet very little knowledge is to be drawn from, and very little uſe to be made of them. 16. *Obſervationum ad Pomponium Melam appendix: accedit ad tertias P. Simonii objectiones reſponſio*, &c. Lond. 1686, 4to. James Gronovius having uſed Voſſius ill, in his edition of *Mela*, at Leyden 1685, is in this appendix paid in kind. Humphry Hody is alſo anſwered, in a ſhort piece contained in this publication, who had advanced ſomething againſt Voſſius's notions of the Septuagint verſion, in his *Diſſertatio contra hiſtoriam Ariſteæ de ſeptuaginta interpretibus*, printed at Oxford 1685 (14).

(14) *N. B.* All the remarks upon Voſſius's works are Niceron's.

W.

WALSH [William], Some notice hath been occaſionally dropped of this gentleman, during the courſe of the work, under Mr Pope's article, enough to excite a curioſity to know ſomewhat more of him, which therefore becomes the proper buſineſs of the Supplement. This excellent critic was the ſon of Joſeph Walſh of Aberley, in Worceſterſhire, Eſq; where he had his birth about the year 1663. After a ſuitable education at ſchool, he was ſent to Wadham college, Oxford, and admitted a gentleman commoner in 1678, at the age of fifteen (*a*). But leaving the univerſity (as the uſual cuſtom for ſtudents of his rank there) without taking a degree, he returned to his native country for the preſent, and ſome time after went to London for further improvement in his ſtudies and accompliſhments in the polite world. Among others he became early acquainted with Mr Dryden, who appeared his friend and advocate in prefixing a preface to a piece of his, intituled, *A dialogue concerning women, being a defence of the ſex*; which he publiſhed in 1691, 8vo. it is inſcribed to *Eugenia*, probably a feigned name for his miſtreſs. This being well received, he employed the preſs next year by a miſcellaneous work, under the title of *Letters and poems amorous and gallant*, edit. 1692, 8vo. Upon Mr Pope's firſt entrance into the poetical band, he engaged the particular attention and regard of Mr Walſh, who took the new fledged bard under his wing, and conducted him to that ſprig of the muſes bay-tree which lay open to his hand, and which would moſt diſtinguiſh his brows. That genius took the hint, and purſuing it, became thereby the moſt muſically raviſhing poet of his time, a ſpecimen of which he preſented to this patron in 1705 [*A*], who was appointed gentleman of the horſe to Queen Ann, but did not live to enjoy that honourable poſt many years, during which he continued to divert himſelf with writing ſeveral ſmall pieces of poetry, ſuch as elegies, epitaphs, odes, and ſongs, till his death, which happened in 1708 (*b*). As to the character of his genius, we have already ſeen the cenſure upon it by Mr Warton (*c*), poetry profeſſor at Oxford. Mr Dryden, however, in the poſtſcript to his tranſlation of Virgil, maintains him to have been the beſt critic then living. But his full merit is conſecrated to the lateſt poſterity by Mr Pope [*B*].

(*a*) Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 110. Pope places his birth in 1659. His works vol. vii. p. 53. 12mo.

(*b*) A collection of his pieces were publiſhed in the works of the minor poets in 1749.

(*c*) In Mr Pope's article.

[*A*] *Pope preſented a ſpecimen to this patron.*] The preſent was his paſtorals, which indeed are generally cenſured for being wrote in too courtly a ſtile: but it is worth obſerving, that Mr Walſh wrote *An eſſay on paſtoral poetry*, with a ſhort defence of Virgil againſt ſome reflections of Mr Fontenelle. That critic had cenſured Virgil for writing paſtorals in too courtly a ſtile, which he obſerves is not proper for the Doric muſe. Mr Walſh oppoſed to this, that the ſhepherds in Virgil's time were held in greater eſteem, and were perſons of a much ſuperior figure to what they are now.

[*B*] *Pope has conſecrated his fame,* &c.) It is in his Eſſay on Criticiſm, v. 719, *et ſeq.*

'Yet ſome there are among the ſounder few
'Of thoſe who leſs preſum'd, and better knew;
'Who durſt aſſert the juſter ancient cauſe,
'And here reſtor'd Wit's fundamental laws.

'* * * * * * *

'Such late was Walſh, the muſe's judge and friend,
'Who juſtly knew to blame or to commend;
'To failings mild, but zealous for deſert;
'The cleareſt head, and the ſincereſt heart.
'This humble praiſe, lamented ſhade, receive;
'This praiſe at leaſt a grateful muſe may give:
'The muſe whoſe early voice you taught to ſing,
'Preſcrib'd her heights, and prun'd her tender wing.
'Her guide now loſt——'

WHARTON [Philip], Duke of Wharton. A nobleman as of prime quality, ſo of parts and capacity equal thereto, but embaſed with ſuch an alloy of extravagancies as brought him into an unexampled train of misfortunes and miſeries. He was born in the cloſe of the laſt century, being the ſon of the Marquis of Wharton [*A*], well known in the Engliſh annals. He was educated under the direction of his father, and paſſed through his rudi-

This article is taken from the Memoirs of the life of his Grace Philip, Duke of Wharton, *by an impartial hand*, Lond. 1731, 8vo.

[*A*] *Marquis of Wharton.*] The firſt Peer of the family was Sir Thomas Wharton, who being warden of the marches in England, in the 34th of Henry VIII. oppoſed an army of 15000 Scots, with a body of men ſcarce 500, and defeated them in the County of Cumberland, where the chief nobility of Scotland were either killed or taken priſoners. For this ſervice he was ſummoned to the Houſe of Peers, and in the ſucceeding reign, for other ſuch actions, he had granted for one of his ſupporters, a lion *en filet*, or a lion taken in toils, alluding to his victories over the Scots, the lion being the arms of that kingdom. No other honours being decreed this family until thoſe conferred on our Duke's father, and there being no iſſue left of the Duke, the titles of Viſcount, Earl, Marquis, and Duke are extinct, and that of Baron only remains to a collateral branch.

ments and riper exerciſes under his own tutors at home; and as his parts were found to be extraordinary, his father thought of nothing more than how to improve them, which part he anſwered ſo well, that by the time he had arrived at the age of thirteen or fourteen, the Earl conceived the greateſt expectations of him. He ſaw him advanced in knowledge above his years; that he was endowed with a penetrating judgment, and a briſk and ſparkling wit, which diſcovered itſelf in many ſurprizing and peculiar turns upon all occaſions; but the ſtrength of his memory was yet more prodigious; he had the beſt part of *Virgil*, and his more beloved *Horace*, by heart, and moreover could run through the moſt remarkable facts in the Grecian, Roman, and Engliſh hiſtory, with the lives and actions of the moſt celebrated men in the different ages of the world, in an amazing manner [*B*]. What might not have been expected from all theſe advantages? A youth of illuſtrious birth, yet rendered more illuſtrious by his fine parts and qualities, and thoſe improved by a choice and uncommon education! One would have imagined that the genius of our country had raiſed up ſo exalted a character purely to do honour and ſervice to the Britiſh nation. What pity it is, that our noble youth fell ſo exceedingly ſhort of thoſe promiſing hopes, which he had ſo juſtly raiſed in every Britiſh boſom! and that it may with ſo much truth be ſaid, That there never appeared in any gentleman ſo much good wit, with ſo little true diſcretion! What we may juſtly reckon the leading card to all his misfortunes, was his falling in love with and privately marrying a young lady, the daughter of Major General *Holmes*; a match no way ſuitable to his birth, fortune, and character, and far leſs to the great views which his father had of diſpoſing of him in ſuch a marriage as would have added ſtill more ſhining circumſtances to his illuſtrious family. It muſt be confeſſed, that the lady was deſerving of much more happineſs than ſhe found in this unfortunate alliance; and the young Lord was not ſo unhappy from her conduct, as by the loſs of his father, which this precipitate ſtep was thought to haſten: he took it ſo to heart, that he ſurvived this fatal marriage about ſix weeks only, dying on the 12th of April 1715 (*a*). In the beginning of the ſubſequent year 1716, about the ſeventeenth year of his age, the Marquis ſet out upon his travels under the government of a *French* Hugonot, and as he was deſigned to be educated in the Genevian principles, that town was thought a proper place to have them inculcated into him (*b*). On his leaving England, he took the rout of Holland, and viſited ſeveral little courts of Germany, as well as ſome of the larger, and *Hanover* in particular [*C*]. His Lordſhip was now poſſeſſed of the family eſtate as much as a minor may be ſaid to be, but as it was burthened with defects, his truſtees limited his expences, at leaſt they made him only moderate remittances; but as his Lordſhip was always averſe to the caſting up accounts, he found ſome difficulties to ſupport himſelf in his way of living; however, good premiums and large intereſt eaſed him of thoſe inconveniencies from time to time, till he was forced to part with good acres and large manors, as is too much the cuſtom of young heirs, in order to ſupport their exceſſes: however, his free manner of life, and an education rather polite than learned, with a ready turn of wit which he was maſter of, did not fail of procuring him many admirers, even before he arrived at maturity.

(*a*) The Marchioneſs alſo to whom it was very affecting, died the year after.

(*b*) Our univerſities at home, eſpecially Oxford, was remarkably diſloyal at this time. Gen. Hiſt. of England.

A perſon of the Marquis's rank and figure could not be indifferent to party. The world generally expected that he would adhere to his father's meaſures, who was one of the firſt Engliſhmen that joined the Prince of Orange, afterwards King William III. and was all his life a famous ſtickler on the ſide of the Revolution and Hanover ſucceſſion. But whatever motives influenced the young Marquis of Wharton, he thought fit to take a quite contrary turn. Being arrived at *Geneva*, he took ſo much diſguſt at the ſevere dry moral precepts of his governor, and the reſtraints endeavoured to be laid upon him, as well as the over-ſtrict diſcipline of the place, as he thought, that he ſoon found means to rid himſelf of all theſe incumbrances. Like a torrent long with-held he broke looſe at once, and entered into engagements that, together with the natural impetuoſity of his temper, laid him under ſuch inconveniencies as affected his whole future life with unhappineſs. He left his governor at Geneva, and as if he had been flying from an infection, ſet out poſt for Lyons, where he arrived the 13th of October 1716, and from thence took the unaccountable turn to write a letter to the Chevalier *de St. George*, then reſiding at Avignon, to whom he preſented a very fine ſtone-horſe. The Chevalier hereupon ſent a man of quality to the Marquis, who privately brought him to his court, where he received him with great marks of eſteem, and conferred upon him the title of the *Duke of Northumberland*. He ſtaid there but one day, and then returning poſt to Lyons, ſet out from thence for Paris, where he arrived the 27th of the ſame month; and the Queen

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[*B*] *In an amazing manner.*] His father's care was to form him a complete orator, for which end he had at times ſome of the principal parts of the beſt Engliſh tragedies given him to ſtudy, particularly thoſe of the inimitable Shakeſpear; theſe he accuſtomed him to ſpeak before a private audience; and now and then his father gave him ſpeeches that had been ſpoken in the Houſe of Lords, which he got by heart, and delivered with all the graces of action and elocution, and with ſo much propriety of expreſſion and ſuitable energy of voice and pronunciation, as ſhewed him in a manner born for this arduous province; and the excellence of theſe performances was ſtill heightned by the beauty and comelineſs of his perſon.

[*C*] *Hanover in particular.*] In every court through which he paſſed he was ſhewn all the honours due to his name and quality, particularly at one of them he received the honour of Knighthood, and ſeemed then ſo pleaſed with it, that he wore the badge of the order on all occaſions, till ſome perſons who thought it a diminution of honour to one of his quality, laughed him out of it.

Dowager

Dowager of England, conſort of King James II. being then living, and reſiding at St. Germains, he purſued the raſh ſcheme he had entered into at Lyons and Avignon, and paid his devoirs there to that Princeſs. During his ſtay at Paris he gained the eſteem of the Britiſh ſubjects that happened to be abroad of both parties; and the Ambaſſador Lord Stairs, notwithſtanding all the reports to his diſadvantage, willing to believe he was not yet paſt hopes of a recovery, took him by the hand, made him frequent invitations to his table, and uſed him with diſtinguiſhing civility; but then he would take occaſion to give him admonitions, which did not always prove agreeable to the briſkneſs of his temper [*D*]. He left Paris about the latter end of December 1716, and arrived in England; after which he ſet out for Ireland, where, on the ſcore of his extraordinary qualities, he had the honour done him of being admitted, though under age, to take his ſeat in the Houſe of Lords of that kingdom (*c*). And here we ſhall view him making a quite different figure, and appearing in a quite different intereſt than that which he had ſo lately aſſumed and eſpouſed; he diſtinguiſhed himſelf a violent partizan for the miniſtry, and acted in all other reſpects, as well in his private character as in his public capacity, with the warmeſt zeal imaginable for the intereſt of the government. The ſpeeches which he made in that houſe on ſeveral occaſions, were a ſufficient teſtimony of his great abilities, and drew upon him the eyes and admiration of both kingdoms; his arguments were of no ſmall weight on whatever ſide of the queſtion he happened to fall; and whatever was his behaviour out of the Houſe, no nobleman, either in that Houſe or in the Houſe of Lords of England, ever acquitted himſelf with greater reputation, or behaved with a more becoming dignity, as well with regard to his own character, as to the decorum proper to be obſerved in all auguſt aſſemblies. This merit, added to that of his family, procured him a new title; he was created a Duke by the title of Duke of Wharton, in the county of Weſtmoreland (*d*) [*E*]. When the Duke (as we muſt now call him) came of age, he was introduced into the Houſe of Lords in England, and with the like hopeful expectations, which he fully anſwered for a while; but a little before the time of the death of the Lord Stanhope, he changed ſides again, went into an oppoſition to the court, ran counter to all the ſchemes of the miniſtry, and particularly appeared one of the moſt forward and vigorous in the defence of Dr Atterbury, then Biſhop of Rocheſter, againſt the bill inflicting pains and penalties on that prelate in 1723 [*F*]; in virtue of which he appeared at all meetings, alarmed all ſocieties, and voted in his own right on all occaſions. Nor was this ſpirit of oppoſition confined to the Houſe of Lords; he puſhed himſelf into the metropolis, and became a member of the Wax-chandlers company: Neither was this ſufficient, he wrote and printed his thoughts twice a week in a paper called *The True Briton* (*e*). The Duke's extravagance had by this time ſo burthened his eſtate, that a decree in Chancery took hold of it, and veſted it in Truſtees hands for the payment of his debts, not without making a proviſion of 1200l. *per Ann.* for his Grace to live on, which being ſuppoſed hardly ſufficient to ſupport the title with ſuitable dignity at home, he propoſed to go abroad for ſome years, till his eſtate ſhould work itſelf out from the incumbrances upon it. His friends were pleaſed at the deſign for his own ſake, and every body looked upon the reſolution as the wiſeſt and moſt prudent meaſure that he could take; but herein the

(*c*) To this he had a right as Earl of Rathfernham and Marquis of Catherlogh.

(*d*) The patent bears date Jan. 18, 1717-18, O. S.

(*e*) Several thouſands of theſe being weekly diſperſed, the Duke was much pleaſed to find the public univerſally admiring his fine ſtile and writing. They were collected and reprinted by his order, with a preface, wherein he expreſſes his reaſons for engaging in an undertaking ſo uncommon in a man of his quality.

[*D*] *Lord Stairs gave him admonitions.*] Once in particular, when the ambaſſador praiſing his father for his merit and rare actions, added, *That he hoped he would follow ſo illuſtrious an example of fidelity to his Prince, and affection to his country, by treading in the ſame ſteps*; the Marquis had the boldneſs to anſwer, *That he thanked his Excellency for his good advice, and as his Excellency had alſo a worthy and deſerving father, he hoped he would likewiſe copy ſo bright an original, and tread in all his ſteps*; the meaning of which is eaſily underſtood. At other times, when at dinner with the ſame miniſter, and amongſt a great company, he has thrown out ſome ſallies of his wit, or rather of his indiſcretion, in ſending more than once a ſervant to one or another to let him know that he drank to him a certain perſon's health, by a name and title that could not be juſtified, even to the rules of decency and good manners in that aſſembly: but the prudent Lord Stairs, in hopes of reclaiming him, paſſed all by as the effects of too lively an imagination.

I ſhall mention here one of his juvenal fancies, though I think it will rather manifeſt the giddineſs of his temper, than either his wit or diſcretion, and indeed was one of the loweſt in his character. It happened a young Engliſh ſurgeon, who came to ſee practice in the hoſpitals of Paris, paſſing by his Excellency's houſe on the 10th of June (the Pretender's reputed birth day) at night, took the liberty to break the Ambaſſador's windows becauſe there was no bonfire before his door. The author was taken and committed to the priſon of Fort l'Evecque. This treatment of the young ſurgeon was reſented by the Marquis, but he ſought for no other ſatisfaction, than to break the Ambaſſador's windows a ſecond time, accordingly propoſed the matter to an Iriſh lieutenant general in the ſervice of France, a gentleman of great honour, and of the firſt reputation for military virtue to aſſiſt therein. The general could not help ſmiling at the oddneſs of the propoſal, but with a great deal of good nature made him this anſwer, *That he adviſed him by all means to give over the enterprize, but that if his Lordſhip was reſolved to execute it, he begged he might be left out of the party, for it was a kind of making war that he had not been accuſtomed to.*

[*E*] *He was created a Duke.*] The concluſion of his patent is very remarkable, after mentioning his father's merits, it proceeds in theſe terms: 'When 'we ſee the ſon of this great man forming himſelf by 'ſo worthy an example, and in every action exhibit'ing a lively reſemblance of his father, when we 'conſider the eloquence which he has exerted with 'ſo much applauſe in the parliament of Ireland, and 'his turn and application even in early youth to the 'ſerious and weighty affairs of the public, we will'ingly decree him honours, which are neither ſupe'rior to his merits, nor earlier than the expectation of 'our good ſubjects.'

[*F*] *His ſpeech in defence of Atterbury.*] The accurate and judicious obſervations which he made upon the trial of that learned prelate, and the manner in which he ſummed up and compared a long and perplexing kind of evidence, together with inimitable judgment and art, may be ſeen in his ſpeech (1), and is a better argument than any I can produce of his great abilities in his legiſlative capacity, as well as of a general knowledge in public buſineſs, whenever his Grace thought fit to apply himſelf thereto.

(1) It is printed at the end of the True Britons, with the memoirs of his life prefixed, vol. ii. 1731, 8vo.

world was deceived; he went abroad out of no ſuch frugal motive; he had reſolved on the contrary to change his religion and enter into the ſervice of the Pretender. Accordingly he went firſt to Vienna, to execute a private commiſſion in that ſervice; at this time there being no good underſtanding between England and Germany, he was well received at the imperial court, and gained great confidence with the miniſters. Almoſt as ſoon as this wandering ſtar diſappeared there, it was ſeen to ſparkle in the Spaniſh hemiſphere. This alarmed the Engliſh miniſter there, and occaſioned two expreſſes from Madrid to London, upon an apprehenſion that his Grace was received there in the character of a miniſter himſelf; in conſequence of which he was ſerved with a privy ſeal to ſummon him home. This ſolemn order he treated with much indignity, and endeavoured to ſtir up the Spaniſh court, not only againſt the perſon that delivered the warrant, but againſt the court of England itſelf, for exerciſing an act of power (as he called it) within the juriſdiction of his Catholic Majeſty's kingdom. After this he acted openly and avowedly in the Pretender's ſervice, and appeared at his court, where he was received with marks of favour.

During his Grace's rambles, *viz.* on the 14th of April 1726, his Ducheſs died in England, without ſurviving iſſue [*G*]. Her death gave the Duke no great diſturbance, on the contrary, it diſincumbered intirely his annuity, and left his perſon free to beſtow as he ſaw occaſion, which he did ſhortly after. He was naturally of an amorous diſpoſition, and ſoon after fell violently in love with a beautiful young lady at the Spaniſh court, who was then maid of honour to the Queen of Spain. She was daughter of an Iriſh colonel in the Spaniſh ſervice, who being dead, her mother lived upon a penſion allowed her by the King, ſo that the perſonal accompliſhments of this lady were all her fortune. Arguments were uſed on both ſides to prevent the marriage, but as on one hand the Duke was ever too much hurried away by his paſſions to have the leaſt conſideration of motives of prudence or conveniency; and Mademoiſel Obern, on the other, being, perhaps, a little dazzled with the luſtre of a Ducal title, there was no preventing an alliance which both parties ſeemed ſo fond of. After the ſolemnization his Grace paſſed ſome time at Rome, where he accepted of a blue ribbon and a garter, and affected to appear with the title of Duke of Northumberland, before conferred on him by the Pretender, and for a while he maintained himſelf in high favour there; but as he could not always keep within the bounds of the Italian gravity, and having no employment to amuſe or divert his temper, he run into his uſual exceſſes, which being taken amiſs there, without actually falling into diſgrace, it was thought adviſeable that he ſhould remove from that court for the preſent. Accordingly his Grace left Rome and the Italian dominions, and came by ſea to Barcelona, and there hearing that the trenches were opening before the town of Gibraltar, he reſolved upon a new ſcene of life, ſuch as few ſuſpected. He wrote a handſome letter to the King of Spain, craving permiſſion to appear at that ſiege as a volunteer, and without waiting an anſwer, he went away to the camp, taking his Ducheſs along with him, and was received there with all the marks of reſpect due to his quality. The Conde de los Torres, who commanded, delivered him an obliging letter from the King his maſter, thanking him for the intended honour of ſerving in his troops, and during that ſiege appointed him his aid-de-camp, by which charge the Duke was to render accounts of the tranſactions to the King himſelf, which obliged him to be often in the trenches, and to expoſe himſelf where any ſervice was going forward. Upon the whole he did his duty as a ſoldier, and paſſed over the ſiege without any accident, except a wound in his foot, which happened by the burſting of a ſhell (*f*). After nothing more was to be done in the camp, his Grace repaired to court, and received the compliments of the principal nobility; and the King, as a mark of favour, gave him a commiſſion of *Colonel Aggregate*, for that was the term of one of the Iriſh regiments, called by name *Hibernia*, commanded by the Marquiſs de Caſtelar. And if he could have reſted in this ſtate of life with any œconomy, he had it in his power to have lived happily enough; but in a little while he was for a new ſcene; he grew weary of Madrid, and ſet his heart upon Rome. His attachments to the Chevalier was without reſerve, and ſurmounted all other conſiderations whatever. He now wrote a letter to him full of reſpect and ſubmiſſion, ſignifying his deſire to come to his court; but that perſon, well enough acquainted with the Duke's weak ſide, returned him an anſwer, in which he let him know that he diſapproved all his meaſures, and mildly reprehended him for appearing in arms againſt his countrymen at Gibraltar, and ſince he had

(*f*) See the iſſue of this ſiege in Gen. Hiſt. of England.

[*G*] *His Ducheſs died without ſurviving iſſue.*] The death of an infant ſon which the Duke had by his lady anno 1719, upon which he had ſeemed to build much hopes, and who if he had lived would perhaps have induced him to have been a good father, and at the ſame time a better huſband to his lady, was one cauſe of his continuing in that licentious courſe to which he had addicted himſelf, and of his uſing his lady more hardly than a man of his innate good nature and good ſenſe would probably otherwiſe have done. About the time laſt mentioned, upon his leaving the country to come to town, he expreſly ordered his lady to continue with the infant Marquis of Malmſbury, as he was intitled, in the country, leſt the town ſhould not agree with his health; but ſhe, willing to enjoy as much of her Lord's company as ſhe could, and perhaps apprehending the inconſtancy and gallantry of his diſpoſition, came up to town with the child, who ſoon after was taken ill of the ſmall pox and died. He was ſo moved with the loſs, that imputing the occaſion of it to the poor lady, it was long before he could bear the ſight of her, and it may be eaſily ſuppoſed that this unlucky incident, and his reſentment grounded thereon, could not be attended with happy conſequences for himſelf or his fortune.

made

made this falſe ſtep, he thought it adviſeable for him rather to draw near England, than to think of a journey to Rome, that he might be able to accomodate his private affairs, and take ſome care of his eſtate in that kingdom. The Duke ſeemed to have no other thought than to govern himſelf by this advice. In ſhort, he and his Dutcheſs left Spain, taking the rout of France, attended by two or three ſervants. He arrived at Paris in May 1728, and ſent a letter to Mr Horatio Walpole the Ambaſſador, to let him know that he deſigned him a viſit. The Ambaſſador returned a civil anſwer, that he ſhould be glad to ſee his Grace at his own time, if he intended a public viſit, if a private one, they would agree upon a time that ſhould be moſt convenient; but the Duke declared he would come publickly, which he did the next day. His diſcourſe with this miniſter was according to the uſual gaiety of his temper, and though he ſpoke of going home, it was in ſuch a way as left it uncertain what was his real intention, and at parting told him he was going to dine with the Biſhop of Rocheſter (*g*), as he did accordingly, notwithſtanding it was made felony by the ſame law that ſent that prelate abroad. After a ſhort ſtay at Paris he came to Rouen, in the way, as ſome thought, to England; but there he ſtopped, and there he lived without reflecting on the buſineſs that brought him into France: Nay, he was ſo far from making overtures to the government about his peace, that he did not give himſelf the leaſt trouble about his eſtate or any thing elſe. He had about two quarters of his annuity in hand (the half of 1200l.) when he fixed upon Rouen for his reſidence, where more of his ſervants joined him from Spain. Here he formed his houſhold, and made a calculation in which there ſeemed to be but one miſtake, proportioning his diſburſements not to his fortune but his quality, of which error it was impoſſible to convince him as long as he could tell ten, nay, as long as he had one crown left. With a better œconomy he would have paſſed his time agreeably enough; he got acquainted with, and was extremely well received by, perſons of the firſt diſtinction in the province (*h*), with whom he took the diverſion of hunting three days in the week. But this did not fill up his whole time, and thoſe intervals he ſacrificed to the bottle, and as that prevailed he loſt in proportion his ſprightly humour, and deſcended either to invidious reflections, or inſipid drollery; the next morning, however, generally brought new life, he emerged from a cloud of folly like the ſun from an eclipſe, and ſhone out again with his uſual force and luſtre.

(*g*) The Ambaſſador could not forbear ſmiling at ſo odd a declaration, and aſſured him modeſtly, That if his Grace had ſuch a deſign, there was no occaſion to tell him of it.

(*h*) The Duke d'*Harcourt* was fond of his company, and made him an offer of his ſtately Château on the river Seine, at the times he was in waiting at court.

In the midſt of this gaiety a piece of news arrived which might have given ſome ſmall interruption to another's mirth; this was a bill of indictment preferred againſt Philip Duke of Wharton, for the crime of high treaſon; the fact was appearing in arms before and firing off cannon againſt his Majeſty's town of Gibraltar. During the proceſs before an exigent was awarded in order for an outlawry, two of his Grace's intimate friends made him a viſit by the permiſſion of Sir Robert Walpole, with an aſſurance of his re-eſtabliſhment, and the enjoyment of his eſtate, which then came out 6000l. a year clear, in caſe he would aſk pardon; but he inflexibly refuſed to make any ſubmiſſion, or write any letter; he would only accept of a pardon, he ſaid, or a *ſuperſedeas* of the proceedings againſt him, in order to enjoy his eſtate in a private life. The gentlemen ſhewed by good arguments, that it was quite out of form and out of cuſtom for the King to grant what was never aſked or deſired; they begged him to permit but his valet de chambre to write in his name to the miniſter; this he alſo denied, and in ſhort would not treat, if it may be ſo called, in any way ſoever, ſo that after about ten days ſtay, they returned without ſucceſs to England [*H*], and the Duke to ſhut the door of mercy againſt himſelf, wrote that memorable paper which he contrived to get printed in *Miſt's Journal*, and which, though made a *Perſian Tale*, was found in conſtruction a libel of the firſt magnitude. Though the Duke was in a way of being degraded of his title in England, yet ſome certain marks of nobility began to appear more and more every day at Rouen, till he became overloaded with ſuch ſort of honours, and was attended every morning with a conſiderable levee made up of his butcher, poulterer, baker, wine and brandy merchants, &c. the Dutcheſs had alſo her milliner, mantua-maker, tire-woman, &c. The Duke received their compliments with an air ſuitable to his quality, till they grew too importunate, and then ſet out for Paris, leaving his horſes and equipage to be ſold, and the money to be appropriated as there was found occaſion. He had before this thrown himſelf at the feet of the *Chevalier de St George*, as the only poſſible reſource he had left; and no ſooner had he ſent away the letter, but as if it had been a bill of credit ſent only for acceptance, his heart was as chearful and gay as it had ever been in his moſt proſperous fortune, ſo that it may be ſaid with truth, that he was the merrieſt undone man in Europe. The poverty of his circumſtances proved a fund of inexhauſtible humour; an empty bottle was the ſubject of many a dry joke, and the want of a dinner ſeemed to whet more his wit than his ſtomach. He ſet out from Rouen to Paris in a *voiture*, that has a near reſemblance to a

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[*H*] *They returned without ſucceſs.*] One of the gentlemen before he embarked at Dieppe, incloſed in one of his own a letter which he had juſt received from the truſtees of his eſtate, addreſſed to the Duke; the contents were, *That they*, the truſtees, *were tied up from remitting him any more money on account of his annuity, by the indictment lately found againſt his Grace, and therefore adviſed him to uſe his endeavours to get the proceedings ſtopped.* This was bad news indeed! he had now a woeful proſpect before his eyes, his money waſted, all future ſuccour cut off, a large family to ſtarve with, and no hopes of any aſſiſtance or relief.

Graveſend tilt-boat, which going all night ſaved the expence of a ſupper and lodging; and a dram of brandy in the morning ſatisfied his appetite by taking it away.

At Paris the Duke, after making a conſiderable reform in his houſhold affairs, placed himſelf in a private family, and the Dutcheſs went to a relation's at St Germain's. He laid down ſome excellent rules for the government of himſelf, but no ſooner were his neceſſities ſupplied, than he began to relapſe by little and little into a courſe of extravagancy worſe if poſſible than ever, ſo that he laviſhed away in a few months about 2000l. ſterling, of the money that was ſent him probably from Rome [*I*]. Of all things in the world the Duke was the leaſt ſollicitous about the dreſs of his perſon; he had worn for ſome time his old Spaniſh regimental ſuit, even when he kept his coach, and had once more a train of ſervants; however, he now got a ſuit by the following accident: In his viſits he happened to meet with an Iriſh gentleman, who was a Portugal Knight of the order of Chriſt, and he inviting the Duke to grace a feaſt he was to make in honour of that order, took an occaſion to talk to his Grace concerning cloaths, and finding he had made none ſince his laſt coming to Paris, recommended to him to make a black velvet ſuit, that being the dreſs commonly worn at the celebration of this feaſt, and declared he ſhould be much honoured thereby: The Duke, not difficult in the point, promiſed to do it againſt the day, but told him he did not know any taylor to make uſe of; I will ſend you mine, ſays the Knight, he is a very honeſt fellow, and will uſe you well. The Duke agreed, and the cloaths were made, and he appeared brilliant at the feaſt, according to the Portugueſe cuſtom. About a week after the taylor waits upon the Duke with his bill, his Grace aſked what it was for, he anſwered for a black velvet ſuit: *Honeſt man*, ſays he to the taylor, *you miſtake the matter very much; you are to carry the bill to Sir Peter R—— for be pleaſed to know that whenever I put on another man's livery, my maſter always pays for the cloaths*; and Sir Peter was accordingly obliged to pay the bill. Upon an affront from a Scotch Nobleman, he ſent him a challenge to fight him at Valenciennes, and went to Bruſſels for the purpoſe, but the affair was compromiſed by Marſhal Bawick, and the Duke returned to Paris, where he entered into a convent in 1729. Here he was looked upon for a devotee; he talked ſo well upon all points of religion, that the poor fathers beheld him with admiration, and found in him ſuch lively tokens of repentance, and ſo thorough a converſion of manners, that they imputed the change to an immediate act of providence, and valued the bleſſing accordingly. But the jewel was too precious for them to retain; he tumbled again into the world, and run headlong into a round of vice, folly, and extragavance as bad as ever; and he was ſo reduced, that he had not one ſingle crown at his command; he was forced to thruſt in with an acquaintance for a lodging; by this means at laſt he procured 500 livres, with which ſtock he and his Dutcheſs, with one ſervant, ſet out for Spain. A long land journey did not ſuit his pocket, ſo he went for Orleans, thence fell down the river Loire to Nantz in Britany, and there he ſtopt till he got a remittance from Paris, which money was brought into the ſame reckoning with that he had lately ſquandered away, and at Nantz he made up his company, that is ſome of his ragged ſervants rejoined him there, and from thence he took ſhipping for Bilboa, as though he had been carrying recruits to his regiment. From Bilboa he wrote a humorous letter to a friend, which, as if he had been a little touched with his late miſconduct, concluded thus:

[*I*] *He laviſhed* 2000*l.*] Money ſeemed to be to him a diſeaſe, which he ever endeavoured to cure himſelf of, and he was as much diſpleaſed that his companions ſhould be troubled with it as himſelf; of this we have one inſtance among many, that will ſerve to delineate ſome part of the character of this great, this unhappy, this unaccountable nobleman. A young Iriſh Lord of his acquaintance, a youth of a ſweet good-natured diſpoſition, being at St Germain's when the Duke was once viſiting his Dutcheſs, his Grace came to him with a face of buſineſs about nine o'clock at night, and tells him, That an *affair of importance* called him to Paris, in which he had no time to loſe, and therefore begged his Lordſhip to lend him his coach? He did it very willingly; but as his Grace was ſtepping into it, he told his friend he ſhould take it as a favour if he would give him his company; as the Duke was alone, the young Lord could not refuſe him, and they went together, and arrived at Paris about twelve at night. His companion ſuppoſed his buſineſs was a private matter, and therefore offered to leave him, and join him again when he had finiſhed it; but his Grace told him it was not neceſſary, and then they went about the important affair in company. The firſt thing to be done was the hiring a coach and ſix horſes, and afterwards to find out the muſic belonging to the opera, ſix or eight of which he engaged at a price agreed on; the young Lord did not perceive the drift of all this till he returned to St Germain's, which was at five next morning, when marching directly with his troop to the caſtle, he ordered them to ſtrike up on the ſtairs; then the Duke's plot broke out into execution, which was no more than to ſerenade ſome young ladies near whoſe apartments they were. This piece of gallantry done, the Duke perſuaded my Lord to go about a league off to Poiſſy, where lived Mr R—— an Engliſh gentleman of their acquaintance; my Lord conſenting, he took with him a couple of trumpets and a pair of kettle-drums to give the muſic a more martial air; but to this the opera muſic at firſt objected, becauſe as they ſhould be wanted that night at their poſts, they muſt forfeit half a louis d'or each for non-appearance; *half a louis d'or*, ſays his Grace, *follow the Duke of Wharton, and all your forfeitures ſhall be paid.* They did ſo, and entered Poiſſy in ſuch a muſical manner that alarmed the whole town, and their friend Mr R—— did not know whether he had beſt keep his houſe or fly; but the Duke making a ſpeech a propos, put an end to all frights and fears, and there the troop was regaled in a very handſome manner. And now the important buſineſs being all over, there was but one thing further needful, namely, to diſcharge the ſcore, as to which the Duke had occaſion to be brief; *My Lord*, ſays he, *I have not one livre in my pocket, therefore I muſt entreat you to pay the fellows, and I will do as much for you when I am able.* The ſaid Lord, with a great deal of good humour, anſwered all demands, amounting to 25 louis d'ors, and ſo the affair ended.

Notwithſtanding what the world may ſay of me,

Be kind to my remains, and O! defend,
Againſt your judgment, your departed friend.

At Bilboa he had neither friends, money, nor credit, more than what the reputation of his Spaniſh commiſſion gave him: Upon the faith and honour of that he left the Dutcheſs and his ſervants there, and went to his regiment, where he was obliged to ſupport himſelf upon the pay of eighteen piſtoles a month, but could get no relief for the poor garriſon he left behind him. The diſtreſs of the Dutcheſs is not to be expreſſed, and what the conſequence might have been is not to be conceived, if her unhappy circumſtances had not reached the compaſſionate ear of another exiled Duke * at Madrid, whoſe bountiful heart is always open to the poor and unfortunate. This nobleman, touched with her caſe, ſent a hundred Spaniſh piſtoles, which freed her from a kind of captivity, and brought her Grace and her attendants to Madrid, where ſhe remained with her mother and grandmother, while the Duke was forced to ſit down and be quiet at his regiment. Here, for want of other employment, he took the advice of a friend, who perſuaded him to give us a new tranſlation of Telemachus. The thought pleaſed, and he ſet about it at the time the indictment was found againſt him, and to do him juſtice, he worked a whole day at it with a vaſt deal of ſatisfaction, but the next morning ſomewhat elſe took place, and no more was heard of it. The ſame year, 1730, promiſed to be a year of buſineſs in the military way. The King of Spain ſeemed to be more in earneſt than his ally to ſettle Don Carlos in Italy, and therefore made proviſion for a conſiderable embarkation of troops. The Duke's baggage was very light and portable, but his rank of colonel, ſetting aſide his quality, required more equipage than he could then command, therefore he wrote a ſhort plain letter to a very near relation in England, noting the condition he was in, and praying for a little ſum of money to enable him to make the enſuing campain. This had all the ſucceſs wiſhed for, and he made no ill uſe of ſo ſeaſonable a token of generoſity. The next unhappy ſtroke that befell the Duke's family, was the death of his wife's mother, by which a penſion was loſt to them from the crown of Spain; but this was fortunately ſupplied by the intereſt of a certain Duke, who procured the Dutcheſs's two ſiſters to be minuted down for maids of honour to the Queen of Spain, whenever vacancies ſhould happen, and to enter immediately on the appointments of the ſaid places. As to the Duke, he lived now in the moſt regular way that perhaps he had ever done in his life, and indeed conſidering how near he was drawing to the verge of it, it was full time. As has been ſaid, we heard no more of Telemachus, but he applied himſelf to the writing of a tragedy upon the ſtory of Mary Queen of Scots, and had actually worked ſome ſcenes of it, but a decay of nature hindered him from purſuing it. At the beginning of this year 1731, he declined ſo faſt, being in his quarters at Lerida, that he had not the uſe of his limbs ſo as to walk from his bed to his fire-ſide without aſſiſtance, and his ſtomach became ſo weak, that broth, with the yelks of eggs beat up in it, was all his ſuſtenance; however, he was free from pain, and did not loſe all his gaiety, not that he was inſenſible of his condition, for in his more eſtabliſhed health two or three years before, he uſed often to remark that his life would not be of a long duration. Unhappy man! that had not the power to make uſe of thoſe fleeting moments for better purpoſes. In the beginning of the year 1728, he had a violent fit of ſickneſs in Spain, by which he was reduced to the utmoſt extremity, given over by his phyſicians, and received the laſt rites of the church of Rome; but it pleaſed God to lengthen out his days theſe few years, in which time he had ſeveral ſhocks, as it were forebodings of what was coming on, for he was thought more than once in the laſt agonies, by fits that came ſuddenly upon him. He continued on in his illneſs for two months, when he gained a little ſtrength, and found benefit from a certain mineral water in the mountains of Catalonia; but his conſtitution was not able to recover itſelf. He relapſed in the month of May following at Terragona, where he removed with the regiment, and going to the aboveſaid waters, which he had already experienced, he fell into one of the fits before deſcribed in a ſmall village, and was utterly deſtitute of help, till the charitable fathers of a Bernardine convent brought him to their houſe, and there adminiſtred cordials, which recovered him for the preſent like a dying taper, which glimmers for a while, and at laſt goes out. Here he languiſhed for a week, and then departed in the ſame hoſpitable convent, without one friend or acquaintance to cloſe his eyes. The Fathers gave this account of him in general, that he made a very penitent and chriſtian exit. His diſſolution happened at the age of 32, on the laſt day of May N. S. and he was buried the next day in the ſame poor manner in which they interr their own monks.

All the late Duke has left behind him is a deſerving though a poor diſconſolate widow, who in 1732 had no claim upon his eſtate, and conſequently is wholly deſtitute and unprovided for; but as her caſe deſerves pity, it is hoped ſhe will find ſome reſource, though where or from whom ſhe may perhaps be at a loſs to know, being intirely unacquainted with her huſband's affairs or family.

* The Duke of Ormond.

WHEARE [Degory], the firſt Camdenian profeſſor of hiſtory at Oxford, was born at Jacobſtow in Cornwall, anno 1573 (*a*), and after a ſuitable foundation of grammar learning being ſent to Oxford he was in the beginning of 1592, admitted of Broadgate-hall (now Pembroke college) in that univerſity, at the age of nineteen. Here he purſued the academical ſtudies, and proceeding A. B. Feb. 3, 1596, he commenced A. M. on the 10th of June 1600 (*b*), and two years after was elected a Fellow of Exeter college, where he continued ſix years in the proſecution of his ſtudies, after which he travelled for further improvement into ſeveral countries beyond ſea. At his return he entered into matrimony, and thus loſing his fellowſhip at the college, he found a kind patron in Lord Chandos. After that nobleman's death, our author, with his wife, retired to Glouceſter-hall (now Worceſter college) where the principal Dr Hawley accommodated him with lodgings. Here he became acquainted with that noted ſcholar Mr Thomas Allen [*A*], by whoſe recommendation the celebrated Camden appointed him, Oct. 10, 1622, the firſt reader of that lecture which he had founded in the univerſity (*c*). Mr Profeſſor Wheare accordingly read his inauguration lecture in the public hiſtory ſchool, on the 6th of January following [*B*]. He was alſo ſoon after this preferment made principal of his hall. Both theſe places he lived to enjoy the profits of many years before his death, which did not happen till 1ſt Aug. 1647, whence it is more than probable that he complied with the then ruling powers, eſpecially ſince we are told that his ſtudy of books and collections in MS. came after his death to his old friend Francis Rouſe, Provoſt of Eton college; and that he was eſteemed by ſome a learned and genteel man, and by others a Calviniſt (*d*). His corpſe was buried Auguſt the third in Exeter college chapel. He was ſurvived by his widow and ſome children, who ſoon after became reduced; and whether the family lived honeſtly, 'tis not for me, ſays Mr Wood, to diſpute it. Beſides the forementioned things, our author publiſhed *De ratione et methodo legendi hiſtorias diſſertatio*, Oxon. 1625, 8vo. This was a uſeful work, and has undergone ſeveral editions, with the addition of ſeveral pieces upon the ſame ſubject by other hands, but the beſt is that tranſlated into Engliſh with this title, *The method and order of reading both civil and eccleſiaſtical hiſtories, in which the moſt excellent hiſtorians are reduced into the order in which they are ſucceſſively to be read, and the judgments of learned men concerning each of them ſubjoined*, by Degory Wheare, Camden reader of hiſtory in Oxford, to which is added, *An appendix concerning the hiſtorians of particular nations, ancient and modern*: by Nicholas Horſeman. With Mr Dodwell's *Invitation to gentlemen to acquaint themſelves with ancient hiſtory*; *made Engliſh and enlarged by Edmund Bohun, Eſq*; [*C*] London, 1698, 8vo.

2. *Paren-*

(*a*) Collected from the year and age of his admiſſion at Broadgate-hall.

(*b*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. vol. i. col. 151 and 158.

(*c*) See Camden's article, vol. ii. p. 1133, rem. *T*) where our profeſſor is ſtiled fellow of Exeter college, by a miſtake copied from Smith, Vit. Camdeni, p. 60.

(*d*) Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 106.

[*A*] *Mr Thomas Allen.*] This excellent man whom Mr Wood (1) calls the father of all learning and virtuous induſtry, an unfeigned lover and furtherer of all good arts and ſciences, was born at Utoxeter in Staffordſhire, on St Thomas's day in 1542, being a deſcendant through ſix generations from Henry Allen or Alan, Lord of the manor of Buckenall in the ſaid county, was admitted ſcholar of Trinity college 4th June 1561, he proceeded A. B. May 13, 1563 (2), was choſen a fellow of his college in 1565, and commenced A. M. April 21, 1567 (3). But being much inclined to lead a retired life, and averſe from taking holy orders, he left the college and his fellowſhip about 1570, and receded to Glouceſter-hall, where he lived a cloſe ſtudent many years, and at length became an eminent antiquary, philoſopher, and mathematician. He was ſeveral times invited to the families of Princes and Noblemen both here and abroad, which he declined; however, he ſpent ſome time with Henry Earl of Northumberland, a great patron of mathematicians, and was particularly beloved and courted by the famous Harriot, Dee, Warner, Torporly, according to Mr Wood, the Altantes of the mathematical world. Robert Earl of Leiceſter, chancellor of the univerſity, would have procured for him a Biſhoprick, but he declined that alſo. He was highly reſpected by Bodley, Savile, Camden, Cotton, Spelman, and Selden, the laſt of which ſays, he was *omni eruditionis genere ſummoq; judicio, ornatiſſimus, celeberrimæ academiæ Oxon decus inſigniſſinum* (4); and Camden, that he was *plurimis et optimis artibus ornatiſſimus* (5). He was a great collector of ſcattered MSS. eſpecially thoſe of hiſtory, antiquity, aſtronomy, mathematics, and philoſophy (6). He died Sept. 30, 1632, at Glouceſter-hall, in which refectory an eloquent ſpeech in his praiſe being pronounced next day by Mr William Burton, before the Vice-chancellor, heads of colleges and halls, and many of the univerſity, the body was attended by them to the chapel of Trinity college, where, after another ſpeech by Mr George Bathurſt, it was ſolemnly interred. His picture painted to the life he gave to the preſident of that college and his ſucceſſors, to ſtand in the dining room of his lodge. He wrote 1. *Claudii Ptolomæi Peleuſienſis de aſtrorum judiciis, aut, ut vulgo vocant, quadripartitæ conſtructionis, liber ſecundus cum expoſitione Thomæ, Allyn Angli Oxonienſis.* 2. *Claudii Ptolomæi de aſtrorum judiciis lib.* 3. *cum expoſitione Thomæ Allyn, &c.* which coming into the hands of William Lilly, the famous figure-flinger, were by him beſtowed on Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; in 1652, founder of the Aſhmolean Muſæum at Oxford (7).

[*B*] *The lecture founded by Camden.*] The ſpeech was printed at Oxford in 1662, with the title of *Oratio auſpicalis habita in ſcholis publicis cum primum, L. An. Flori interpretationem aggrederetur author.* At the end of thoſe prelections, which were printed again at Cambridge in 1684, 8vo. Gabriel Naudeus's *Bibliographia Politica* was added to them, and *Juſtus Lipſius's epiſtle to Nicolaus Hacqueville De Hiſtoria* prefixed.

[*C*] *Made Engliſh by Edmund Bohun, Eſq*;] As this learned gentleman was the author of ſeveral pieces well eſteemed in their day, the following ſketch of his life merits a place here. He was born at Ringſfield in Suffolk, being the only ſon of Baxter Bohun, who with his anceſtors had been lords of the manor of Weſthall, in the ſame county, from the 25 Hen. VIII. (8). In 1663 he was admitted fellow commoner of Queen's college Cambridge, and continued there till the latter end of 1666, when he was driven out of the univerſity by the plague that raged there. In 1675 he was made a juſtice of the peace for Suffolk, and continued ſo till the ſecond of King James II. when he was diſcharged, but was reſtored to that office in the firſt of William and Mary. He wrote ſeveral things, as, 1. *An addreſs of the freemen and freeholders of the nation, in three parts, being the hiſtory of three ſeſſions of parliament in* 1678, 1682, *and* 1683, 4to. 2. *A defence of the declaration of King Charles* II. *againſt a pamphlet ſtiled,* A juſt and modeſt vindication of the proceedings of the two laſt parliaments, printed with and added to the addreſs. 3. *A defence of Sir Robert Filmer, againſt the miſtakes and repreſentations of Algernoon Sydney, Eſq; in a paper delivered by him to the ſheriffs upon the ſcaffold on Tower-hill, on Friday Dec.* 7, 1683, *before his execution there*, Lond. 1684, fol. 4. *The juſtice of peace's calling, a moral eſſay*,

Lond.

(1) Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 574.

(2) Wood's Faſti Oxon. vol. i. col. 92.

(3) Ibid. col. 100.

(4) In Notis ſuis ad Eadmerum, edit. 1613, p. 200.

(5) In Britannia in cap. De Saxonibus.

(6) Moſt of his MSS. came into the hands of Sir Kenelm Digby, who, according to our author's appointment, gave them to the Bodleian library.

(7) Wood as before, col. 575.

(8) Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 106.

2. *Parentatio hiſtorica ſive commemoratio vitæ et mortis V. C. Guliel. Camdeni, Clarentii, facta Oxoniæ in ſchola hiſtorica*, 12th Nov. 1626, Oxon. 1628. 3. *Dedicatio imaginis Camdenianæ in ſchola hiſtorica*, 12th Nov. 1626, Oxon. 1628. 4. *Epiſtolarum euchariſticarum faſciculus*. 5. *Chariſteria*; theſe two laſt are printed with *Dedicatio imaginis*, &c.

Lond. 1684, 8vo. 5. *A preface and concluſion to Sir Robert Filmer's book, intituled,* Patriarcha; or, the natural law of Kings, &c. added to the ſecond and perfect edition of that book, Lond. 1685, 8vo. 6. *A geographical dictionary, repreſenting the preſent and antient names of all the countries, provinces, remarkable cities, &c. of the whole world, with a ſhort hiſtorical account of the ſame, and their preſent ſtate*, Lond. 1688, 8vo. 7. *The hiſtory of the deſertion; or, an account of all the public affairs in England, from the beginning of Sept.* 1688 *to the* 12th *of Feb. following*, London, 1689, 8vo. 8. *An anſwer to a piece, called,* The deſertion diſcuſſed (9), *in a letter to a country gentleman*, printed at the end of the Hiſtory of the Deſertion. 9. *The doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance no way concerned in the controverſies now depending between the Williamites and Jacobites* (10), Lond. 1689, 4to. 10. *The life of John Jewel, Biſhop of Saliſbury.* 11. *Three charges delivered at the general quarter ſeſſions holden at Ipſwich, for the county of Suffolk, in* 1691, 92, *and* 93, 4to. In the preface to which is his vindication from the calumnies and miſtakes caſt upon him on the account of his Geographical and Poetical Dictionary, Lond. 1694, fol. 12. *The great hiſtorical, geographical, and poetical dictionary*, Lond. 1694, fol. His tranſlations are, 1. *The origin of Atheiſm in the Popiſh and Proteſtant churches, ſhewn by Dorotheus Sicurus*, Lond. 1684, 4to. 2. *An apology of the church of England, and an epiſtle to one Signor Scipio, a Venetian gentleman, concerning the council of Trent*, Lond. 1685, written in Latin by John Jewell, Biſhop of Saliſbury; to which is added, A brief of the life of the ſaid Jewell, as above-mentioned. 3. *The univerſal hiſtorical Bibliotheque; or, an account of the moſt conſiderable books printed in all languages, wherein a ſhort account is given of the deſign of almoſt every book; and the quality of the author, if known, for Jan. Feb. and March, of the year* 1687. 4. *The* 25*th and* 26*th books of the general hiſtory of the reformation of the church from the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome, begun in Germany by Mart. Luther*, Lond. 1689. Written in Latin by John Keidan, LL. D. with a continuation in three books, from the year 1556 to 1562. 5. *The preſent ſtate of Germany; or, an account of the extent, riſe, form, wealth, &c. of that empire, &c.* Lond. 1690, 8vo. written in Latin by Samuel Puffendorff, under a borrowed name.

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(9) The pamphlet called, *The deſertion diſcuſſed*, was written by Jeremy Collier of Cambridge.

(10) In the 24th page of this book is a paſſage concerning Ken Bp. of Bath and Wells, which, Mr Bohun ſays, is not true, and therefore deſires that the whole paragraph in which it is may be cancelled.

WHICHCOTE [Benjamin], an eminent rational divine, who flouriſhed during the rebellion and civil war in the laſt century, was deſcended of an ancient and good family in Shropſhire, being the ſixth ſon of Chriſtopher Whichcote, Eſq; of Whichcote-hall, in the Pariſh of Stoke, where he was born March 11th 1609-10, and after a ſuitable foundation of ſchool learning, was ſent to Cambridge, and admitted of Emanuel college in 1626. Having proceeded regularly to take both the degrees in arts (*a*), he was elected fellow of his college in 1633, and became a moſt excellent tutor. However, he had not been many years in that employ when he entered into holy orders, and was ordained both deacon and prieſt at Bugden, by Dr Williams, Biſhop of Lincoln, in 1636. Soon after this he ſet up an afternoon lecture on Sundays at Trinity church in Cambridge, which he continued for near twenty years (*b*), in the view of preſerving a ſpirit of ſober piety and rational religion in that univerſity, in oppoſition to the fantaſtic enthuſiaſm and ſenſeleſs canting then in vogue; and the happy effect of his pains in this way appeared in the great talents and excellent performances of ſo many eminent divines after the reſtoration, of whom moſt of thoſe, and Dr Tillotſon among them, who had received their education at Cambridge, were formed at leaſt, if not actually brought up, by him. In the mean time he was appointed one of the univerſity preachers. He was obliged, however, to diſcontinue this lecture for a while, being preſented in 1643 by his college to the living of North Cadbury in Somerſetſhire, which vacating his fellowſhip, he entered into matrimony, and went to his living, but was ſoon called back to Cambridge, being pitched upon to ſucceed the ejected provoſt of King's college, Dr Samuel Collins, who had been in that poſt thirty years, and was alſo regius profeſſor of divinity. This choice was perfectly agreeable to Dr Collins himſelf, though not ſo to Mr Whichcote, who had ſcruples about accepting what was thus irregularly offered him; however, after ſome demur he complied [*A*], and was admitted provoſt March the 6th, 1644. He was then batchelor of divinity, and he commenced D. D. in 1649 (*c*). He now reſigned his Somerſetſhire living, and was preſented by his college to the rectory of Milton in Cambridgeſhire, which was void by the death of Dr Collins. He held Milton as long as he lived, though after the reſtoration he thought proper to reſign and reſume it by a freſh preſentation from the college, and ſtill continued his lecture at Trinity church with the ſame view that he had at firſt ſet it up, which indeed was ſtill become more neceſſary at this time. In 1658 he wrote a copy of verſes upon the death of Oliver Cromwell, which, ſays my author, we are to ſuppoſe done intirely out of form (as was done by ſome others) and not out of any regard to the perſon of the protector (*d*). Nor had Dr Whichcote ever concurred with the violent meaſures of thoſe times by ſigning the covenant, or by any injurious words or actions to the prejudice of any man. At the reſtoration, however, he was removed from his provoſtſhip, by eſpecial order from the King, but yet he was not diſgraced or frowned upon; on the contrary, he went to London, and in 1662 was choſen miniſter of St Anne's, Black Friars, where he continued till his church was burnt down in the dreadful fire of 1666. Then he retired to Milton for a while, but was again called up

(*a*) He proceeded A. B. in 1624, and A. M. in 1633.

(*b*) Tillotſon in his funeral ſermon.

(*c*) He took that degree in 1640.

(*d*) It was done manifeſtly in compliance to his patrons.

[*A*] *He complied*]. It muſt be remembered to Dr Whichcote's honour, that during the life of Dr Collins, one of the two ſhares out of the common dividend allotted to the provoſt, was not only with Dr Whichcote's conſent, but at his motion, paid punctually to him, as if he had ſtill been provoſt.

and preſented by the crown to the vicarage of St Lawrence Jewry, vacant by the promotion of Dr Wilkins to the See of Cheſter, where he continued in high reputation and eſteem till his death. In 1683 he went down to Cambridge, where, upon taking a great cold, he fell into a diſtemper, which in a few days put an end to his life. He died at the houſe of his ancient and learned friend Dr Cudworth, maſter of Chriſt's college, in May 1683, and was interred in the church of St Lawrence Jewry, Dr Tillotſon, then lecturer there, preaching his funeral ſermon, where his character is drawn to great advantage, which is comprized in fewer words by Biſhop Burnet. "He was a man, ſays his Lordſhip (*e*), of a rare temper, very mild and obliging: He had great credit with ſome that had been eminent in the late times, but made all the uſe he could of it to protect good men of all perſuaſions. He was much for liberty of conſcience [*B*], being diſguſted with the dry ſyſtematical way of thoſe times; he ſtudied to raiſe thoſe who converſed with him to another ſet of thoughts, and to conſider religion a ſeed of a deiform nature (to uſe one of his own phraſes); in order to this, he ſet young ſtudents much on reading the ancient philoſophers, chiefly Plato, Tully, and Plotin; and on conſidering remiſſion as a doctrine ſent from God, both to elevate and ſweeten human nature, in which he was a great example, as well as a wiſe and kind inſtructor. Cudworth carried this on with a great ſtrength of genius, as well as a vaſt compaſs of learning." Dr Whichcote never publiſhed any thing himſelf, but after his death there came out *Select Sermons* of his in 1698, in one volume 8vo. with a preface by the Earl of Shaftſbury, author of the *Characteriſtics* [*C*]. Two volumes more were publiſhed by Dr Jeffery, Archdeacon

(*e*) The hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. p. 186. fol.

[*B*] *He was much for liberty of conſcience.*] The following extract by our author, from a letter dated at Francfort Sept. 3, 1660 ſhews how much his thoughts were occaſionally employed upon this ſubject. 'The Elector of Mentz hath, according to what was agreed at the treaty of peace at Munſter, done his beſt to unite the Catholics and Evangeliſts in religion: To this end he hath ſent the Heer Van Willendorf to the Biſhop of Rome, with propoſals for the uniting of all Chriſtendom. The Electors of Cologne and Triers, and the Princes of Heſſe and Darmſted, will aſſiſt him therein; Spain and France will incline thereto. The Pope will likewiſe accommodate himſelf thereto: The Jeſuits have alſo given their conſent, and the following articles are made.

I. A ſynod ſhall be called of the contrary perſuaſions in religion, and conſiſt of 24 perſons, and theſe ſhall take an oath againſt calumniating one another, to be under the penalty of *temere litigantes*, and whoever of them ſhall not maintain modeſty and decorum, ſhall ſtrait be deprived of ſitting in it.

II. Theſe 24 perſons ſhall *remotis affectibus* examine the ancienteſt copies of ſcripture, and compare and examine by them the Popiſh breviary and the Auguſtine confeſſion, and moſt votes determine from article to article.

III. The Catholic maſs ſhall henceforth be read in the language of each church, and the ſaid 24 perſons ſhall impartially conſider how to unite the Catholicks and Evangeliſts in the point of the maſs.

IV. The Evangeliſts, for diſtinction from the old Catholics, ſhall be called the reformed Catholics, and the Pope, even in Rome, call them a particular church.

V. The Pope ſhall be owned and intitled the chief prieſt of all Chriſtendom, and ſhall let himſelf be adviſed by the reformed Catholics, and ſhall uſe ſome of them, ſuch as are qualified, for his privy counſellors.

VI. Whoever writes ſcandalouſly againſt either of the two religions, ſhall be trampled upon by all Chriſtendom.

VII. The Lord's Supper ſhall be received in both ſpecies, both by the old and reformed Catholics.

VIII. For auricular confeſſion, the greateſt conſideration was had of the Spaniſh and Italian dumbe ſins, therefore it ſhall be held up till the union of religion be effected, then it may be laid by; but who finds himſelf troubled in conſcience may uſe it.

IX. Healthful perſons ſhall abſtain 14 days before Eaſter from fleſh, to be better prepared to meditate upon the paſſion of our Saviour.

X. For invocation of ſaints they ſhall ſtrive to reduce it to what it was in *primitiva eccleſia.*

XI. For proceſſions they ſhall uſe known ceremonies, and inſtead of maſs keep to continue forms of prayer to thank God for his benefits.

XII. For purgatoty let every one believe as he ſees cauſe.

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XIII. Biſhops and prieſts may marry, but not monks and nuns.

XIV. The reformed Catholics may, in their own land and juriſdiction, ſettle a Biſhop or ſuperintendant over all other eccleſiaſtical perſons, only upon any deep queſtion they may aſk the Pope's opinion, but without prejudice of their own juriſdiction.

XV. The Calviniſts greatly erroneous in the doctrine of the covenant of grace and the ſacraments, and the perſon of Chriſt, cannot be admitted to the union, unleſs they reſolve better as to thoſe things.

XVI. Though the Greek churches err much in the perſon of the Holy Ghoſt, yet they cannot be excluded out of Chriſtendom.

XVII. The ſcripture, without any expoſition, ſhall be uſed as the judge in theſe controverſies, and the articles of religion ſhall be grounded on the ſingle naked words of the text, which text ſhall be drawn out of the old fathers *primæ eccleſiæ*, and the 72 interpreters. To this purpoſe ſhall the ſaid perſons tranſlate and print a new Bible, reviſed by the Hebrew, Arabic, &c. and the MSS and bible of the firſt fathers; and the Pope ſhall not be conſidered in ballance to the bible, nor ſhall be held to be infallible, but ſhall by all eccleſiaſtical perſons be accounted only an eccleſiaſtical perſon, and his counſellors ſhall conſiſt of ſeveral perſuaſions, and ſhall comport themſelves to one another, as the aſſeſſors do at Spire, and in all caſes of conſcience ſhall regulate themſelves by the holy ſcripture.'

[*C*] *Author of the Characteriſtics.*] 'Theſe ſermons, his Lordſhip aſſures us, had been ſelected out of numbers of others leſs perfect, there being not any of our author's extant, but ſuch as were written after him at church; he having uſed no other than very ſhort notes, not very legible; though theſe have been, ſays his Lordſhip, of great uſe to the publiſher, in whoſe hands they have been. The unpoliſhed ſtile and phraſe of our author, continues the Earl, who drew more from a college than a court, and who was more uſed to ſchool learning and the language of an univerſity than to the converſation of the faſhionable world, may poſſibly but ill recommend his ſenſe to the generality of readers; and ſince none of theſe diſcourſes were ever deſigned for the world in any other manner than as he once pronounced them from the pulpit, they muſt of neceſſity appear to have a roughneſs in them, which is not found in other ſermons more accurately penned by their authors; for though the publiſher has ſometimes ſupplied him out of himſelf, by transferring to a defective place, that which he found in ſome other diſcourſes, where the ſame ſubject was treated, yet ſo great a regard was had to the very *text* and *letter* of his author, that he would not offer to alter the leaſt word, and wherever he has added any thing to correct the moſt apparent omiſſion or fault of the penman, he has taken care to have it marked in different characters, that nothing might appear as

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Archdeacon of Norwich, in 1701, and the following years. Dr Jeffery likewiſe publiſhed in 1703, *Moral and religious aphoriſms, collected from his manuſcript papers*; and a fourth volume of our author's was printed by Dr Samuel Clarke in 1707, and republiſhed in 1753 by Dr Samuel Salter, with large additions, and eight letters which paſſed between Dr Whichcote and ſome of his acquaintance, upon intereſting ſubjects, and a preface, giving ſome account of our author, which has furniſhed the chief materials for the preſent article.

' our *author's* own which was not perfectly *his*. Though ſome others in the world have been very far from this caution, ſince of late ſome things have been ſet out in *our author's* name, which his beſt friends diſowned to be his, and which any one who ſtudies him in his genuine works, will eaſily know to be unworthy of him.'

It would ſeem a little unaccountable that the author of the *Characteriſtics* ſhould ſtoop to engage in the province of a meer editor only, had not his Lordſhip himſelf thought fit to reveal the myſtery. He found in theſe ſermons ſome countenances given to his own peculiar ſentiments concerning religion, as ſufficiently practicable by our natural ſtrength or goodneſs, excluſive of future rewards and puniſhments; to this purpoſe he has ſelected ſome paſſages of theſe ſermons, and thence makes his remarks: 'Thus ſpeaks our excellent divine and truly Chriſtian philoſopher, whom for his appearing thus in defence of *natural goodneſs*, we may call the preacher of *good nature*. This is what he inſiſts on every where; and to make this evident is in a manner the ſcope of all his diſcourſes. And in concluſion 'tis hoped, that what has been here ſuggeſted, may be ſufficient to juſtify the printing of theſe ſermons.' But enough has been already ſaid of his Lordſhip's religious principles (1), and as this preface has been printed more than once, and is eaſily to be had, the reader will readily excuſe the inſerting of it at length here.

P

(1) See his article in this Supp.

WILMOT [JOHN], Earl of Rocheſter, a ſingular compoſition of brilliant wit and unexampled wickedneſs, ending in an almoſt as unexampled a death-bed repentance. He was the ſon of Henry Earl of Rocheſter [*A*], who bore a great part in the civil wars, and was the chief manager of the King's preſervation after the battle of Worceſter. He was born in April 1648, at Ditchley near Woodſtock, in Oxfordſhire, and educated in the free-ſchool at Burford in that county, where he acquired the Latin tongue to ſuch perfection, that to his dying day he retained a quick reliſh of its beauties, and afterwards became exactly verſed in the claſſics, which he often read. In 1659 he was admitted a nobleman of Wadham college Oxford, under the tuition of Phineas Bury, a fellow, and the inſpection of Dr Blandford, afterwards Biſhop of Oxford and Worceſter, and Sept. 9, 1661, was, with ſeveral other noble perſons, created A. M. in convocation (*a*). He travelled afterwards into France and Italy, and at his return frequented the court, which not only debauched his manners, but made him a perfect Atheiſt in principle. In the mean time he was made one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the King, and comptroller of Woodſtock Park, upon the deceaſe of Sir William Fleetwood (*b*). In the winter of 1665 he went to ſea with the Earl of Sandwich, who was ſent to lie for the Dutch Eaſt India fleet [*B*], when he ſhewed the firmeſt reſolution, and gained a high character for courage. He ſupported this character in a ſecond expedition, but loſt it afterwards in an adventure with the Earl of Mulgrove (*c*). Before his travels he had given ſomewhat into that diſorderly and intemperate way of living, which the joy of the whole kingdom, upon the reſtoration of King Charles II. had introduced, yet he had ſo far got the better of this at his return, that he hated nothing more: But falling into court company where theſe exceſſes were continually practiſed, he was brought back to it again (*d*); and the natural heat of his fancy being inflamed with wine, made him ſo extravagantly pleaſant, that many to be the more diverted with that humour, ſtrove to immerſe him deeper and deeper in intemperance (*e*). Theſe were two principles in the natural temper of this lively and witty Earl, which carried him to great exceſſes, a violent love of pleaſure, and a diſpoſition to extravagant mirth. One involved him in great ſenſuality, and the other led him to many odd adventures and frolics [*C*]. He is ſaid to be a generous and good-natured man in cold blood, yet would go far in his heats after any thing that might turn to a jeſt or matter of diverſion; and he laid himſelf out very freely in libels and ſatires, in which he had ſo peculiar a talent of mixing his wit with his malice, that all his compoſitions were eaſily known. By conſtant indulgence in women and wine, and irregular frolics, he intirely wore out an excellent conſtitution before he had completed his thirtieth year. In

(*a*) Wood in Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 654, who obſerves, That he, and none elſe, was admitted very affectionately into the fraternity by a kiſs from Lord Clarendon the Chancellor, who then ſat in the ſupreme chair. Faſti, col. 143.

(*b*) Idem Ibid.

(*c*) Sheffield, afterwards Duke of Bucks. See his article.

(*d*) Some paſſages of the life and death of John Earl of Rocheſter, by Gilbert Burnet, D. D. Lond. 1681, 8vo.

(*e*) Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 655. He told Dr Burnet that for five years together he was continually drunk, not all the while under the viſible effect of liquor, but never cool enough to be maſter of himſelf. Some paſſages of the life and death of John Earl of Rocheſter, Lond. 1681, 8vo.

[*A*] *His father, Henry Earl of Rocheſter*, &c.] This generous loyal and valiant Earl was commiſſary general of the army in the expedition againſt the Scots in 1639, under Thomas Earl of Arundel the general. He married Anne the widow of Sir Harry Lee of Ditchley above-mentioned, and daughter of Sir John St John, of Wiltſhire. This Earl dying in his attendance on his Majeſty King Charles II. in his exile abroad, Feb. 19, 1657, aged 45 years, was, by leave obtained, privately buried in the vault under Ditchley church, being the burying place only for the family of Lee, ſince honoured with the title of Earl of Litchfield (1). The preſent Earl is Chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford.

(1) Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 657.

[*B*] *To lie for the Dutch fleet.*] He was in the Revenge, commanded by Thomas Seddiman, when the attack was made on the fort of Bergen in Norway, the Dutch ſhips having got into that port. It was a deſperate engagement, and during the whole action the Earl of Rocheſter ſhewed the greateſt reſolution, and gained, as is ſaid above, a high reputation for courage.

[*C*] *Many adventures and frolics.*] Once he diſguiſed himſelf ſo, that his neareſt friends could not have known him, and ſet up in Tower Street for an Italian mountebank, where he practiſed phyſic for ſome weeks. He diſguiſed himſelf often as a porter or a beggar, ſometimes to follow ſome low amours, which he affected *for the variety of life*: At other times, merely for diverſion, he would go about in odd ſhapes, in which he acted his part ſo naturally, that even thoſe who knew the ſecret, and ſaw him in theſe ſhapes, could perceive nothing by which he might be diſcovered.

October 1679, when he was ſlowly recovering from great diſeaſes, he was invited by Dr Burnet, upon an intimation that ſuch a viſit would be very agreeable to him. He grew into great freedom with that divine, ſo as to open to him all his thoughts of religion and morality, and to give him a full view of his paſt life; upon which the Doctor waited upon him often, till he went from London in April following, and once or twice after. They canvaſſed at various times the principles of morality, natural and revealed religion, and Chriſtianity in particular; the reſult of all which was that this noble Earl, though he had lived the life of an Atheiſt and a Libertine, yet died the death of a good Chriſtian, and moſt ſincere penitent [*D*], on the 26th of July 1680, at the ranger's lodge in Woodſtock Park, and was buried by his father in a vault under the north iſle of Spilſbury church in Oxfordſhire (*f*). He departed without any convulſion, or ſo much as a groan, for though he had not completed his 33d year, yet was he worn ſo intirely down, that nature was unable to make the leaſt effort. In his perſon he was tall, graceful, and well ſhaped, if not a little too ſlender. He was extremely well bred, had a ſtrong vivacity of thought and vigour of expreſſion, and his wit was ſubtil as well as ſublime. His ſtudies were divided between the comical writings of the ancients and moderns, the Roman authors and books of phyſic (*g*). His ſtyle was clear and ſtrong, and when he uſed figures they were very lively, yet far enough out of the common road. Boileau among the French, and Cowley among the Engliſh wits, were thoſe he admired moſt. He loved to talk and write of ſpeculative matters, and did it with ſo fine a thread, that even thoſe who hated the ſubjects his fancy run upon, could not but be charmed with his way of treating them. Upon the whole, nature had fitted him for great things, and his abilities and knowledge, if he had applied them rightly, qualified him to have been one of the greateſt men of his age and nation [*E*]. He was a married man, and left behind him three daughters, and a ſon named Charles, who died Nov. 12, 1681, upon which the male line ceaſing, the title of Earl of Rocheſter became extinct, and was conferred afterwards upon Laurence Viſcount Killingworth, a younger ſon of Lord Chancellor Clarendon (*h*).

(*f*) Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 677.

(*g*) The ill ſtate of health which his irregular and diſſolute life brought upon him, made this kind of reading neceſſary.

(*h*) See his article.

[*D*] *He died a ſincere penitent.*] The philoſophers of the preſent age will naturally ſuppoſe that his contrition and conviction were purely the effects of weakneſs and low ſpirits, which ſcarcely ſuffer a man to continue in his ſenſes, and certainly not to be maſter of himſelf; but Dr Burnet affirms him to have been under no ſuch decay, as either darkened or weakened his underſtanding, nor troubled with the ſpleen or vapours, or under the power of melancholy. The reader may judge for himſelf from the following extract of a letter from the Earl to Dr Burnet, dated Woodſtock Park, June 25, 1680, Oxfordſhire.

'My moſt honoured Dr Burnet,

'My ſpirits and decay are ſo equally together, that 'I ſhall write you a letter as weak as I am in per'ſon. I begin to value churchmen above all men in 'the world, &c. If God be yet pleaſed to ſpare 'me longer in this world, I hope in your converſa'tion to be exalted to that degree of piety, that the 'world may ſee how much I abhor what I ſo long 'loved, and how much I glory in repentance and in 'God's ſervice. Beſtow your prayers upon me, that 'God would ſpare me, if it be his good will, to ſhew 'a true repentance, and amendment of life for the 'time to come: Or elſe if the Lord pleaſeth to put 'an end to my worldly being now, that he would 'mercifully accept of my death-bed repentance, and 'perform that promiſe he hath been pleaſed to make, '*That at what time ſoever a ſinner doth repent, he would* '*receive him.* Put up theſe prayers, moſt dear Doc'tor, to Almighty God, for

'Your moſt obedient,

'and languiſhing Servant,

'ROCHESTER.'

[*E*] *One of the greateſt men of the age.*] He wrote ſeveral poems as well as other pieces in proſe, which have been often printed ſeparately and together, and are well known (2). 'Mr Walpole, in his *Catalogue* '*of royal and noble authors* (3), calls him a man whom 'the muſes were fond to inſpire and aſhamed to 'avow, and who practiſed without the leaſt reſerve, 'that ſecret which can make verſes more read for 'their defects than for their merits. The art, con'tinues he, is neither commendable nor difficult. 'Moraliſts proclaim loudly that there is no wit in 'indecency: It is very true, indecency is far from 'conferring wit, but it does not deſtroy it neither. 'Lord Rocheſter's poems have much more obſcenity 'than wit, more wit than poetry, more poetry than 'politeneſs.'

(2) A handſome edition was printed for Jacob Tonſon in 1705, 8vo. conſiſting of poems, his ſpeech under the character of a mountebank, and a tragedy called *Valentinian*; but many of his obſcene pieces are omitted.

(3) Vol ii. p. 103, 2d edit.

WILSON [ARTHUR], an ingenious writer, was the ſon of Richard Wilſon of Yarmouth, in Norfolk, gentleman, and born in that county in 1596. He received the beſt part of his youthful education in France, whither he went in 1609, and continued there almoſt two years. Upon his return to England he was taken into the family of Sir Henry Spillar, who made him one of his clerks in the Exchequer office. He reſided in this family till he was diſmiſſed at lady Spillar's inſtigation for writing ſome ſatirical verſes upon one of the maid ſervants. In 1613 he took a lodging in Holborn, where he applied himſelf to reading and poetry for ſome time, and the next year was taken into the family of Robert Earl of Eſſex (*a*), whom he attended into the Palatinate in 1620; to the ſiege of Dornick in Holland in 1621; to that of Rees in 1622; to Arnheim in 1623; to the ſiege of Breda in 1624, and in the expedition to Cales in 1625. In 1630 he was diſcharged the Earl's ſervice, at the importunity of his lady, who ſuppoſed him to have been buſy in diſſuading the Earl's marriage to her [*A*]. Having thus paſſed a great part of

(*a*) Wood ſays he attended this Count in his chamber, and received an annual penſion from him ſeveral years. Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 156.

[*A*] *Buſy in diſſuading to marry her.*] He tells us in *his own life* (1), '*That this lady's name before ſhe* '*married the Earl, was Elizabeth Paulet; that ſhe* 'appeared to the eye a beauty, full of harmleſs '*ſweetneſs*; *that* her converſation was affable and 'gentle, and, as he was firmly perſuaded, not forced 'but

(1) Publiſhed in *the 2d vol. of Peck's Deſiderata curioſa*, as above.

of his life out of the road of learning, he reſolved to complete his education in literary accompliſhments, for which purpoſe he went to Oxford, and was admitted a gentleman commoner of Trinity college in 1631, where he reſided above two years (*b*), and was very punctual in frequenting the chapel and hall, and in obſerving all orders of the college and univerſity (*c*), but left it in 1633, upon an invitation to be ſteward to the Earl of Warwick, whom he attended that year to the ſiege of Breda. He ſeems to have continued in that nobleman's ſervice till his death, which happened at Felſtead, near Little Leighs, the Earl of Warwick's ſeat in Eſſex, about the beginning of Oct. 1652, and was buried in the chancel of that church. He ſpent the latter part of his life in digeſting and finiſhing his principal work, *The life and reign of King James* [*B*], printed at London in 1653, the year after his death. Mr Wood gives this account of him (*d*); " That he had little " ſkill in the Latin tongue, leſs in the Greek, a good readineſs in the French, and ſome " ſmattering in the Dutch; that he was well verſed in the mathematics and poetry; and " ſomething in the common law of the nation; that he had compoſed ſome comedies, " which were acted at the Black-friars in London, by the King's players, and in the act " time at Oxford, with good applauſe, himſelf being preſent; but whether they are printed " I cannot yet tell; ſure I am, that I have ſeveral ſpecimens of his poetry printed in " divers books. That his carriage was very courteous and obliging, and ſuch as did be-

(*b*) His life written by himſelf, publiſhed in the 2d vol. of *Peck's Deſiderata curioſa*, fol.

(*c*) Mr Wood ſays he was told by ſome of our author's relations, that he was created A. M. but it did not appear in the regiſter.

(*d*) Ibid.

' but natural: But the height of her marriage and ' greatneſs altered her very nature, for ſhe was the ' true image of Pandora's box.' She was divorced for being catched in adultery two years after her marriage.

[*B*] *The life and reign of King James* I.] This hiſtory has been ſeverely treated by many writers. Mr William Sanderſon ſays (2), That to give Wilſon his due, we may find truth and falſehood finely put together in it. Heylin, in the general preface to his *Examen*, ſtiles Wilſon's hiſtory a moſt infamous paſquil of the reign of King James, in which it is not eaſy to judge whether the matter be more falſe or the ſtile more reproachful to all parts thereof. Fuller, in his *Appeal of injured innocence*, obſerves how Robert Earl of Warwick told him at Bedington, that when William Wilſon's book in MS. was brought to him; his Lordſhip expunged more than a hundred offenſive paſſages; to which Mr Fuller replied, my Lord, you have done well, and you had done better if you had put out a hundred more. Mr Wood's cenſure is (3), that in our author's hiſtory may eaſily be diſcerned a partial preſbyterian vein, that conſtantly goes through the whole work; and it being the genius of thoſe people to pry more than they ſhould into the courts and comportments of princes, do take occaſion thereupon to traduce and beſpatter them (*α*); and further adds, our author having endeavoured in many things to make the world believe that King James, and his ſon after him, were inclined to Popery, and to bring that religion into England, hath made him ſubject to many errors and miſrepreſentations. On the other hand, Archdeacon Eachard tells us (4), that Mr Wilſon's *Hiſtory of the life and reign of King James*, though not written without ſome prejudices and rancour in reſpect to ſome perſons, and too much with the air of a romance, is thought to be the beſt of that kind extant: And the writer of the notes on the edition of it in *The complete hiſtory of England* (5), remarks, that as to the ſtile of our author's hiſtory, that it is harſh and broken, the periods often obſcure, and ſometimes without connection, faults that were common in moſt writers of that time. Though he finiſhed that hiſtory in 1652, a little before his death, when both the monarchy and hierarchy were overturned, it does not appear he was an enemy to either, but only to the corruptions of them, as he intimates in the picture he draws of himſelf before that book, in the following lines:

(2) In the proem to the 2d part of the hiſt. of King James, p. 3. edit. 1653, fol.

(3) Ubi ſupra.

(4) In the preface to hiſt. of England.

(5) It is inſerted in that collection, vol. ii. edit. 1706, fol.

As others print their pictures, I will place
My mind in frontiſpiece, plain as my face;
And every line that is here drawn ſhall be
To pencil out my ſoul's phyſiognomy,
Which on a radiant height is fix'd; my brow
Frowns not for theſe miſcarriages below;
Unleſs I mean to limit and confine
Th' Almighty wiſdom to conceits of mine.
Yet have no envious eye againſt the crown,
Nor did I ſtrive to pull the mitre down;
Both may be good, but when heads ſwell, men ſay
The reſt of the poor members pine away,
Like ricket bodies, upwards over-grown,
Which is no healthful conſtitution.
The grave mild Preſbyter I could admit,
And am no foe to th' Independent yet;
For I have levell'd my intents to be
Subſervient unto reaſon's ſovereignty.
And none of theſe ſtate-paſſions e'er ſhall riſe
Within my brain to rule and tyranniſe:
For by truth's ſacred lamp, which I admire,
My zeal is kindled, not fanatic fire.
But I'll avoid thoſe vapours whoſe ſwoln ſpight
And foaming-poiſon would put out the light.
Vain fuellers! they think, who doth not know it?
Their lights above't, becauſe they walk below it.
Such blazing lights like exhalations climb,
Then fall, and their beſt matter proves but ſlime:
For where conceited goodneſs finds no want,
There holineſs becomes luxuriant.
Now my great trouble is that I have ſhewn
Other mens faults, with ſo many of my own:
And all my care ſhall be to ſhake off quite
The old man's load, for him whoſe burden's light;
And grown to a full ſtature, till I be
Found like to Chriſt, or Chriſt be form'd in me.
Such pieces are graven by a hand divine,
For I will give my God this heart of mine.

(*α*) To confirm this remark, the antiquary obſerves, That in the year before the ſaid hiſtory was publiſhed, came out a moſt deſperate and libellous book, full of lies, miſtakes, nonſenſe, &c. intituled, *The divine cataſtrophe of the knightly family of the houſe of Stuarts*; or, *A ſhort hiſtory of the riſe, reign, and ruin thereof; wherein the moſt ſecret and chamber abominations of the two laſt Kings (James and Charles* I.) *are diſcovered, &c.* London, 1652, 8vo. Written by one who pretended to be a diligent obſerver of the times, named Sir Edward Peyton, Knt and Bart. the ſame who had written and publiſhed *A diſcourſe concerning the fitneſs of the poſture neceſſary to be uſed in taking the bread and wine in the Sacrament*, Lond. 1642, 4to. The ſaid book called *The cataſtrophe, &c.* being highly reſented by the royaliſts, the author of it therefore was condemned of great baſeneſs and ingratitude. His puritanical education, proceeds our antiquary, had been at Cambridge for a time, and therefore he being out of my road, I have no more to ſay of him but this, that he was bred in grammar learning at St Edmunſbury; that after he had left the univerſity, he ſettled on his patrimony in Cambridgeſhire (in which county I ſuppoſe he was born) that afterwards he ſerved in one or more parliaments in the latter end of James I. and in others after, and was *cuſtos rotulorum* for Cambridgeſhire, of which office he was deprived by the endeavours of the great favourite of King James I. called George Duke of Buckingham. At length he ſiding with the Preſbyterians in the time of the grand rebellion, had his ſhare of ſufferings for that cauſe while the war laſted: He wrote a ſharp pamphlet againſt the King's violation of the rights and privileges of parliament (as he calls them) by endeavouring to ſeize upon and impriſon five of the members thereof, 4th Jan. 1641, and was ready upon all occaſions to blaſt the reputation of his Majeſty and his followers. At length, having lived to ſee the line of the Stuarts extirpated for a time, died at Wicket in Cambridgeſhire in 1657.

"come a well bred gentleman; that he had alſo a great command of the Engliſh tongue "as well in writing as in ſpeaking, and had he beſtowed his endeavours on another ſubject than that of hiſtory, they would without doubt have ſeemed better; for in thoſe "things which he hath done are wanting the principal matters conducing to the completion of that faculty, *viz.* matter, form, record, exact time, name and place, which by "his endeavouring too much to ſet out his bare collections in an affected and bombaſtic "ſtile are much neglected." Mr. Warton, poetry profeſſor at Oxford, and fellow of Trinity college, ranks him with the eminent writers who were bred at that college (*e*).

(*e*) Life of Dean Bathurſt, p. 26, edit. 1762.

WILSON [THOMAS], the moſt pious and learned Biſhop of the Iſle of Man, was deſcended of worthy parents, and born Dec. 20, 1663, at Burton in Wirral, near Weſt Cheſter, where he was educated in ſchool-learning by that ſound ſcholar and diligent inſtructor Mr Francis Harper, and thence was ſent to the univerſity of Dublin in 1681. As he came to the college very well accompliſhed in the claſſics, ſo by a diligence that was natural to him, he made a ſuitable proficiency in the academical learning, and took both the degrees in arts at the uſual periods. But being deſigned for the church, he entered into holy orders as ſoon as he arrived at the canonical age, being ordained Deacon by the Biſhop of Kildare Jan. 29, 1686, and Prieſt Oct. 20, 1689, by the ſame prelate. After this he left the univerſity, and was appointed to attend the young Lord Strange, ſon and heir to the Earl of Derby, in the quality of his tutor, in his travels abroad. He continued in this charge three years, when his pupil happening to die in Italy, the tutor returned ſorrowful home, but his behaviour was ſo much approved by the Earl William George Richard, that his Lordſhip preſented him to the Biſhopric of Sodor and Man, and the nomination being approved by King William III. was confirmed by letters patent, under the great ſeal of England, dated at Weſtminſter the 24th Day of December, in the ninth year of that Prince's reign. Hereupon he had the degree of LL. D. conferred upon him by Archbiſhop Teniſon at Lambeth, on the 10th of Jan. 1697, and on the 16th was conſecrated in the royal chapel whithin the precincts of the Savoy, by the Archbiſhop of York, to whom he was ſuffragan, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of Cheſter and Norwich. Soon after his conſecration he repaired to the iſland to take poſſeſſion, the ceremony of which being uncommon is inſerted below [*A*]. The next year, namely Oct. 27, 1698, he entered into a marriage with Mrs Mary Patten, daughter of Thomas Patten, Eſq; of Warrington in Lancaſhire, deſcended in a direct line from the elder brother of William Patten, commonly called Biſhop Wainfleet (*a*), the ſole founder of Magdalen college, and the hall adjoining, in Oxford, where our Biſhop had the honour of being created D. D. in full convocation (*b*), March 9, 1707. He had merited this honour by a conſtant and diligent application to the duties of his ſacred function, and a truly paſtoral care of thoſe committed to his charge. He had a due attention to the ſtate of his clergy, and much to their advantage, improved on thoſe beneficent plans ſo happily begun by the pious Biſhop Iſaac Barrow [*B*]. He ſo carefully ſuperintended the ſeveral ſchools in the iſland, that they really became the nurſeries of religion and erudition; and that they who had before *ſat in darkneſs* might have *light to lighten them*, he cauſed the holy ſcriptures, the liturgy of our church, *The whole duty of man*, and ſome excellent treatiſes of his own, to be tranſlated into the Manks language. Beſides this, it muſt not be omitted, that his ſpiritual regards were not confined to his dioceſe, for he erected, and properly

(*a*) So called from Wainfleet in Lincolnſhire, where he was born. Wood's Hiſt. and Antiq. of Oxon, book ii. p. 187, who obſerves, That he was probably bred at Wincheſter ſchool, of which he became afterwards head Maſter, when in 12 years he was made Provoſt of Eton college by Hen. VI. and was raiſed at laſt to the See of Wincheſter.

(*b*) In the catalogue of Oxford degrees it is put down April 3, and ſoon after he was admitted to the ſame degree at Cambridge.

[*A*] *Is inſerted below.*] The manner of it was as follows: The then governor Nicholas Sanchy, Eſq; convened the clergy and 24 keys (1) to attend the new Biſhop to the cathedral of St Germans, within Peel caſtle. Upon his entering that fortreſs, he was ſaluted with a diſcharge of the cannon and ſome vollies of ſmall arms; then being epiſcopally robed, and accompanied by the governor, clergy, officers, repreſentatives, and chief inhabitants, the comptroller adminiſtred to him the oath of faith and loyalty to the lord of the iſland and his heir; that he would preſerve and maintain his laws and prerogatives, and be ready to aſſiſt in council, and in the adminiſtration of juſtice. The Biſhop then read and ſubſcribed ſome required declarations; after which the Archdeacon in the uſual forms gave him poſſeſſion of the church. When theſe ceremonies were concluded, his Lordſhip proceeded to the epiſcopal palace (anciently Balla Curi, now called Biſhop's Court) one of the three caſtles built by Magnus, King of Norway, A. D. 1000, of which one of the original towers is ſtill remaining, and the foundations of another are very viſible. To this manſion the Biſhop ſoon afterwards made ſome conſiderable additions, and laid out extenſive plantations, which have ſince not only been a comfortable ſhelter, but have afforded wood for moſt ſorts of uſes.

(1) Theſe conſtitute the aſſembly or houſe of commons, called Keys, becauſe they unlock all the difficulties of the law.

[*B*] *Dr Iſaac Barrow.*] That through the poverty of the iſland, the church might never want fit perſons to perform divine offices, and to inſtruct the people in neceſſary truths and duties, this pious and worthy Biſhop came to the ſee ſoon after the reſtoration, did ſo effectually make uſe of his intereſt with King Charles and other noble benefactors, that he obtained a grant of 100l. *per Ann.* payable out of the exciſe for ever, for the better maintenance of the poor vicars and ſchool maſters of his dioceſe; and the right honourable Charles Earl of Derby being pleaſed to make a long leaſe of the impropriations of the iſle in his hands, which either as Lord or Abbot were free from the whole tithes, the good Biſhop found means to pay for the ſaid leaſe, which, beſides an old rent and fine ſtill payable to the Lord of the iſle, may be worth to the clergy and ſchool about 100l. *per Ann.* more. Beſides this he collected among the Engliſh nobility and gentry (whoſe names and benefactions are regiſtered and preſerved in public tables in every pariſh) 600l. the intereſt of which maintains an academic maſter; and by his own private charity he purchaſed two eſtates in land, worth 20l. a year, for the ſupport of ſuch young perſons as ſhould be deſigned for the miniſtry; ſo that, concludes Biſhop Wilſon, the name and worthy deeds of that excellent prelate will be remembered with gratitude as long as any ſenſe of piety remains among them (the inhabitants (2).

(2) See his account of the Iſle of Man in Gibſon's Camden, 2d edit. p. 1443.

endowed, a ſchool at the place of his nativity; and earneſtly promoted that truly Chriſtian undertaking, the propagation of the goſpel in foreign parts, and wrote an excellent piece relating to the duties of a communicant, for the inſtruction and edification of the converted Indians[*C*]. He was likewiſe a ſhining example in ſocial life. From his well regulated houſhold flowed a bountiful hoſpitality, and moſt diffuſive charity; the poor were fed, and many of the common people daily employed by him, but theſe and his hind or head ſervants *went not forth to their work and their labour*, till they had been firſt aſſembled in his domeſtic chapel, where he himſelf conſtantly read prayers, and devoutly bleſſed them, at ſix o'clock in the ſummer mornings, and at ſeven in the winter. With a paternal care he likewiſe regarded the temporal concerns of the iſlanders; the induſtrious poor he aſſiſted with his purſe. He imported the choiceſt grain of all ſorts for ſeed: He procured the moſt proper horſes, cattle, and ſheep, out of England, to improve the breed of ſuch in that little territory, which was allotted to be his reſidence[*D*]. He not only attended the people as the phyſician of their ſouls, but alſo applied himſelf to the ſtudy of medicine, that he might be ſerviceable in that capacity, and bring help and comfort to thoſe who ſtood in need of ſuch aſſiſtances, inſomuch that, in 1744, he had in theſe and other charities laid out upwards of 10000l. ſterling. With ſuch piety and beneficence, ſuch humanity, affability, and every amiable quality, it is no wonder that he ſo greatly endeared himſelf as he did to his flock, who endeavoured upon all occaſions to ſhew their grateful reverence and affectionate regard towards him, one inſtance of which among a multitude is mentioned below[*E*]. His Lordſhip's extraordinary merits juſtly gained him the eſteem of ſeveral eminent perſonages in this nation; Queen Caroline, conſort to King George II. had no ſmall regard for him, and often mentioned him in that light. He was once going to pay his duty to her Majeſty, who at that time had ſeveral of our prelates with her: As ſoon as the Queen ſaw him entering the preſence chamber, ſhe turned to the right reverends, and ſaid, *Here, my Lords, comes a Biſhop whoſe errand is not to apply for a tranſlation, nor would he part with his ſpouſe* (his dioceſe) *becauſe ſhe is poor*(*c*). The late Biſhop of London thought himſelf happy in ſuch a friend, and Dr Wilſon obliged him and the public with that conciſe and accurate account of the Iſle of *Man*, which is the ſecond edition of Biſhop Gibſon's Camden's Britannia[*F*]. To conclude, as no pen is perhaps equal to the taſk of characterizing this truly primitive churchman[*G*], I ſhall only ſay with this writer (*d*), that he was in every particular what St Paul tells us

(*c*) Both King William and Q. Anne offered him better biſhopricks in Ireland and in England, which he conſtantly declined.

(*d*) Dr Cooper, a learned phyſician at Cheſter.

[*C*] *For the inſtruction of the Indians.*] The title of this piece, is, *A treatiſe of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper:* It had gone through five editions in 1744. He alſo publiſhed *The principles and duties of Chriſtianity*, and tranſlated it into the Manks language for the uſe of that people; the Engliſh edition had gone through ſix editions in 1744. His *Eſſay of inſtructions for the Indians* went through three editions in leſs than two years, and the fourth was tranſlated into French, and publiſhed in 1744, 8vo. by James Bourdillon, miniſter of a French church at London, who aſſures us there had been then above 2000 copies ſent and diſperſed about the Engliſh colonies in America, ſeveral of the nobility and clergy having remitted their bounty for that purpoſe to Dr Thomas Wilſon the Biſhop's ſon(3). In the ſame charitable ſpirit he preached a ſermon before Queen Anne on Holy Thurſday, which was afterwards printed. Beſides theſe four he publiſhed ſeveral anonymous pieces, which he would not permit his ſon to declare the author of.

(3) Extracts of ſeveral of theſe letters, with the particular preſents, are printed in the preface to the French tranſlation.

[*D*] *Which was allotted to be his reſidence.*] When he came to the Biſhopric, the demeſne belonging thereto was rented at 30l. a year for a ſheep walk, but he improved it by a cultivation at his own charge, that the profits were not only ſufficient to ſupport a liberal hoſpitality in houſe keeping, but to ſupply other charities, and now produces not leſs than 400l. *per Annum.*

[*E*] *One inſtance of which I ſhall mention below.*] The perſon who was governor of Man from 1713 to 1723, having a difference with his Lordſhip about ſome matters of right, which the Biſhop conſcienciouſly denied to give up, that ruler ſtretched forth the the hand of power, and committed his dioceſan to the damp and gloomy priſon Caſtle Ruſhin, where he remained many weeks, till the affair was determined by King George I. and his privy council, in favour of the Biſhop. This treatment of their patron and benefactor ſo affected the Manks, that they came from all parts of the iſland to Caſtle Town at leaſt once every week, to expreſs their concern about him, and with tears and lamentations, kneeling down before the caſtle walls, they had their pious paſtor's prayers and bleſſings from the grated loop-hole(4).

(4) Dr Cooper's letter to the publiſher of the Cheſter Weekly Courant, dated April 1, 1755.

[*F*] *Camden's Britannia.*] It appears by this account, that the Biſhop is a Baron of the iſland, and holds courts for his temporalities, where one of the Deemſters(5) of the iſle ſits as judge. If one of the Biſhop's tenants be accuſed of a capital crime, and is to be tried for his life, the Biſhop's ſteward may demand him from the Lord's bar, and try him in the Biſhop's court, by a jury of his own tenants; and in caſe of conviction, his land is forfeited to the Biſhop, but his goods and perſon are at the Lord's diſpoſal. The Archdeacon, in all inferior courts, has alternate juriſdiction with the Biſhop, and holds his courts there in perſon, or by his official, as the Biſhop does either by himſelf or his vicars general. They ſtill retain the cuſtom of the Saxons, that the Biſhop or ſome prieſt do always ſit in their greater courts with the governor, till ſentence of death (if any) be to be pronounced, when the Deemſter aſks the court, inſtead of guilty or not guilty, *Vod fir charree ſoie*, i. e. *May the man of the chancel, or he that miniſters the liturgy, continue to ſit.* The eldeſt daughter, if there be no male, inherits the eſtate, though there be more children: Wives have a power to make their wills (as in Holland) though the huſband be living, of one half of all the goods, both moveable and immoveable, except in the ſix northern pariſhes. A widow has one half of her huſband's real eſtate, if ſhe be his firſt wife, if the ſecond or third, &c. a fourth part. To have rendered this little hiſtory as complete as poſſible, Dr Wilſon addreſſed an elegant Latin epiſtle, dated May 1, 1710, to the Archbiſhop of Drontheim in Norway (*Epiſcopo Nidreſenſi*) to which See the Biſhopric of *Man* had formerly been a ſuffragan, deſiring to have copies of ſuch abſtracts, papers, &c. relating to the Biſhopric of *Man*, as were in the archives of that metropolitan; but was anſwered, that the old regiſter proofs of *Drontheim* had been burnt.

(5) Theſe are the chief judges, there are two of them, their oath at their admiſſion is, *You ſhall do juſtice between man and man, as equally as the herring bone lies between the two ſides of that fiſh.* Herrings were the chief food of the antient inhabitants, and the tithe of them is ſtill a good part of the Bp's revenue.

[*G*] *This truly primitive churchman.*] The following inſtances are conſpicuous proofs of his primitive conduct: He never meddled in the leaſt with temporal and civil matters: He aboliſhed plurality of benefices and non-reſidence, by a law which he made fundamental.

us a Biſhop ought to be; he was *Vir ſane cui vix ætas ſuperior parem dederat, vel poſterà datura eſt, imo etiam et probis moribus et in humanum genus ſtudio et amore inſignibus adeo, ut apud omnes ſummum ſui reliquerit deſiderium* [*H*]. Thus, by living a godly, righteous, and ſober life, this excellent divine attained to the ninety-third year of his age, and the fifty-eighth of his conſecration, and gently expired in the beginning of March 1755, N. S. The immediate cauſe of his death was a cold caught by taking a walk in his garden in very cold weather, after reading evening prayers in his own chapel. By his wife he had four children, three of whom dying in their infancy, left only one ſon ſtill living, Thomas Wilſon, who was bred at Chriſt-church college Oxford, where he took the degree of A. M. Dec. 16, 1727, and accumulated thoſe of B. and D. D. May 10, 1739, when he went out grand compounder *(e)*, and is now prebend of Weſtminſter, and rector of St Stephens Walbrook, London, to whoſe kindneſs we are obliged for the preſent memoir, which is an extract chiefly from a fuller account of his moſt worthy father, the materials whereof are collected by him, in the deſign of digeſting them into a proper method for the public view, and 'tis hoped will one day ſee the light. But I muſt not conclude the preſent memoir without taking notice that the *Iſle of Man* coming into the poſſeſſion of the Duke of Athol, by a marriage with the ſole heireſs of the Stanley family, in whoſe hands it had continued ever ſince the firſt grant by King Henry IV. becoming very detrimental to the trade of England by the practice of ſmuggling, has been purchaſed by an act of parliament this ſeſſions 1765, and the lordſhip of it veſted in the crown *(f)*.

(e) Catalogue of Oxford degrees.

(f) But the patronage of the biſhopric, and all the eccleſiaſtical preferments in the dioceſe, and all ſuch antient rights, &c. as terminate within the iſland, are ſtill reſerved to the former lord.

mental. Excommunication is in uſe as public cenſure, he excludes notorious and obſtinate ſinners from the Euchariſt, to which, however, he does not proceed till all other means, as paſtoral viſits, admonitions, particular exhortations have proved ineffectual. The excommunicated perſon ſtands ſeveral ſundays ſucceſſively in the church covered with a white ſheet, and is not reſtored till he has given ſufficient proofs of his repentance. Upon the whole, he was ſo vigilant that he had no occaſion to exert this diſcipline above ſix times in 47 years. There hardly paſſed a Sunday in which he did not preach himſelf either in his own cathedral, or ſome of his pariſh churches. He often viſited the clergy going into their particular churches, to ſee that both the parſon and people performed their duty, and made a general viſitation of his dioceſe four times a year. He was a father of toleration, admitting even diſſenters to receive the communion, either ſtanding or ſitting, at their requeſt, ſo that there was neither ſchiſm nor ſeparate congregation, nor properly any diſſenters in his dioceſe. He rarely went to England, but happening to be there, Lord King held the great ſeal; his Lordſhip being viſited by the Biſhop, took occaſion to obſerve to him, *That if the true form of the primitive church was loſt in England, it might be found again in all its purity in the Iſle of Man*(6).

(6) Dr Cooper, as before.

[*H*] *Sui reliquerit deſiderium.*] That the Engliſh readers may the more readily excuſe the above ſhort excurſion, I ſhall tranſcribe for them the following words of an able author upon the preſent ſubject. Having taken notice of the ſtate of Chriſtianity in the north of Scotland, and in ſome parts of Ireland, he proceeds thus (7): 'It will be unpardonable after theſe 'to mention the Iſle of Man in any other expreſſions 'than thoſe of gratitude and praiſe, delight and joy. 'Happy iſland! may thy worthy Biſhop live and con'tinue with the aſſiſtance of his God, to make thee 'an example of religion and holineſs to all the iſlands 'and kingdoms of the world!—May his works alſo 'live, and the good effect of them continue to a 'thouſand generations! When he has been long *dead* 'he will yet ſpeak, and the happy influence of his 'works will remain in this world, whilſt he is en'joying the glorious rewards of them in another: 'May I live the life and die the death of that righ'teous man, and my latter end and ſtate of eternity 'be like his!'

(7) *An appeal to common reaſon and candour, in behalf of a review of our liturgy*, p. 92. edit. 1750, 8vo.

This eulogy in proſe may be cloſed with the following in verſe, with this motto:

Hic quoque et accumulem donis, et fungar innani menure.

Adieu, moſt worthy prelate, now releas'd
From mortal toils; thou, whom indulgent heav'n
Lent us ſo long (if long in life can be),
Who well attentive faithfully haſt watch'd
Thy little ſea-girt ſee, contented there
Still to remain devoted to thy charge.
Thy care the hungry fed, the naked cloath'd,
Reliev'd the friendleſs orphan in his want,
And caus'd the widow's heart to ſing for joy:
The ear which heard thee bleſs'd thee, and the eye
That ſaw thee ſparkled with all grateful beams.
Each day, each hour, ſtill properly employ'd,
Shone with the merit of thy pious deeds.
Thy taſk diſcharg'd, mature for heav'n, thou'rt gone,
Antient thyſelf, to th' Antient of all days:
There in a moment, glorious meed! thy ſtaff
Epiſcopal and rochet are exchang'd
For dazzling robes, and a triumphant palm (9).

(9) Dr Cooper.

WINWOOD [Ralph], an able ſtateſman in foreign affairs, was the ſon of Richard and grandſon of Lewis Winwood, ſometime ſecretary to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and born at Aynho, in Northamptonſhire, about the year 1564. After a ſuitable foundation in grammar learning he was ſent to Oxford, and admitted of St John's college, but being elected probationer fellow of Magdalen in 1582, he proceeded thence A. B. on the 15th of Nov. that year. He commenced A. M. June 22, 1587, and went out LL. B. Feb. 2, 1590, and on the 5th of April 1592, was choſen proctor of the univerſity. He afterwards completed his education by foreign travels, and returned a very accompliſhed gentleman *(a)*. In the beginning of the year 1599, he attended Sir Henry Neville, Ambaſſador to France, as his ſecretary, and in the abſence of Sir Henry was appointed reſident at Paris, from whence he was recalled in Jan. 1602-3, and in 1603 was ſent by King James I. to the ſtates of Holland, where he behaved ſo much to his Majeſty's ſatisfaction, that in Auguſt 1607 he was appointed Ambaſſador to the ſame ſtates jointly with Sir Richard Spencer *(b)*, having received the honour of Knighthood from the King, on the 28th of June preceding *(c)*. In Auguſt 1609, he was again ſent Ambaſſador to Holland *(d)*, where he acted with great vigour againſt Conrade Vorſtius.

(a) Wood's Faſti Oxon. vol. i. col. 123, 133, and 139.

(b) Winwood's Memorials, vol. i. p. 81, 227, 4to. and vol. ii. p. 1, 2, and 328.

(c) Wood ubi ſupra, col. 139.

(d) Memorials, vol. iii. p. 58.

Vorſtius[*A*]. March 29, 1614, he was made ſecretary of ſtate, in which place he continued till his death, which happened at London Oct. 27, 1617*, and about three days after his body was interred in a vault under part of Little St Bartholomew's church, in that city. He was a married man, and left one ſon his heir, named Richard Winwood, Eſq; of Ditton Park in Bucks, who dying there without iſſue at about 80 years of age, June 28, 1688, his eſtate, which was conſiderable, went to Ralph, ſon of Lord Montague, by Anne his wife, ſiſter to the ſaid Richard Winwood (*e*). Mr David Lloyd tells us (*f*), that he was a gentleman well ſeen in moſt affairs, but moſt expert in matters of trade and war. In 1725 was publiſhed at London in three volumes folio, *Memorials of affairs of ſtate in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James* I. *collected chiefly from the original papers of the right honourable Sir Ralph Winwood, Knt. ſome time one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate: Comprehending likewiſe the negotiations of Sir Henry Neville, Sir Charles Cornwallis, Sir Dudley Carleton, Sir Thomas Edmonds, Mr Trumbull, Mr Cottington, and others, at the courts of France and Spain; and in Holland, Venice,* &c. *Wherein the principal tranſactions of thoſe times are faithfully related, and the policies and the intrigues of thoſe courts at large diſcovered. The whole digeſted in an exact ſeries of time. To which are added two tables, one of the letters, the other of the principal matters; by Edmund Sawyer, of Lincoln's-Inn, Eſq; and one of the maſters in Chancery.*

* Sir Henry Wotton came from Venice in hopes of ſucceeding him, but was diſappointed. See his article in vol. vi. part ii. p. 4345. rem. [*N*].

(*e*) Wood as before.

(*f*) State Worthies, p. 826, 2d edit. Lond. 1670.

[*A*] *Conrade Vorſtius.*] This learned divine, who was born at Cologn July 19, 1569, took the degree of D. D. at Heidelberg in July 1594, and after many other preferments accepted of the divinity profeſſorſhip (after the death of Arminius) at Leyden in 1711. This preferment alarmed the Calviniſts, who rouſed the religious zeal of King James, and prevailed with him to deſire the republic of Holland to drive out ſuch a heretic. Such wars were what that monarch delighted in. He intereſted himſelf more in this, than in that of the King of Bohemia his ſon-in-law, and was ſo courageous as to cauſe Vorſtius's book *De Deo* to be burnt at London and the two univerſities. The King was hunting when it was brought him, and he ran it over with ſo much diſpatch, that he ſent in an hour's time to his reſident at the Hague, a catalogue of the ſeveral hereſies he had found in that work. He commanded his reſident to notify to the ſtates that he greatly deteſted thoſe hereſies, and thoſe who ſhould tolerate them. The ſtates anſwered, that if Vorſtius was guilty of the errors laid to his charge, they would not ſuffer him to live among them. However, his Britannic Majeſty was not ſatisfied with this anſwer, and therefore he wrote a letter dated Oct. 6, 1711, by which he earneſtly preſſed them to baniſh Vorſtius, though he ſhould deny the errors laid to his charge; for ſhould he own them, and be convicted on that occaſion, his Majeſty was firmly of opinion that he ought to be burnt. He declares, that if the moſt earneſt endeavours are not uſed to extirpate this riſing hereſy, he determined to proteſt publicly againſt ſuch abominations, will ſeparate from the union of ſuch falſe and heretical churches, and in quality of defender of the faith, will exhort all the reſt of the Proteſtant churches to take one general reſolution, in order to extinguiſh and ſend to hell thoſe abominable newly broached hereſies; and that with regard to himſelf, he will forbid all his ſubjects to frequent ſo peſtilential a place as the univerſity of Leyden. Vorſtius had been inſtalled at Leyden before this letter of King James was preſented to the ſtates: For this reaſon, the Engliſh envoy when he preſented it, made a very violent ſpeech againſt this inſtalment, and threatened the united provinces with the enmity of the King his ſovereign, in caſe they ſuffered Vorſtius to live among them. He was anſwered, That this profeſſor had orders not to proceed in the exerciſe of his employment till he had anſwered the accuſations which ſhould be examined in the ſtates of Holland the February following. The Ambaſſador, little ſatisfied with this anſwer, again made a ſpeech, in which he entered his proteſt, and menaced the ſtates not only with the hatred of King James, but alſo with his pen. But the ſame anſwer was returned him as before, and they ſaid farther, that they were aſſured his Britannic Majeſty would be ſatisfied with the conduct of the States of Holland. Notwithſtanding this anſwer, the Prince in queſtion publiſhed a book, in which he ſet forth his conduct in that affair, and the motives of it, diſputing ſtrongly at the ſame time againſt Vorſtius. The latter publiſhed a ſmall anſwer to the extracts which that monarch had committed to the States, I mean the propoſitions extracted from the book *De Deo*. He dedicated it to the ſtates Dec. 15, 1611. It was written in the moſt reſpectful terms to King James. But matters grew ſo warm that Vorſtius was forced proviſionally to reſign his employment, and leave Leyden in order to wait elſewhere for a definitive ſentence. He returned to Tergow in 1612, where he lived undiſturbed till 1619, when he was forced to leave Holland; for the ſynod of Dort, having declared him unworthy of the profeſſorſhip (1), the States of the province diveſted him of that employment, and ſentenced him to perpetual baniſhment. He lay concealed two years, and was more than once in danger of death, many perſons being fired with ſo furious a zeal, as to think it not fit for ſuch a man to be allowed to live. At laſt the Duke of Holſtein having got together in his dominions the remains of the Arminians, and having aſſigned them a ſpot of ground for building a city, Vorſtius now found himſelf ſecure and quiet, he returned to that country in June 1622, but fell ſick there a little after, and died at Tonningen the 29th of September following. He died with the ſtrongeſt marks of a pious reſignation to the will of God, and is ſaid to have always been extremely devout and fervent in prayer. His body was carried to Fredericſtadt, the newly raiſed city of the Arminians, where he was buried with conſiderable ſplendor.

From what has been ſaid, Mr Bayle obſerves, that it would be very wrong to pretend that the diſputes about Arminianiſm did not occaſion great diſorders among the Engliſh divines; for there are times in which ſuch as were ſuſpected to favour this ſect ſuffered perſecution (2). Theſe conteſts had a conſiderable ſhare therein, even before the ſynod of Dort; but before that the Engliſh divines had a much greater liberty than thoſe of other countries, not to follow the doctrine of Calvin, with regard to predeſtination and the rejecting of free-will; and ſince the reſtoration of King Charles II. the diſputes on thoſe points have not made much noiſe there, people have not quarrelled much in that country on this account; and it was by the favour of this calm that the doctrine of Arminius increaſed and ſpread itſelf. Thoſe who approved it did not harraſs the others, and by this temper prompted them not to be fired with ſo much zeal for the ſynod of Dort (3).

(1) The deputies of the King of England in that ſynod, were the chief promoters of this ſentence.

(2) See remark [*D*] of the article Forbes [William].

(3) Bayle's Dictionary, under the article of Vorſtius [Conrade].

WYCHERLEY [William], a diſtinguiſhed wit and admired comic poet, was the eldeſt ſon of Daniel Wycherley, Eſq; of Cleve in Shropſhire (*a*), where he had his birth about the year 1640. After the firſt rudiments of his education, he was ſent for further improvement about the age of fifteen to France (*b*), and reſided ſome years in the weſtern parts of that kingdom, upon the banks of the Charante, where he recommended himſelf to

(*a*) Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 976.

(*b*) Memoirs of Mr Wycherley, by Major Pack.

the notice of Madam de Montauſier (*c*) [*A*], celebrated in Voiture's letters, and one of the moſt accompliſhed ladies of the French court; with whoſe politeneſs he was ſo much captivated, that he reſolved to change his religion and enter into the church of Rome. In this faith he returned home, a little before the reſtoration of King Charles II. and became a gentleman commoner of Queen's college, Oxford. He was entered into the public library under the title of *philoſophiæ ſtudioſus*, in July 1660, but as he was never matriculated, ſo he left the univerſity without taking any degree, and going to London he entered himſelf in the Middle Temple (*d*), deſigning for the law; but making his firſt appearance in town when wit and gaiety were the favourite diſtinctions, he ſoon quitted that dry ſtudy, and turned his thoughts upon ſubjects more agreeable to his genius, as well as to the taſte of the age (*e*). His circumſtances enabled him to enjoy the pleaſures of the delightful court of King Charles, and his excellent talents procured him the particular favour of that monarch. Plays being then the vogue, he applied his genius to the writing of comedies, and produced his *Love in a Wood*; or, *St James's Park*, in 1672. This brought him into the acquaintance of the celebrated wits [*B*] both of court and town; among the reſt
Villiers

(*c*) Dennis's original letters, vol. i. p. 213, edit. 1721, 8vo.

(*d*) Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Pack ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *Madam de Montauſier.*] As nothing conduced more to the fame of this accompliſhed lady than thoſe letters of Voiture, whoſe letters were all prodigiouſly admired, and the ſeveral impreſſions (1) of them eagerly bought up, a brief account of the author cannot be unacceptable. Vincent Voiture was born at Amiens in 1598, his father was a wine merchant, a man that loved good cheer, and attending the court was well known among the grandees. Vincent little reſembled his father in theſe reſpects; he drank nothing but water, inſomuch that his father uſed to ſay, he was changed for another at nurſe. He had his education at Paris, where he ſtudied at the college of Calrie in 1610, under a regent whoſe name was Lewis Liger. Here he recited a Latin piece of the regent's, upon the parricide of Henry IV. (2). Voiture, 'tis ſaid, was introduced at court partly by the means of M. d'Avaux, his fellow ſtudent, of the ſame age and inclinations with himſelf. 'Tis certain the Monſieur Chaudebond was the firſt that brought him to the houſe of Rambouillet. He was afterwards with the Duke of Orleans, only brother to the King, who ſent him upon ſome affairs to Spain, from whence out of curioſity he croſſed the water to Africa. He was greatly eſteemed at Madrid, where he wrote ſome verſes in Spaniſh, which all the world aſcribed to Lopez de Vega, ſo pure was the diction. Count d'Olivarez ſhewed him much kindneſs, and often was entertained by his company. Voiture made two journeys to Rome, and was ſent to Florence to carry the news of the Dauphin's birth, afterwards Lewis XIV. He had ſeveral places at court, as King's Maitre d'Hôtel, and introducer of Ambaſſadors to the Duke of Orleans. He had alſo ſeveral penſions, beſides divers benefactions from d'Avaux, who being ſuperintendant of the finances, made him his deputy, only that he might receive the perquiſites without performing the duty. It was Voiture who renewed the Rondeau (3), the uſe of which had been loſt from the time of Marot. He was admitted a member of the French academy in 1634, and while he was at Rome in 1638, the academy of the Humouriſts received him into that ſociety. In ſhort his fame roſe ſo high, that he was put in competition with Benſerade: This poet having compoſed a ſonnet, preſented it to a lady, together with his paraphraſe on Job; Voiture having wrote a ſonnet inſcribed to Urania, the court was divided upon the merit of the two pieces; ſome who had the Prince of Conti for their head were for Benſerade, and were called Jobelins; while others following the taſte of Madam de Longueville, declared for Voiture, under the name of Uranias. Our author died at Paris May 27, 1648, and was interred in the church of St Euſtace. As to his perſon, he was of a low ſtature, with black eyes and black hair, his viſage was a little ſilly, but however agreeable; he was never married, and left only one natural daughter; he was of a very amorous complexion: 'tis ſaid of him that he had his amours even from the ſcepter to the crook, and from the crown to the woollen cap. He was addicted to gaming, otherwiſe might have died rich, but he often met with loſſes above his fortune (4). When he was rallied about his extraction, it put him to great pain, for which reaſon it was ſaid, that wine which raiſed the ſpirits of others, made him faint away. His works are *Hymnus Virginis ſeu Aſtreæ*, printed in 1612, and *Mars*, addreſſed to Monſeigneur, the King's only brother, in 1616. His proſe, ſays Peliſſon, is that in which he is moſt correct and accurate. It has a certain air of gallantry not to be found elſewhere, and ſomething ſo natural, and at the ſame time ſo fine, that the reading of it is very agreeable. His verſes are perhaps not leſs beautiful, though more negligent, but when he compoſes rules he becomes a maſter. Boileau has compoſed a letter in imitation of Voiture. The piece intituled *Le pompi funebre de Voiture* contains a good part of his hiſtory; Saraſin is the author of it, and it is one of the completeſt in its kind (5). Menage has conſecrated the following epitaph to him:

Etruſcæ charites, Camenæ Iberæ,
Hermes Gallicus, et Latina ſyren,
Riſus, deliciæ, dicacitates,
Luſus, ingenium, joci, lepores,
Et quicquid fuit elegantiarum
Quô Vetturius, hoc jacent ſepulchro.

In Engliſh thus literally:

The Italian grace, the Spaniſh muſe,
The French mercury, and Latin ſyren,
Mirth, delicacies, railleries,
Sport, wit, jeſts, pleaſantries,
And all elegancies whatſoever
Lye with Voiture in this ſepulchre.

(1) They have gone through a prodigious number of editions.

(2) This piece was printed in a collection of ſmall pieces on the death of Henry, with this title, *Laudatio funebris piæ et felici memoriæ Henrici Magni dedicata*, &c. Paris, 1610.

(3) See a ſmart one in Mr Pope's article, in page 3414, under [*CC*] vol. v.

(4) 'Tis ſaid that he loſt one evening 500 piſtoles.

(5) More in vol. viii. edit. 1740, fol. under the article of Voiture.

[*B*] *The celebrated wits.*] Among others he became acquainted with the Ducheſs of Cleveland, the manner of which is thus related by Mr Dennis (6). As Mr Wycherley was going through Pall-mall towards St James's in his chariot, he met the Ducheſs in her's, who thruſting half her body out of the chariot, cried out aloud to him, *You Wycherley, you are a ſon of a whore*, at the ſame time laughing aloud and heartily: Mr Wycherley was very much ſurprized at this, yet not ſo much but that he ſoon apprehended it was ſpoke with alluſion to the latter end of a ſong in St James's Park;

When parents are ſlaves
Their brats cannot be any other,
Great wits and great brains
Have always a punk to their mother.

As during Mr Wycherley's ſurprize, the chariots drove different ways, they were ſoon at a conſiderable diſtance, when Mr Wycherley recovering from his ſurprize, ordered his coachman to drive back and overtake the lady. As ſoon as he got over againſt her, he ſaid to her, *Madam, you have been pleaſed to beſtow a title on me which generally belongs to the fortunate, Will your Ladyſhip be at the play to night? Well*, ſhe replied, *what if I am there? Why then*, anſwered he, *I will be there to wait on your Ladyſhip,*
though

(6) In his original letters, &c. vol. x. p. 216, *et ſeq.*

Villiers Duke of Buckingham conceived the higheſt eſteem for him [C], and as maſter of the horſe to the King, not only made him one of his equerries, but, as colonel of a regiment, procured him the commiſſion of a captain lieutenant of his own company, reſigning to him at the ſame time his own pay as captain, with many other advantages. King Charles likewiſe ſhewed him ſignal marks of his favour, and once gave him a proof of his eſteem, which perhaps never any ſovereign Prince before had given to an author who was only a private gentleman. Mr Wycherley happened to fall ſick at his lodgings in Bow-ſtreet, Covent-garden, during which ſickneſs the King did him the honour to viſit. Finding his body extremely weakened, and his ſpirits miſerably ſhattered, he commanded him as ſoon as he ſhould be able to take a journey, to go to the ſouth of France, believing that the air of Montpelier would contribute to reſtore him as much as any thing, and aſſured him at the ſame time, *That as ſoon as he was capable of taking the journey, he would order him 500 l. to defray the charges of it.* Mr Wycherley accordingly went to France, and having ſpent the winter there, returned to England in the ſpring, entirely reſtored to his former vigour, both of body and mind. The King ſhortly after told him that he had a ſon, who he was reſolved ſhould be educated like the ſon of a king, and that he could not chuſe a more proper man for his governor than Mr Wycherley, for which ſervice 1500 *l. per Ann.* ſhould be ſettled upon him, for the payment of which he ſhould have an aſſignment upon three ſeveral offices, and when that ſervice was over, he would take care to provide for him. But Mr Wycherley, ſuch is the uncertain ſtate of all human affairs, loſt the favour of the King and of the courtiers. We are told *(f)* that immediately after he had received the gracious offer above-mentioned from the King, he went down to Tunbridge, either to take the benefit of thoſe waters, or the diverſions of the place; when walking one day upon the Well's-walk with his friend Mr Fairbeard, of Gray's-Inn, juſt as he came up to the bookſeller's ſhop, the Counteſs of Drogheda, a young widow, rich, noble, and beautiful, came to the bookſeller and enquired for *The* Plain Dealer: *Madam,* ſays Mr Fairbeard, *ſince you are for The* Plain Dealer, *there he is for you,* puſhing Mr Wycherley towards her: *Yes,* ſays Mr Wycherley, *this lady can bear plain dealing, for ſhe appears to be ſo accompliſhed, that what would be compliment ſaid to others, ſpoke to her would be plain dealing: No truly, Sir,* ſaid the Counteſs, *I am not without my faults any more than the reſt of my ſex, and yet notwithſtanding I love plain dealing, and am never more fond of it than when it tells me of them: Then Madam,* ſays Mr Fairbeard, *You and the Plain Dealer ſeem deſigned by heaven for each other.* In ſhort, Mr Wycherley walked with the Counteſs upon the walks, waited upon her home, viſited her daily at her lodgings while ſhe continued at Tunbridge, and at her apartments in Hatton-garden after ſhe went to London, where in a little time he got her conſent to marry her; which he did by his father's command, without acquainting the King, upon an apprehenſion that the lady having a great independent fortune, the acquainting the King with the intended marriage might be the likelieſt way to prevent it. But this match, ſo promiſing in appearance both to his fortunes and his happineſs, was neither more nor leſs than the actual ruin of both [D]. His lady, indeed, who did not ſurvive this

(f) By Mr Dennis, ubi ſupra, p. 222.

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though I diſappoint a fine woman who has made me an aſſignation: So, ſays ſhe, *You are ſure to diſappoint a fine woman who has favoured you, for one that has not: Yes,* he replied, *if ſhe who has not favoured me is the finer woman of the two: But he who will be conſtant to your Ladyſhip till he can find a finer woman, is ſure to die your captive.* The lady bluſhed, and bade her coachman drive away. As ſhe was then in all her bloom, and the moſt celebrated beauty that was then in England, or perhaps that has been in England ſince, ſhe was touched with the galantry of that compliment. In ſhort, ſhe was that night in the firſt row of the King's box in Drury Lane, and Mr Wycherley in the pit under her, where he entertained her during the whole play. And this was the beginning of a correſpondence between theſe two perſons, which afterwards made a great noiſe in the town.

[C] *The Duke of Buckingham conceived the higheſt eſteem for him.*] The incident that procured that nobleman's favour is ſomewhat extraordinary. His Grace was paſſionately in love with the Ducheſs of Cleveland, and had long ſollicited her without any ſucceſs: Whether the relation between them ſhocked her, for ſhe was his couſin german, or whether ſhe apprehended that an intrigue with a perſon of his rank and character, a perſon upon whom the eyes of all men were fixed, muſt of neceſſity in a little time come to the King's ears; whatever was the cauſe ſhe refuſed to admit of his viſits ſo long, that at laſt indignation, rage, and diſdain, took place of love, and he reſolved to ruin her: To this end he had her ſo narrowly watched by his ſpies, that he ſoon came to the knowlege of thoſe whom he had reaſon to believe his rivals; and after he knew them, he never failed to name them aloud, in order to expoſe the lady to all thoſe who frequented her, and among others he uſed to name Mr Wycherley. As ſoon as it came to the knowledge of the latter, who had all his expectations from the court, he apprehended the conſequence of ſuch a report if it ſhould reach the King. He applied himſelf therefore to Wilmot Earl of Rocheſter and to Sir Charles Sedley, intreating them to remonſtrate to the Duke the miſchief he was about to do to one that had not the honour to be known to him, and who never offended him. Upon their opening the matter to the Duke, he cried out immediately, that he did not blame Wycherley, he only accuſed his couſin. Ay, but they replied, by rendering him ſuſpected of ſuch an intrigue, you are about to injure a man with whoſe converſation you would be pleaſed above all things. Upon this occaſion they ſaid ſo much of the ſhining qualities of Mr Wycherley, and the charms of his converſation, that the Duke, who was as much in love with wit as he was with his kinſwoman, was impatient till he was brought to ſup with him, which was in two or three nights. After ſupper Mr Wycherley, who was then in the height of his vigour both of body and mind, thought himſelf obliged to exert his utmoſt, and the Duke was charmed to that degree, that he cried out in a tranſport, and with an oath, *My couſin is in the right of it,* and from that very moment made a friend of a man whom he believed his happy rival (7).

(7) Idem ibid.

[D] *This match was his ruin.*] As ſoon as the news of it came to court, it was looked upon as an affront to the King, and a contempt of his Majeſty's orders; and Mr Wycherley's conduct after marriage made this match many years, ſettled her whole eſtate upon him, but his title being diſputed after her death, the expence of the law and other incumbrances ſo far reduced him, that not being able to ſatisfy the importunity of his creditors, he was flung into priſon: There he languiſhed for the ſpace of ſeven years, nor was releaſed till King James going to ſee *The Plain Dealer* (g) acted, was ſo charmed with the entertainment, that he gave immediate orders for the payment of his debts, adding to that grace a penſion of 200*l. per Ann.* while his Majeſty continued in England. But the bountiful intentions of that Prince had not the deſigned effect, purely through his modeſty, being aſhamed to give the Earl of Mulgrave, whom the King had ſent to demand it, a full account of his debts. He laboured under the weight of theſe difficulties till his father died, and then too the eſtate that deſcended to him was left under very uneaſy limitations, ſince being only a tenant for life, he could not raiſe any money for the payment of his debts. However, he took a method of doing it that was in his power, though few ſuſpected it to be his choice; and this was making a jointure. He had often declared that he was reſolved to *die* married, though he could not bear the thoughts of *living* married again; accordingly, juſt at the eve of his death, he married a young gentlewoman, with 1500*l.* to her fortune, part of which he applied to the uſes for which he wanted it, and eleven days after the celebration of the nuptials he died (*h*) in Dec. 1715, and was interred in the vault of Covent-garden church. Beſides his plays above-mentioned; he publiſhed a volume of Poems at London in 1704, folio [*E*], and in 1728 Mr Lewis Theobald publiſhed there his *Poſthumous works in proſe and verſe*, in 8vo. I muſt not omit the euloge made upon him by Lord

(g) This play was firſt publiſhed in 1678, and after it came out his *Country Wife* in 1683: He had alſo publiſhed before *The gentleman dancing maſter*, in 1673.

(*h*) He is ſaid to have requeſted very gravely of his wife upon his death-bed, that ſhe would not take an old man for her ſecond huſband. Major Pack's memoirs.

made this to be reſented more heniouſly; for ſeldom or never coming near the court, he was thought downright ungrateful: But the true cauſe of his abſence was not known, and the court was at that time too much alarmed, and too much diſquieted to inquire into it. In ſhort the lady was jealous of him to diſtraction, jealous to that degree, that ſhe could not endure he ſhould be a moment out of her ſight. Their lodgings were in Bow-ſtreet, Covent garden, oppoſite the Cock tavern, whither if he at any time went with his friends, he was obliged to leave the windows open, that his lady might ſee there was no woman in company, or ſhe would be immediately in a downright raving condition (8).

(8) Idem ibid. p. 222, 223.

[*E*] *A volume of poems in folio.*] As theſe poems were univerſally damned, he applied to Mr Pope, with whom he had an acquaintance, to reviſe and correct the verſification: Mr Pope readily complied with the compliment, but performed the requeſt with more freedom than was intended, which was taken amiſs by Wycherley, the conſequence whereof has been already related (9). Some years after this Pope fell into a conteſt with another poet, which was reſented in a way that could not but be agreeable to him, I mean lady Winchelſea, to whom he addreſſed the following lines, occaſioned by four verſes in *The rape of the lock.*

(9) Pope's article, vol. v. p. 3407, and remark [*I*].

In vain you boaſt poetic names of yore,
And cite thoſe Sapphoes we admire no more:
Fate doom'd the fall of every female wit,
But doom'd it then, when firſt Ardelia writ.
Of all examples by the world confeſt,
I knew Ardelia could not quote the beſt:
Who like her miſtreſs on Britannia's throne,
Fights and ſubdues in quarrels not her own.
To write their praiſe, you but in vain eſſay;
Ev'n while you write, you take that praiſe away.
Light to the ſtars the ſun does thus reſtore,
And ſhines himſelf till they are ſeen no more.

To theſe lady Winchelſea returned the following anſwer.

Diſarm'd with ſo genteel an air
  The conteſt I give o'er,
Yet *Alexander* have a care,
  And ſhock the ſex no more.
We rule the world, our life's whole race,
  Men but aſſume that right;
Firſt ſlaves to every tempting face,
  Then martyrs to our ſpight.
You of one Orpheus ſure have read,
  Who would like you have writ,
Had he in London town been bred,
  And poliſh'd to his wit.
But he poor ſoul thought all was well,
  And great ſhould be his fame;
When he had left his wife in hell,
  And birds and beaſts could tame.
Yet vent'ring then with ſcoffing rhymes,
  The women to incenſe;
Reſenting heroines of thoſe times
  Soon puniſhed his offence.
And as the Hebrus roll'd his ſkull,
  And harp beſmear'd with blood;
They daſhing as the waves grew full,
  Still harmoniz'd the flood.
But you our follies gently treat,
  And ſpin ſo fine the thread,
You need not fear his aukward fate,
  The lock won't coſt the head.
Our admiration you command
  For all that's gone before;
What next we look for at your hand
  Can only raiſe it more.
Yet ſooth the ladies I adviſe
  (As me too pride has wrought)
We're born to wit, but to be wiſe
  By admonitions taught.

This excellent poetic genius, Lady Anne Counteſs of Winchelſea, was daughter of Sir William Kingſmill, of Sidmonton in Hampſhire, Knt. She was maid of honour to the Ducheſs of York, ſecond wife to King James II. and was afterwards married to Heneage, ſecond ſon of Heneage, Earl of Winchelſea, by lady Mary, a ſecond daughter of William Seymour, Duke of Somerſetſhire; which Heneage in his father's life-time, was gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York, and afterwards upon the death of his nephew Charles, ſucceeded him in the title of Earl of Winchelſea. The Counteſs died Aug. 5, 1720, as the Earl her huſband did Sept. 30, 1726. Dr Birch in the general dictionary, whence the preſent memoir is extracted, has given a tranſcript of this lady's poem *On the ſpleen*, with a few others, a collection of which was printed at London in 1713, 8vo. containing likewiſe a tragedy intituled *Ariſtomeus*, but never acted. A great number of her poems ſtill continued then unpubliſhed, in the hands of the reverend Mr Creake, and ſome in the poſſeſſion of the Counteſs of Hertford, a lady of diſtinguiſhed merit.

Landſ-

Landſdowne (i), who obſerves that the Earl of Rocheſter, in his imitation of one of Horace's epiſtles, thus mentions our author:

(i) Printed in his Lordſhip's works.

Of all our modern wits none ſeem to me
Once to have touch'd upon true comedy,
But haſty Shadwell and ſlow Wycherley.
Shadwell's unfiniſhed works do yet impart
Great proofs of nature's force, tho' none of art;
But Wycherley earns hard whate'er he gains,
He wants no judgment, and he ſpares no pains.

Lord Landſdowne is perſuaded that the Earl fell into this part of the character of a laborious writer, merely for the ſake of the verſe: “If *haſty*, ſays he, would have ſtood as an epithet for Wycherley, and *ſlow*, for Shadwell, they would in all probality have been ſo applied; but the verſe would have been ſpoiled, and to that it was neceſſary to ſubmit. Thoſe who would form their judgment only from Mr Wycherley's writings, without any perſonal acquaintance with him, might indeed be apt to conclude that ſuch a diverſity of images and characters, ſuch ſtrict enquiries into nature, ſuch cloſe obſervations on the ſeveral humours, manners, and affections of all ranks and degrees of men, and as it were ſo true a diſſection of human kind, delivered with ſo much pointed wit, and force of expreſſion, could be no other than the work of extraordinary diligence, labour, and application. But in truth, we owe the pleaſure and advantage of having been ſo well entertained and inſtructed by him to his great facility in doing it. If it had been a trouble to him to write, I am much miſtaken if he would not have ſpared himſelf that trouble. What he has performed would have been difficult for another; but the club which a man of an ordinary ſize could not lift, was but a walking-ſtaff for Hercules. To judge by the ſharpneſs and ſpirit of his ſatires, you might be led into another miſtake, and imagine him an ill natured man. But what my Lord Rocheſter ſaid of Lord Dorſet, is applicable to him, *the beſt good man with the worſt natured muſe.* As pointed and ſevere as he is in his writings, in his temper he has all the ſoftneſs of the tendereſt diſpoſition, gentle and inoffenſive to every man in his particular character: He only attacks vice as a public enemy, compaſſionating the wound he is under a neceſſity to probe, or grieving, like a good natured conqueror, at the occaſions that provoke him to make ſuch havock. King Charles II. a nice diſcerner of men, and himſelf a man of wit, often choſe him for a companion at his leiſure hours, as Auguſtus did Horace, and had very advantageous views for him, but unluckily an amorous inclination interfered, the lover got the better of the courtier, and ambition fell a ſacrifice to love, the predominant paſſion of the nobleſt minds. . . There are who object to his verſification. It is certain he is no maſter of numbers, but a diamond is not leſs a diamond for not being poliſhed.”

WYKEHAM [William of], Biſhop of Wincheſter, and founder of New college Oxford; was born at Wykeham in Hampſhire, in the year 1324. His parents were perſons of good reputation and character, but in circumſtances ſo mean, that they could not afford to give their ſon a liberal education [a]: This deficiency, however, was ſupplied by a generous patron, who maintained him at Wincheſter ſchool, where he was inſtructed in grammatical learning, and gave early proofs of his diligence and piety. His firſt benefactor, as is ſuppoſed from a common tradition, was Nicholas Uvedale, lord of the manor of Wykeham, and conſtable of Wincheſter caſtle, who after his ſchool education took him into his family, and made him his ſecretary (b). He is ſaid to have been afterwards recommended by Uvedale to Edyngdon, Biſhop of Wincheſter, and by both to be recommended to King Edward III. in whoſe ſervice he was retained at two or three and twenty years of age. His genius being more of a practical than ſpeculative turn, architecture was his favourite ſtudy, in which he arrived to a remarkable degree of perfection. In conſequence whereof he was made clerk of the King's works in his manors of Henley and Yeſhamſted, in 1356, and the ſame year we find him ſurveyor of the King's works at the caſtle and in the park of Windſor. It was by his advice and perſuaſion that the King was induced to pull down great part of the caſtle there, and to rebuild it in the magnificent manner in which upon the whole it now appears, and the execution of this great work was committed intirely to him [A]. He had likewiſe the ſole direction of the building of Queenborough caſtle; the difficulties ariſing from the culture of the ground, and the lowneſs of the ſituation, did not diſcourage him from adviſing and undertaking this work; and

(a) His mother was of a good family. His life &c. by Robt. Lowth D. D. edit. 1759, 8vo. p. 10.

(b) The ſtory of his removing from Wincheſter to Oxford, has no good foundation, p. 14. He had no part of his education at that or any other univerſity.

[A] *The whole work was committed to him.*] By this patent dated Oct. 30, 1356, he had power given him to preſs all ſorts of artificers, and to provide ſtone, timber, and all other materials and carriages. He had one ſhilling a day while he ſtaid at Windſor, two ſhillings when he went elſewhere upon his employment, and three ſhillings a week for his clerk; and Nov. 14, 1357, he received a grant from the King of one ſhilling a day, payable at the exchequer, over and above his former wages and ſalary (1).

(1) Rot. Par. 31 Ed. III.

in the event they only ſerved to diſplay more evidently the ſkill and abilities of the architect. Wykeham acquitted himſelf ſo well in the execution of theſe employments, that he gained a conſiderable place in his maſter's favour, and grew daily in his affections; ſo that from henceforth we find the King continually heaping on him preferments both civil and eccleſiaſtical. It ſeems to have been all along his deſign to take upon him holy orders; he is ſtyled *Clericus* in all the above-mentioned patents, and he is called ſo as early as the year 1352. He had as yet, however, only the clerical tonſure or ſome of the lower orders. In that ſituation nevertheleſs he was preſented by the King to the rectory of Pulham in Norfolk, Nov. 30, 1357. This was followed by the preſentation of the ſame royal patron to the prebend of Flixton, in the church of Lichfield, March 1, 1358-9 (*c*). At the ſame time his temporal preferments kept pace with the ſpiritual ones, for on the 10th of July 1359, he was conſtituted chief Warden and ſurveyor of the King's caſtles of Windſor, Leeds, Dover, and Hadlam, and of the manors of Old and New Windſor, Wichemer, and ſeveral other caſtles, manors, and houſes, and of the parks belonging to them, with power to appoint all workmen, to provide materials, and to order every thing with regard to building and repairs, and in thoſe manors to hold leets and other courts, pleas of treſpaſs and miſdemeanors, and to enquire of the King's liberties and rights [*B*]. On the fifth of May 1360, he had the King's grant of the deanery of the royal free chapel, or collegiate church of St Martin le Grand, London, which he held about three years, and in that time he generouſly rebuilt in a very handſome manner, and at a very great expence, the cloyſter of the chapter houſe, and the body of the church. He was poſſeſſed of ſeveral other eccleſiaſtical dignities before he was in holy orders [*C*]. He was admitted to the inferior order of *Acolite* Dec. 5, 1361, to that of ſubdeacon, a ſuperior and holy order in the church of Rome's account, on the 12th of March following, both by Edingdon Biſhop of Wincheſter, in his chapel at Southwark, and was there likewiſe ordained prieſt by the ſame June 12, 1362 (*d*). His advancement in the ſtate ſtill kept pace with his preferment in the church. In June 1363 he was warden and juſticiary

(*c*) He exchanged this for ſome other benefice with John de Waltham, in Nov. 1364.

(*d*) It does not appear when or by whom he was ordained deacon. His life, p. 28.

[*B*] *To enquire of the King's liberties and rights.*] The King ſeems at this time to be very intent upon carrying on his buildings at Windſor, for we find that next year (z) workmen were impreſſed in London, and out of ſeveral counties, by writs directed to the ſheriffs, who were to take ſecurity of them, that they ſhould not leave Windſor without a licence from Wykeham.

[*C*] *Poſſeſſed of ſeveral eccleſiaſtical dignities.*] The practice of exchanging church benefices was then ſo common, that it is hard to determine preciſely which of them he held all together at any one time before 1366. The ſum of his church preferments was then at the higheſt, of which we have a very exact account given by Wykeham himſelf, on occaſion of pope Urban the Fifth's bull againſt pluralities (3) in May 1365, which orders all eccleſiaſtical perſons whatſoever, poſſeſſed of more benefices than one, either with or without cure, to deliver to the ordinary of the place, where they commonly reſide, a diſtinct and particular account of ſuch their benefices, with the ſum which each is taxed at in the King's books, to be tranſmitted to the metropolitan, and by him to the Pope. Wykeham's certificate is as follows: In the ſame year and month (Oct. 1366) Sir * William of Wykeham, clerk, archdeacon of Lincoln, &c. affirmed, That he holdeth the archdeaconry of Lincoln, having no eccleſiaſtical benefice or manſe annexed unto the ſame, which is reputed to be a dignity in the church of Lincoln, and is a benefice with cure, and incompatible with another cure not taxed; the true and common annual value of the ſame, if the archdeacon viſiteth all the churches of his archdeaconry, and receiveth the whole procurations every where in ready money, extendeth to 350*l.* ſterling. *Item,* The canonry and prebend of Sutton, in the ſaid church of Lincoln; it is a benefice without cure, the tax of the ſame is 260 marks ſterling. *Item,* The canonry and prebend of Laghton, in the church of York; it is a benefice without cure, and compatible with a cure, and is ſo held and reputed, the tax of the ſame is 110 marks ſterling. *Item,* The canonry and prebend of Bonham, in the collegiate church of Southwell, York dioceſe, the tax of the ſame 55 marks ſterling. *Item,* The canonry and prebend of the altar of St Mary, in the collegiate church of Beverley, York dioceſe, the tax of the ſame is 16*l.* ſterling. *Item,* The canonry and prebend of Totedale, in the church of London, the tax of the ſame 15 marks ſterling. *Item,* The canonry and prebend of Fordyngton, in the church of Sarum, the tax of it is 25 marks ſterling. *Item,* The canonry and prebend of Werwell, in the monaſtery of the nuns of Werwell, Wynton dioceſe, the tax 60 marks ſterling. *Item,* The canonry and prebend of Iwerne, in the monaſtery of the nuns of Shafton, Sarum dioceſe, the tax 30 marks ſterling. *Item,* The canonry and prebend of Swendes, in the church of Dublin in Ireland, the tax 90 marks ſterling. *Item,* The prepoſiture of Wells, with a prebend in that church annexed to it, tax of both 68 marks ſterling; out of the fruits and produce of the ſaid prepoſiture are paid to 14 canons for their prebends, and to the vicars and other miniſters of that church, yearly 175 marks ſterling. All theſe except the archdeaconry of Lincoln are benefices without cure, and compatible with a cure. *Item,* The aforeſaid Sir William of Wykeham did hold at the time of the date of the aforeſaid monition, by collation from the King of England, his Majeſty's free chapel of Bruggenorth, Coventry and Lichfield dioceſe, but he has wholly reſigned it in form of law, as well really as verbally, and the tax of it could not be made appear either from the epiſcopal royal, or Pope's Nuncio's regiſter, wherefore the common value as is given by him extend all to 23*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* ſterling. *Item,* The ſaid Sir William did hold, by virtue of apoſtolical diſpenſation unto him in this behalf ſufficiently made and granted, at the time of the monition aforeſaid, and ſince, the pariſh church of Manyhynet, Exon dioceſe, at that time of lay patronage: It is a benefice with cure, not compatible with another cure, but the ſame church he hath wholly reſigned and ſimply quitted in form of law, as well really as verbally, the tax is 8*l.* ſterling. *Item,* He did obtain a reſcript or bull apoſtolical, in the time of Pope Innocent VI. directed to the Biſhop elect of St David's, to examine the ſaid William perſonally, and if he ſhould be found duly qualified, to grant unto him by *proviſion,* the canonry and prebend of the church of St Andrew of Aukeland, Durham dioceſe, which formerly Tho. de Brydekylt, alias de Karlelis, held in the ſaid church during his life; but by virtue of the ſame, he neither hath ſince had collation, nor the ſaid canonry and prebend hath he poſſeſſion of, nor hath in any wiſe had, nor intendeth to have for the future, nor in any manner to make uſe of the ſaid reſcript, or bull apoſtolical; the tax or value is not known (4).

By this inſtrument it appears that the yearly value, partly taxed and partly real, of the benefices which Wykeham had held for ſome few years, was all together 873*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and of thoſe which he ſtill remained in poſſeſſion of, and continued to hold till he became Biſhop of Wincheſter, was 842*l.*

(z) Aſhmole inſtit. ord. garter, p. 128.

(3) There were ſome in England, who, by the Pope's authority, poſſeſſed 20 benefices and dignities, with a diſpenſation to hold as many more as they could lawfully procure, without limitation of number.

* A common title given formerly to clergymen of all degrees. See Rymer's Fœd. vol. i. p. 86, and the *dramatis perſonæ* of many of Shakeſpeare's plays. In the original records Sire Wilm. de Wykeham. Rot. Parl. 51 Ed. III. tit. 24.

(4) Ex regiſtro Langham, fol. 12.

of the King's foreſts on this ſide the Trent. On the 14th of March following the King granted him an aſſignment of twenty ſhillings a day out of the Exchequer. He was made keeper of the privy ſeal May 11, 1364, and ſecretary to the King two years after. In May 1365 he was commiſſioned by the King to treat of the ranſom of the King of Scotland, and the prolonging of the truce with the Scots, together with the chancellor, treaſurer, and the Earl of Arundel. Not long after this he is called chief of the privy council, and governor of the great council (*e*). Upon the death of William de Edyngdon, Biſhop of Wincheſter, Oct. 8, 1366, Wykeham being recommended by the King to ſucceed him, was elected by the prior and convent immediately. He was conſecrated in St Paul's, London, Oct. 10, 1367, by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of London and Saliſbury. Thus it was a whole year from the time of his election before he could get into full poſſeſſion of his new dignity [*D*], a delay which was occaſioned by a diſpute between the King and the Pope about the right of preſentation, but compromiſed at length amicably. Being now qualified by his advancement in the church to receive the higheſt dignity in the ſtate, he was conſtituted chancellor of England the ſame year (*f*), which high poſt he continued in till the 14th of March 1370, when the King took it from him (*g*) upon the repreſentation of the Lords and Commons in parliament aſſembled, that the government of the realm had been too long in the hands of the eccleſiaſtics; the place being given two days after to Sir Robert de Thorp, our prelate was preſent at the ceremony of conſtituting the new chancellor, and afterwards at that of his firſt opening the great ſeal in Weſtminſter-hall; from which circumſtances, as well as from the ſtate of the caſe itſelf, we may conclude, that he was neither diſmiſſed with any marks of the King's diſpleaſure, nor was himſelf diſſatisfied with his removal. Though Wykeham was ſo deeply engaged in affairs of ſtate, and ſo much taken up with his perſonal attendance on the King, yet he was not in the mean time wanting to his epiſcopal function, or remiſs in the care of his dioceſe. One of the firſt things that required his attention, was the care of epiſcopal houſes and buildings [*E*] of all ſorts, which his predeceſſor had left very much out of repair in general, and many of them in a ruinous condition. The great demand he had for dilapidations could not be ſoon or very eaſily accommodated. The affair, however, was finally ſettled without going to law on the 6th of February 1371-2 [*F*]. This done the Biſhop immediately ſet about the reparations of all the epiſcopal buildings, palaces, and houſes, in ſuch a manner as might be expected from one of his generous ſpirit, and of his ſkill and experience in architecture. In theſe repairs, together with ſeveral new buildings raiſed by him upon the eſtates of the Biſhopric, he expended in the whole above twenty thouſand marks (*h*). In the year 1373 he held a viſitation of his whole dioceſe, not only of the ſecular clergy through the ſeveral deaneries, but alſo of the monaſteries and religious houſes of all ſorts, all which he viſited in perſon. The next year he ſent his commiſſioners with powers to correct and reform the ſeveral irregularities and abuſes which he had diſcovered in the courſe of his viſitation. Some years afterwards the Biſhop having viſited three ſeveral times all the religious houſes throughout his dioceſe, and being well informed of the ſtate and condition of each, and of the particular abuſes which required correction and reformation, beſides the orders which he had already

(*e*) Rymer's Fœdera, vol. vii. p. 164. Theſe terms do not however, ſeem to be titles of office, but expreſs the great influence and authority which he had in thoſe aſſemblies.

(*f*) For his own ſecurity he obtained a full pardon for any miſdemeanours in his former offices. Rymer, vol. xi. No. 40.

(*g*) There are two of his ſpeeches at the opening of the two parliaments May 27, 1369. and Feb. 24, 1370-1. Rot. Parl. 43, 51 Edw. III.

(*h*) Life, p. 60.

[*D*] *A full year before he got into full poſſeſſion.*] He was not inthroned till July 9, 1368. The right of inthroning all the ſuffragan Biſhops of the province, is by ancient cuſtom the peculiar privilege of the Archdeacon of Canterbury. It may not perhaps be diſpleaſing to the reader, to be informed of ſome parts of the ceremony formerly uſed, with the particulars of the Archdeacon's fee upon this occaſion. The Biſhop was received by the Archdeacon at his entrance into the city, where he alighted from his palfrey, and the Archdeacon immediately had the palfrey with the ſaddle and all the furniture; and farther, if the Biſhop's groom would deliver to him the cover of the ſaddle, the girt, and head-ſtall, the Archdeacon was to reward him with the gift of two ſhillings or more, as in his bounty he ſhould think proper. The Biſhop undreſſed himſelf in ſome church or houſe near the cathedral, upon which the Archdeacon's ſervant ſeized his riding coat, gloves, hat, and boots, for his maſter. Thence the Archdeacon conducted him to the cathedral church, robed in his pontifical robes, and placed him in his throne. He had an allowance of hay and provender for 15 horſes, as long as he continued in attendance upon this office; meat and drink for three days, and every night four gallons of wine at his ſupper, two great torches of wax during his whole ſtay, and every night two leſſer torches, and two dozen of wax candles. On the day of inthronization, the Biſhop's table being at the upper end of the hall, a table on the right ſide of the hall was furniſhed for the Archdeacon and the company whom he ſhould pleaſe to invite. The Biſhop drank to him out of a cup of ſilver, or ſilver gilt, and the cup belonged to the Archdeacon. He had beſides ten marks ſterling in money, for the expences of his journey. The Biſhop's bed alſo uſed anciently to be demanded and allowed as the fee of the Archdeacon's chamberlain; but this ſeems very early to have grown out of uſe, and the reſt of theſe cuſtoms began by degrees to be laid aſide, and to become obſolete when the Biſhops began to be inthroned by proxy, and the Archdeacons left off aſſiſting at the celebration of this ſolemnity in perſon, and at length eſtabliſhed the practice of performing their office by deputation, ſo that I ſuppoſe the pecuniary part of the fee or ſome equivalent for the whole in that ſhape is all that at preſent remains to them (5).

[*E*] *Repairing the epiſcopal houſes.*] The buildings belonging to the Biſhoprick of Wincheſter were at this time very large and numerous; beſides a great many granges, parks, warrens, and the like, they had ten or twelve different caſtles (6), manor-houſes, or places of reſidence, properly accommodated for the reception of themſelves and their retinue, to all which in their turns they uſually reſorted, living according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, chiefly upon the produce of their own eſtates.

[*F*] *Finally ſettled.*] In the firſt place Edyngdon's executors delivered to Wykeham the ſtanding ſtock of the Biſhopric due to him by right of cuſtom, namely, 127 draught horſes, 1556 head of black cattle, 3876 weathers, 4777 ewes, 3541 lambs; and afterwards for dilapidations in cattle, corn, and other goods, to the value of 1662*l.* 10*s.* ſterling. The Biſhop made alſo a further demand of 700 marks as ſtill due to him, and allowed upon account, which Edyngdon's executors acknowledged and promiſed to pay (7).

(5) His life, p. 47, 48.

(6) Viz. Wolveſey, South Waltham, Merwell, Sutton, High Clere, Farnham, Eſhere, Wargrave, Southwark, Taunton, &c.

(7) Regiſt Wykeham, part iii. fol. 36. and MS. Penes dom epiſc. Wint, fol. 90.

given,

given, and the remedies which he had occaſionally applied by his commiſſioners, now iſſued his injunctions to each of them. They were accommodated to their ſeveral exigencies, and intended to correct the abuſes introduced, and to recall them all to a ſtrict obſervation of the rules of their reſpective orders (*i*). But the zeal and diligence with which the Biſhop purſued the wholeſome work of diſcipline, and the reformation of abuſes, will be beſt exemplified by an account of his proceedings in the viſitation of the hoſpital of St Croſs [*G*] at Sparkeford near Wincheſter, where he met with ſome difficulties and obſtructions,

(*i*) Many of theſe injunctions are ſtill extant, and are evident monuments of the care and attention, with which he diſcharged this part of his epiſcopal duty. MS. collections, Nov. they bear date 1386-7.

[*G*] *St Croſs.*] This hoſpital was founded by Henry de Blois, Biſhop of Wincheſter, and brother to King Stephen, in the year 1132, for the health of his own ſoul, and the ſouls of his predeceſſors, and of the Kings of England. The founder's inſtitution requires, that 13 poor men, ſo decayed and paſt their ſtrength that without charitable aſſiſtance they cannot maintain themſelves, ſhall abide continually in the hoſpital, who ſhall be provided with proper cloathing, and beds ſuitable to their infirmities, and ſhall have an allowance daily of good wheat bread and good beer, three meſſes each for dinner, and one for ſupper. If any one of theſe ſhall happen to recover his health and ſtrength, he ſhall be reſpectfully diſcharged, and another admitted in his place. That beſides theſe 13 poor, an hundred other poor of modeſt behaviour, and the moſt indigent that can be found, ſhall be received daily at dinner time, and ſhall have each a loaf of coarſer bread, one meſs, and a proper allowance of beer, with leave to carry away with them whatever remains of their meat and drink after dinner. The founder ordered alſo other charities to be diſtributed to the poor in general, as the revenues of the hoſpital ſhould be able to bear, the whole of which was to be applied to ſuch uſes. The endowment of the hoſpital conſiſted chiefly in the donation of ſeveral conſiderable rectories, for the moſt part belonging to the dioceſe of Wincheſter, and of the Biſhop's patronage, the greateſt part of which, though granted to the hoſpital by the terms of the charter of foundation, were from the firſt only made ſubject to the payment of certain annual penſions to it, the reſt were appropriated to the hoſpital. The revenues of the hoſpital appear by an old record of inquiſition, produced in Wykeham's time by the prior of Wincheſter, from the archives of his monaſtery, without date, to have amounted to about 250*l.* a year (8). The whole revenues were free from all taxes, both to the King and Pope, as being wholly appropriated to the poor, except 7*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* (called elſewhere 8*l.*) *per Ann.* which was the valuation of the prior's and maſter's portion. The particular allowances to the poor, with their valuations according to the abovementioned record of inquiſition, were as follows; Each of the 13 ſecular brethren had daily one loaf of good wheat bread of five marks weight (or three pounds four ounces) one gallon and a half of good ſmall beer, a ſufficient quantity of pottage, three meſſes at dinner, namely, one meſs called *maſtrell*, made of milk and *maſtel bread*, one meſs of fleſh or fiſh, and one pittance, as the day ſhould require, and one meſs for ſupper; the whole valued at 17*d.* *per* week, in Wykeham's time at 3*d.* a day. On ſix holy days in the year they had white bread and ale in the ſame quantities, and one of their meſſes was roaſt meat or fiſh of a better ſort, and on the eves of thoſe holy days, and on the founder's *obit*, they had an extraordinary allowance of four gallons of ale among them. The hundred poor were fed in a place called Hundred Menneſhall, each of them had a loaf of coarſer bread of five marks weight, three quarts of ſmall beer, a ſufficient quantity of pottage or a meſs of pulſe, one herring or two pilchers, or two eggs, or one farthing's worth of cheeſe, value 3 *d.* *per* week, of which hundred poor were always thirteen of the poorer ſcholars of the great grammar ſchool of Wincheſter ſent by the ſchool maſter. On the anniverſary of the founder's *obit* Auguſt 9, being the eve of St Laurence, theſe hundred poor were received at the hoſpital; to each of the firſt hundred were given one loaf and one meſs of the ſame ſort with thoſe of the brethren's ordinary allowance, and three quarts of beer; to the ſecond hundred was given the uſual hundred mens allowance, and to each of the third hundred half a loaf of the brethrens bread. On ſix holy days in the year, the hundred men had each a loaf of the better ſort of bread, and a double meſs. There were beſides maintained in the hoſpital a ſteward with his clerk, two ſervants, and two horſes, a porter, nine ſervants, two teams of ſix horſes each, and three carters. The founder had in the year 1157 conſtituted the maſter and brethren of St John of Jeruſalem guardians and adminiſtrators of his hoſpital of St Croſs, ſaving to the Biſhop of Wincheſter his canonical juriſdiction. A diſpute ariſing between Richard Toclive, Biſhop of Wincheſter, immediate ſucceſſor to Henry de Blois, and the maſter and brethren of St John of Jeruſalem, concerning the adminiſtration of the hoſpital, King Henry II. interpoſed, and by his mediation an agreement was made between them. The maſter and brethren ceded to the Biſhop of Wincheſter and his ſucceſſors the adminiſtration of the hoſpital, the Biſhop giving them the impropriation of the churches of Mordon and Hanniton for the payment of 53 marks *per Ann.* and procuring them a diſcharge from the penſion of ten marks, two wax candles, and ten pounds of wax, paid to the monks of St Swithin for the houſe of St Croſs, by compoſition between them and the brethren of St Croſs, made in the time of the founder; and the Biſhop moreover, out of regard to God and for the health of the King's ſoul and his own (and becauſe the revenues of the *hoſpital* were ſufficient for the maintenance of many more poor, and ought not to be converted to other uſes, as Wykeham repreſents to the Pope) orders that beſides the number inſtituted by the founder, one hundred additional poor ſhould alſo be fed every day in the ſame manner at the hoſpital (9). This new inſtitution, however, was not of long continuance, it had ceaſed long before Wykeham's time, and inſtead of it was introduced the eſtabliſhment of four prieſts, thirteen ſecular clerks, and ſeven choriſters, who were maintained in the hoſpital for the performance of divine ſervice in the church. The four prieſts dined at the maſter's table, and had each a ſtipend of 13*s.* 4*d.* and the whole allowance to each was valued at 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* *per Ann.* the 13 clerks had each daily a loaf of wheat bread, weight 61*s.* 8*d.* (*i. e.* three pounds one ounce) three quarts of beer and one meſs of fleſh or fiſh of the brethren was allotted to two of them, value 10*d.* *per* week; the 7 choriſters had each one loaf of the common family bread, and one meſs or the fragments of the maſter's table and common hall, ſo as to have a ſufficient proviſion, value 5*d.* a week, and were taught at ſchool in the hoſpital.

Such was the inſtitution and œconomy of the hoſpital of St Croſs, which had hitherto been well obſerved in general, and conſtantly maintained with regard to all the particulars above-mentioned. Wykeham indeed repreſents to the Pope, that ſome of the former Biſhops of Wincheſter had preferred to it their nephews and kinſmen, not rightfully as to the maſterſhip of an hoſpital, but as to an eccleſiaſtical benefice, who had converted to other purpoſes the revenues of it aſſigned to theſe pious uſes, contrary to the canons and the founder's inſtitution. In this he ſeems to have a particular view to John de Edyngdon, nephew to the late Biſhop (10), who had quitted the maſterſhip ſometime before Wykeham came to the Biſhopric. By his manner of leaving this office we may pretty well judge how he had acted in it, he took away and alienated the whole ſtock belonging to the hoſpital, all the cattle, corn, goods, inſtruments, utenſils, and moveables whatſoever, either in the houſe itſelf, or upon the eſtates. Beſides the neceſſary repairs of dilapidations left by him, amounted by computation to between three and hour hundred pounds. Wykeham was no ſooner Biſhop of Wincheſter, than he reſolved to rectify theſe abuſes; accordingly he proſecuted Edyngdon, Howel, Lyntesford, and Clowne, their late maſters, particularly Clowne, then in poſſeſſion, who pleaded that the houſe of St Croſs was a perpetual eccleſiaſtical benefice, ſinecure, free from all obligation

(8) They are ſaid by Wykeham, in his letters to the Pope, to be above 300*l.* *per Ann.* and are proved by the teſtimony of one who had been long ſteward of the hoſpital, and many others, to have been at that time above 400*l.* *per Ann.*

(9) This agreement is dated April 10, 1185, and was made at Dover, in the preſence of the King, and atteſted by him.

(10) Biſhop Edyngdon collated his nephew to the maſterſhip April 18, 1319. *In beneficium perpetuum & non curatum.*

ſtructions, and was upon that occaſion engaged in a long and troubleſome diſpute. At the ſame time our prelate was thus engaged in the reformation of theſe charitable inſtitutions, he was forming the plan of a much more noble and extenſive foundation of his own: Neverthеleſs he was much embarraſſed in fixing his choice upon ſome deſign. He tells us himſelf (*k*) how he was obliged to declare with grief, that he could not any where find the ordinances of founders of charities obſerved according to their true deſign and intention; and this reflection affecting him greatly, made him almoſt reſolve to diſtribute his riches to the poor with his own hands. However, conſidering what deſolation had been made by continual wars and frequent peſtilences, and particularly among the clergy, he determined at laſt to remedy this loſs as far as he was able by relieving poor ſcholars in their clerical education, and for that purpoſe to eſtabliſh two colleges of ſtudents. He ſeems to have come to this reſolution, and in ſome meaſure to have formed in his mind his general plan as early as his becoming Biſhop of Wincheſter; for it appears that in little more than two years after, he had purchaſed ſeveral parcels of ground in the city of Oxford (*l*), which make the chief part of the ſituation of his college there. His college of Wincheſter, intended as a nurſery for that of Oxford, was part of his original plan; for as early as the year 1373, before he proceeded any further in his deſign for the latter, he eſtabliſhed a ſchool at Wincheſter of the ſame kind with the former, and for the ſame purpoſe. While Wykeham was purſuing theſe generous deſigns, and was now preparing to carry them into execution, he was on a ſudden attacked by a party formed againſt him at court, and in ſuch a manner as not only obliged him to lay them aſide for the preſent, but might have reduced him to an inability of ever reſuming them. This was in the laſt year of the reign of Edward III. when the Duke of Lancaſter (John of Ghent) procured articles of impeachment to be brought againſt him [*H*] by certain perſons, for divers crimes committed by him during his adminiſtration of the public affairs, and prevailed ſo far againſt him as to have the temporalities of his ſee ſeized by the King, and himſelf baniſhed from court. The clergy, however, looked upon theſe proceedings not as injurious to Wykeham, but as an infringement of the liberties of the church, and the people conſidering him at the ſame time as a perſon unjuſtly oppreſſed by the exorbitant power of the Duke of Lancaſter (*m*), a tumult enſued in his behalf, and he was reſtored to the temporalities of his ſee, and to the King's favour, a few days before the death of that monarch, which happened June 21, 1377. Through the unhappy reign of Rich. II. when nothing was heard of but tumults, ſeditions, and wars, Wykeham is ſaid to have conducted himſelf with that wiſdom and caution which might be expected from one of his great experience, and being now delivered from the perſecution of the Duke of Lancaſter, and diſengaged from his former conſtant attendance on public affairs, he was reſolved to apply himſelf to the great work of founding his two colleges, which he had long deſigned as has been already obſerved, and for which he had many years been making preparations. The work which demanded his attention firſt, was to erect his college at Oxford; the King's patent for the building of which is dated June 30, 1379. He publiſhed his charter of foundation the 26th of November following, by which he intitled his college *Seinte Marie college of Wynchestre in Oxenford.* The building was begun in

(*k*) Statut. coll. Oxon. & Wint.

(*l*) Wood's hiſt. of the univ. of Oxon, lib. ii. p. 128, where he gives a minute and particular account of the purchaſe.

(*m*) The Duke's reſentment againſt the Bp aroſe from the Biſhop's adherence to the Prince of Wales in the parliament of 1376, in oppoſition to the Duke's party, and his ſuſpected deſign of procuring the crown for himſelf. His life, ſect. iv.

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tion of making oath, giving any inventory, or rendering any account: That it was not an hoſpital, and that the maſter has the free adminiſtration of all the poſſeſſions and goods belonging to it, with the burthen only of making a certain diſtribution to a certain number of poor, both within and without the houſe (11). The Biſhop purſued this affair for above ſix years, and at laſt having overcome all obſtructions, no doubt called the delinquents to a ſevere account, and perfectly reinſtated the hoſpital in all its rights, and re-eſtabliſhed its primitive uſe and inſtitution. He ſo far reſtored this charity to its original deſign, and left it under ſuch due regulations, that his immediate ſucceſſor *Beaufort* having reſolved to diſpoſe of ſome part of his great wealth to the like purpoſes, choſe rather to make an enlargement of this inſtitution, than to erect a new one of his own. He made a very great additional endowment of the hoſpital of St Croſs, for the maintenance of two prieſts, thirty-five brethren, and three ſiſters, beſides thoſe of the ancient foundation. He gave his new eſtabliſhment the name of *Domus eleemoſynaria nobilis paupertatis*; the alms-houſe of noble poverty; by which it appears that he deſigned it for the relief of decayed gentlemen (12). The hoſpital, though much diminiſhed in its revenues, by what means unknown, yet ſtill ſubſiſts upon the remains of both endowments. The maſterſhip is now a ſinecure in the gift of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Biſhop of Wincheſter alternately, and the preſent maſter is Dr John Hoadly, ſon to the late Biſhop of Wincheſter.

[*H*] *Articles of impeachment brought againſt him.*] There were eight of them; of the ſeven firſt no proof was ever made, judgment being given ſolely and ſeparately upon the laſt, which runs thus; 'That the ſaid Biſhop, when he was chancellor, by his own authority often cauſed fines after they were enrolled to be leſſened, and the rolls to be eraſed, and in particular that of John Grey of Betherfield, who made a fine with the King in the 41ſt year of his reign, of 80*l.* for licence of feoffments of certain lands and tenements, which was paid into the hanaper; but the ſaid Biſhop, on the pretence of ſome bargain between him and the ſaid John Grey, cauſed the firſt writing to be cancelled, by making another writing of the ſame tenor and date for a fine of 40*l.* and made the clerk of the hanaper repay the other 40*l.* to the ſaid John Grey, to the defrauding of the King.' (13). The Biſhop was heard upon theſe articles before a certain number of Biſhops and Lords, and others of the privy council, aſſigned by the King for this purpoſe about the middle of November; and in conſequence of the judgment given by them upon the laſt article alone, as juſt mentioned, writs were iſſued from the Exchequer, dated the 17th of the ſame month, to the ſheriffs of the ſeveral counties concerned, ordering them to ſeize into the King's hands the temporalities of the Biſhop of Wincheſter. The Biſhop was ordered to attend again at Weſtminſter for a further examination Jan. 20th following, but this was afterwards prorogued to an uncertain day at the King's pleaſure, nor was he ever after brought to a hearing on this occaſion. To mortify the Biſhop ſtill further, he was forbidden in the King's name to come within 20 miles of the court (14).

(11) The Bp had declared the contrary to all theſe particulars.

(12) Henry VI. in conſideration of the ſum of 13350 marks paid to him by Cardinal Beaufort, granted to him ſeveral manors, &c. of the yearly value of 500*l.* with licence to aſſign them to the maſter and brethren of St Croſs. With theſe the cardinal endowed the hoſpital in 1444, adding to them the impropriations of Crundale and ſeveral other churches of his dioceſe and patronage. Mon. Ang. vol. ii. p. 480. Ledger book of the church of Wincheſter, No. i. fol. 66.

(13) Rymer's Fœd. vol. vii. p. 160.

(14) By the D. of Lancaſter in the king's name, ſays the author of MS. Harleian. No. 6217. ch. 15.

March following, and finiſhed in April 1386. While this work was carrying on at Oxford, he eſtabliſhed in proper form his ſociety at Wincheſter. His charter of foundation bears date Oct. 20, 1382, in which he gives his college there the ſame name of *Seinte Marie college of Wyncheſtre*. In 1387, the year after he had completed his building at Oxford, he began that at Wincheſter, and finiſhed it in 1393. He intended this ſchool, for ſuch he might have called it more properly, as a nurſery, from whence he might ſupply his college at Oxford (*n*). Theſe were noble charities, and Wykeham enjoyed for many years the pleaſure, a pleaſure the greateſt to a generous heart that can be enjoyed, of ſeeing the good effects of his own beneficence. Not long after his death one of his own ſcholars, whom he had himſelf ſeen educated in both his ſocieties, and had probably contributed to raiſe to a conſiderable degree of eminence, became an illuſtrious follower of his great example; this was *Henry Chicheley*, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who, beſides a chantry and hoſpital which he built at Higham Ferrers, the place of his birth, founded likewiſe *All-ſouls college* in Oxford, for the maintenance of forty fellows &c. (*o*). Shortly after this Henry VI. founded his two colleges at Eton and King's in Cambridge, intirely upon Wykeham's plan, whoſe ſtatutes he tranſcribed without any material alteration [*I*]*.

(*n*) This college does not go by the name which he gave it; it was then vulgarly called the New college, and continues ſo to be called to this day.

(*o*) Twenty-four divines, and 16 canoniſts, according to Wykeham's plan, at New college, to which he gave 123*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. to be a fund for loans to the fellows upon proper occaſions; he alſo appointed Dr Rich. Andrew, one of that ſociety, to be ſtill firſt governor of his own college. Life, p. 200.

* The King made the college a preſent of 100 nobles, with which was purchaſed a pair of large baſons, of ſilver gilt. He alſo gave his beſt robe, except one, conſiſting of cloth of tiſſue of gold and fur of ſables, applied to the uſe of the chapel. *Item*, A chalice, two phials, and a tabernacle of gold adorned with precious ſtones, and the images of the Holy Trinity and Bleſſed Virgin, of chryſtall. Idem p. 202.

In the year 1382 the Biſhops and clergy began to be greatly alarmed at the progreſs which Wicliffe's principles and doctrines were daily making, and eſpecially in the univerſity of Oxford, ſeveral profeſſors and doctors of the firſt learning there began to defend and maintain them in their ſchools, and to preach them publicly, and in ſo doing were openly encouraged, ſupported, and countenanced by the magiſtrates of the univerſity; particularly by the authority of the chancellor Dr *Robert Riggs*. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury thought it high time to inquire into this matter, and to take proper meaſures for putting a ſtop to this growing ſect, for which purpoſe, and to give all poſſible weight and ſolemnity to his proceedings, he ſummoned ſeveral aſſemblies of the Biſhops and clergy. The Biſhop of Wincheſter aſſiſted at each of theſe aſſemblies, and after the Archbiſhop was the principal perſon there. What ſhare he took in the management of this affair, or with what ſpirit he acted, it does not appear from any authentic evidence, except in this one circumſtance, that when the chancellor made his ſubmiſſion to the Archbiſhop, and begged pardon for his offence, the Biſhop of Wincheſter ſtrenuouſly interceded for him, and with much difficulty procured his peace; from whence it ſhould ſeem that Wykeham was inclined to mild and gentle methods of proceeding in this important and delicate buſineſs; but the Biſhops in general were not in the ſame way of thinking; contrary meaſures were purſued, the Wicliffites were perſecuted and diſperſed; the ſeeds of this reformation were ſown more widely, and the harveſt by being delayed became more plentiful (*p*). In 1593, having almoſt finiſhed his college at Wincheſter, he began to be at liberty to look out for ſome new object of his munificence, and he ſoon determined to undertake the repair, or rather the rebuilding of great part of his cathedral church. The whole fabric then ſtanding was erected by Biſhop Walkelin, who began it in the year 1079. It was of the Saxon architecture, not greatly differing from the Roman, with round pillars, much ſtronger than Doric or Tuſcan, or ſquare piers adorned with ſmall pillars; round headed arches and windows, and plain walls on the out-ſide, without buttreſſes: The nave of it had been for ſome time in a bad condition. Wykeham, upon a due ſurvey, determined to take down the whole from the tower weſtward, and to rebuild it both in a ſtronger and more magnificent manner. This great work he undertook in 1394, and entered upon it the beginning of the next year, upon certain conditions ſtipulated between him and the prior and convent, and finiſhed it in the ſtyle commonly called Gothic, but more properly Saracen (*q*), with pointed arches and windows, without key ſtones, and pillars conſiſting of an aſſemblage of many ſmall ones cloſely connected together. This great pile took up about ten years in erecting, and was but juſt finiſhed when the Biſhop died [*K*]. In the mean time we find him engaged in ſeveral great

(*p*) Idem p. 212.

(*q*) Sir Chriſt. Wren. See his article.

[*I*] *Without any material alteration.*] He went to Wincheſter college five ſeveral times with this deſign; William of Waynfleet was ſchoolmaſter of Wincheſter college (15) when the King made his firſt viſit, and had been ſo about eleven years: He had filled that important poſt with ſuch ability, and had executed his office with ſuch diligence, judgment, and conduct, that the King, to give his new college the greateſt advantage it could poſſibly have from that of an excellent and approved inſtructor, removed him to the ſame employment at Eton. He ſoon after was made provoſt of Eton college, and then by his recommendation Biſhop of Wincheſter. Waynfleet continued many years in that ſtation, and was thence enabled to become another generous imitator of his predeceſſor Wykeham, in his noble and ample foundation of Magdalen college, Oxford. He alſo paid New college, out of his eſteem for it, and reſpect to its founder (for he had never been himſelf of that ſociety) the compliment of chuſing thence Dr Richard Mayew to be preſident of his college, and of permitting his fellows to have an equal regard to the members of the ſame ſociety with thoſe of their own, in choice of their preſidents for the future (16).

[*K*] *Juſt finiſhed when the Biſhop died.*] He had provided in his will for the intire completion of his deſign by his executors in caſe of his death, and allotted 2500 marks for what then remained to be done, beſides 500 marks for the glaſs windows: This was about a year and a half before it was finiſhed, by which ſome ſort of an eſtimate may be made of the whole expence. However, this building has not that lightneſs and freedom, and that elegance of proportion which might have been expected from Wykeham's known taſte in architecture, and from the ſtyle and manner of his other works in this kind, of which we have evident examples in the chapels of both his colleges, eſpecially in the weſtern part of that of New college in Oxford, which is remarkably beautiful. Moreover, beſides this great benefaction to his cathedral, he purchaſed eſtates to the value of two hundred marks a year, in addition to the lands of the Biſhopric.

(15) Budden in vita Waynfleti. The ſchool had been founded 20 years before.

(16) Statut. coll. Magd. Oxon.

truſts and offices under Richard II. He was one of the fourteen perſons in that commiſſion, which in a manner diveſted the King of his authority in the latter part of his reign. In 1384 the King having diſmiſſed the high chancellor, Arundel Biſhop of York, offered the great ſeal to the Biſhop of Wincheſter: The Biſhop did all he could to excuſe himſelf from accepting it (*r*). He neither deſired the office itſelf, nor was pleaſed with the conjuncture and circumſtances in which it was offered to him; but the King preſſed it upon him in ſuch a manner, that he could not refuſe it, and the next day Wykeham, much againſt his inclination, was again conſtituted chancellor of England (*s*). In this office he tried his beſt endeavours, and happily ſucceeded, in reſtoring the public tranquility, and had the ſatisfaction of leaving things in this fair and promiſing ſituation when he quitted the chancellor's office. On the 27th of September 1391, he delivered the great ſeal to the King at Windſor, and Arundel, whom he had ſucceeded in the office, was made chancellor again in his place, and the ſame ſcheme of coalition and union which had been entered upon while Wykeham was at the head of the adminiſtration, was now carried on farther, and ſome others who had been chiefs of the popular party, were re-admitted into the King's ſervice. Nevertheleſs, this tranquility was of ſhort continuance. In 1397 the King procured a parliament, in which ſeveral of Wykeham's brother-commiſſioners were impeached of high treaſon and executed; but our prelate eſcaped with paying a loan extorted from him of 1000*l.* (*t*). He ſat in the laſt parliament of Richard II. till September 30, 1399, when that unhappy Prince reſigned the crown, and was ſolemnly depoſed. The firſt parliament of Henry IV. was ſummoned in a few days after, at which alſo our prelate aſſiſted, but was not in the council which adjudged Richard to perpetual impriſonment. This was the laſt parliament which he attended in perſon, he ever after ſent procurators to excuſe his abſence on account of his age and infirmities. However, he aſſiſted at an extraordinary council held on Feb. 9th following, in order to raiſe money to repel the Scots invaſion, and concurred with the other prelates in granting a ſubſidy of a tenth. Theſe are the laſt times of his appearing and acting in public affairs. He was now very far advanced in years, and had from his youth been conſtantly engaged in a multiplicity of buſineſs, both public and private, which he had attended with infinite aſſiduity and application; it is not to be wondered that old age and continual labour in conjunction ſhould bring upon him thoſe infirmities which are the uſual conſequences of each of them ſeparate, and that he ſhould be obliged at laſt to have recourſe to eaſe and retirement. He had been bleſt with an excellent conſtitution, and had enjoyed an uncommon ſhare of health. He had now been Biſhop of Wincheſter above thirty years, and in all that time had never been interrupted by illneſs in the attendance upon his duty in every capacity excepting once. The firſt remarkable indication of his weakneſs appeared in May 1401, when he was not able to undergo the fatigue of adminiſtring ordination. At the end of the year he retired to South Waltham, nor did he ever remove from thence except once or twice, on occaſion of ſome particular buſineſs, and that no further than to Wincheſter. On the 14th of January 1402-3, he appointed Dr Nicholas Wykeham and Dr John Elner to be his coadjutors in the Biſhopric, and finiſhed and ſigned his will (*u*) on the 4th of July 1403. Having thus finally ſettled all his ſpiritual and temporal concerns, and being at this time full eighty years of age, he, with much piety and reſignation waited the hour of his diſſolution; he ſeems to have ſunk by a gentle and gradual decay; though weak in body, he retained all the faculties of his mind to the laſt; even ſince he had taken his coadjutors to his aſſiſtance, he had ſtill perſonally attended and directed his affairs, both public and private, as he uſed to do before, admitting all perſons who had any buſineſs to tranſact with him to his upper chamber. This practice he was able to continue at leaſt till within four days of his death. He died at South Waltham Sept. 27, 1404, and was buried according to his directions in his own oratory in the cathedral church of Wincheſter [*L*]. His funeral being attended by a great concourſe of people

(*r*) Monachus Eveſhamenſis in vita Rich. II. ab Hearnio editus.

(*s*) There are two ſpeeches of his delivered at the opening of the parliaments in Jan. 1389, and in that of Nov. 12, 1390. Rot. Parl. Rich. II. p. 13 and 14.

(*t*) Life, p. 264.

(*u*) The whole value of bequeſts in it amounts to between 6 and 7000*l.* beſides ſeveral indeterminate articles. See the particulars in his life, ſect. viii.

[*L*] *His oratory*]. The ſituation of it ſeems not at all well choſen, if we conſider it with reſpect to the whole building, in which it has no good effect, but creates an irregularity and an embarraſſment which had been better avoided: But Wykeham was determined to the choice of this particular place, by a conſideration of a very different kind; by an early prejudice, and a ſtrong religious impreſſion which had been ſtamped on his mind in his childhood. In this part of the old church there had been an altar dedicated to the Bleſſed Virgin, with her image ſtanding above it: At this altar a maſs uſed to be celebrated every morning, which ſeems to have been a favourite one, and much frequented at the time when Wykeham was a boy, and at ſchool at Wincheſter; for it had gotten a particular name among the people, and was called Pekiſmaſſe, from the name of a monk of the convent, who uſually officiated in it. Young Wykeham was conſtant in his daily attendance, and fervent in his devotions at this maſs (17). He ſeems even then to have choſen the Bleſſed Virgin as his peculiar patroneſs, to have placed himſelf under her protection, and in a manner to have dedicated himſelf to her ſervice; and probably he might ever after imagine himſelf indebted to her eſpecial favour for the various ſucceſſes which he was bleſſed with through his life. This ſeems to have been the reaſon of his dedicating to her his two colleges, and calling them by her name; over all the principal gates of which he has been careful to have himſelf repreſented as her votary, in the act of adoration to the Bleſſed Virgin, as his and their common guardian. He erected his chapel or oratory in the very place where he had been uſed to perform his daily devotions in his younger days, between the two pillars, againſt one of which ſtood the altar abovementioned. He dedicated the chapel to the Bleſſed Virgin, the altar was continued in the ſame place as before, and probably the very ſame image was erected above it, which, with the other ornaments of the ſame kind, both within the chapel and without, was deſtroyed in the laſt century by the zeal of modern enthuſiaſm exerting itſelf with a blind and indiſcreet rage againſt all the venerable and beautiful monuments,

(17) MS. coll. Winton.

people of all ſorts, many, as we may well ſuppoſe, being drawn thither by their affection to him and regard to his memory; and a great number, as we may be fully aſſured, of the poorer ſort coming to partake of the alms ſtill reached out to them by the ſame munificent hand, that had 70 long years been continually open to relieve their wants; for he had ordered by his will, that in whatever place he ſhould happen to die, and through whatever places his body ſhould be carried between the place of his death and the cathedral church of Wincheſter, in all theſe places to every poor tenant that had held of him there as Biſhop of Wincheſter, ſhould be given to pray for his ſoul, four-pence [*M*]; and to every other poor perſon aſking alms, two-pence, or one penny at leaſt, according to the diſcretion of his executors; and that on the day of his burial, to every poor perſon coming to Wincheſter, and aſking alms for the love of God, and for the health of his ſoul, ſhould be given four-pence. He appointed his grand nephew, the Rev. Thomas Wykeham, to be his heir, and one of his executors with ſix others, to whom he bequeathed a thouſand pounds for their trouble. He had before put Sir Thomas into poſſeſſion of his manors and eſtates to the value of ſix hundred marks a year, and he depoſited in the hands of the warden and ſcholars of New college, one hundred pounds for the defence of his title to the ſaid eſtates, to be kept by them, and to be applied to no other uſe whatever for twenty years after the Biſhop's deceaſe, after which term the whole, or remainder not ſo applied, was to be freely delivered to Sir Thomas Wykeham or his heirs. Several other inſtances of his munificence and charity, beſides thoſe in his will, are mentioned below [*N*]. His character is beſt ſeen in the facts collected in the courſe of this memoir. Some

ments, whether of antient piety or ſuperſtition. However, though the other ornaments of his oratory are deſtroyed, yet his monument remains there intire and unhurt to this day: It is of white marble, of very elegant workmanſhip conſidering the time, with his effigies in his pontifical robes lying along upon it, and on a plate running round the edge of the upper table of it is the following inſcription in Latin verſe, of the ſtyle of that age.

Wilhelmus dictus Wykeham jacet hic nece victus,
Iſtius eccleſiae praeſul, reparavit eamq;
Largus erat dapifer: probat hoc cum divite pauper:
Conſiliis pariter regni fuerat bene dexter.
Hunc docet eſſe pium fundatio collegiorum,
Oxoniae primum ſtat, Wintoniaeque ſecundum,
Jugiter oretis, tumulum quicunque videtis,
Pro tantis meritis ut ſit ſibi vita perennis.

[*M*] *To pray for his ſoul four-pence.*] Wykeham, by diſpoſition, by education, by principle, and by habit, had a deep tincture of piety and devotion. He was perſuaded of the truth of all parts of the religion in which he had been inſtructed in his childhood, but he ſeems to have been particularly poſſeſſed with the notion of the reaſonableneſs and efficacy of prayers for the dead: It is recorded of him, that he always performed this part of the ſervice of the church with peculiar intenſeneſs and fervor, even to the abundant effuſion of tears(18): 'Tis not to be wondered therefore, that we find him more eſpecially careful in procuring the interceſſion of the faithful in behalf of himſelf, his parents, and benefactors. Beſides the proviſions which he made for this purpoſe in both his colleges by his ſtatutes, he had long before founded a chantry of five prieſts to pray for the ſouls of his father and mother only, in the priory of Suthwyk. He likewiſe paid to the chapter of Windſor 200*l.* for the purchaſe of 20 marks a year, to make a perpetual endowment of one additional chaplain, on condition that his *obit* ſhould be annually celebrated, and his ſoul and the ſouls of Edw. III. of his own parents, and of his benefactors, be daily recommended in their prayers. But he thought it alſo more particularly expedient to eſtabliſh a conſtant ſervice of this kind in his oratory, and a little before his death he himſelf, by agreement with the prior and convent, directed the ſervices that were to be performed in it: Firſt three maſſes ſhall be ſaid daily for him and his benefactors by the monks of the convent; the firſt, *De Sancta Maria* (19), early in the morning; and the two other at *tierce* or the ſixth hour, either *De ſanctis*, or *De temporali*, in each of which ſhall be ſaid during the Biſhop's life for his good eſtate, the collect *Rege quæſumus*, and the prayer *Deus cui proprium*, for the ſouls of his parents and benefactors. After the Biſhop's deceaſe, inſtead of the collect *Rege quæſumus*, ſhall be ſaid the prayer *Deus qui inter apoſtolicos*. The prior is to pay to each of theſe monks every day one penny. The ſacriſt is to provide for them bread, wine, book, chalice, veſtments, candles for the altar, palls, and all other neceſſaries and ornaments. They moreover engage, that the charity boys of the priory ſhall every night, for ever, ſing at the ſaid oratory, in honour of the Bleſſed Virgin, the anthem *Salve Regina*, or *Ave Regina*, and after it ſay the pſalm *De profundis*, with the prayer *Fideliam*, or *Inclina*, for the ſouls of the father and mother of the ſaid Biſhop, and for his ſoul after his deceaſe, and for the ſouls of all the faithful deceaſed; for which the prior is to pay the almoner yearly, on the feaſt of the Annunciation of the Bleſſed Virgin, 6 s. 8 d. for the uſe of the ſaid boys. It is further ordered, that the monks of the convent in prieſt's orders ſhall be appointed weekly to the performance of theſe ſervices, in a table of courſe; and that if any one ſo appointed ſhall, by ſudden infirmity or otherwiſe, be hindered from officiating, he ſhall give notice to the prior, or his ſubſtitute, who ſhall nominate another to ſupply his place.

(18) MS. coll. Winton.

(19) See the Roman Miſſal, Breviary, Hours, &c.

[*N*] *Several benefactions not mentioned before.*] Namely, 1. At his firſt entrance upon the Biſhopric of Wincheſter, he remitted to his poor tenants certain acknowledgments uſually paid, and due by cuſtom, to the amount of 502 l. 1 s. 7 d. 2. To ſeveral officers of the Biſhopric, who were grown poor, and become objects of his liberality, he at different times remitted ſums due to him, to the amount of 2000 marks. 3. He paid for his tenants, three ſeveral times, the ſubſidies granted to the King by Parliament. 4. In 1377 he diſcharged the whole debts of the prior and convent of Selborne, to the amount of 110 marks 11 s. 4 d. and a few years before his death he made a free gift to the ſame priory of 100 marks. 5. From the time of his being made Biſhop of Wincheſter he provided for twenty-four poor perſons at leaſt every day, not only feeding them, but alſo diſtributing money among them. 6. He continually employed his friends and attendants to ſeek out the propereſt objects of his charity, to ſearch after thoſe whoſe modeſty would not yield to their diſtreſſes, nor ſuffer them to apply for relief; to go to the houſes of the ſick and needy, and to inform themſelves particularly of their ſeveral calamities. 7. To the poor friars ſubſiſting on charity he was always very liberal. His hoſpitality was large, conſtant, and univerſal: his houſe was open to all, and frequented by the rich and great, in proportion as it was crowded by the poor and indigent. 8. He was ever attentive and compaſſionate to ſuch as were in priſon for debt, he enquired into their circumſtances, compounded with their creditors, and procured their releaſe. In this article of charity he expended 3000 marks. 9. The roads between London and Wincheſter, and in many other places, when very bad, and almoſt impaſſable, he

Some have repreſented him as not without his blemiſhes: and it is probable that he had, like other men, his imperfections and infirmities, how unwilling ſoever his Biographer may be to admit them, who has employed the laſt ſection of his book in examining and confuting ſeveral things publiſhed to the Biſhop's diſcredit [O]. This may inconteſtibly be ſaid in his favour, that no man ever exceeded him in benefices and acts of charity, as well before as after his death.

* Anecdotes on painting, &c. p. 112.

Mr Walpole, ſpeaking of the Engliſh architects *, declares "that the brighteſt name in that liſt is William Wykeham, who from being clerk of the works, roſe to be Biſhop of Wincheſter and Lord Chancellor, a height few men have reached by mere merit in a mechanic ſcience. Wykeham had the ſole direction of the buildings at Windſor and Queenborough Caſtle, not to mention his own foundations. He roſe by pleaſing one of the greateſt Princes, and deſerved his fortune by beſtowing it on noble charities."

he repaired and amended, making cauſeways and building bridges, at a vaſt expence. 10. He repaired a great number of churches of his dioceſe which were gone to decay, and moreover furniſhed them, not only in a decent but in a ſplendid manner, with books, veſtments, chalices, and other ornaments. In this way he beſtowed 113 ſilver chalices, and 100 pair of veſtments (20).

(20) Life, p. 299. to p. 303.

[O] *Section to anſwer objections.*] The chief accuſers were one Dr Hendon, and William Bohun, of the Middle-Temple, Eſq; of whoſe malice he gives the following not unentertaining account. Mr Bohun had lent a ſum of money to one Combes, leſſee of the manor of Birchanger in Eſſex, under New college, and ſued out an execution againſt him, intending to ſeize on Combes's term in Birchanger as a chattel, by a ſheriff's writ, for the ſecurity of his debt. Combes in the mean time had made an aſſignment of his leaſe to Euſtace Budgell Eſq; ſo that when the writ came to be executed, Combes had no property in Eſſex, and the ſheriff was forced to return it, with the indorſement of *nulla bona*. Mr Bohun proſecuted the ſheriff for non execution of his writ, who ſtood a trial, the event of which was unknown to our author. The college had confirmed Combes's aſſignment, by granting a new leaſe to Budgell; when, in 1726, Mr Bohun met the college progreſs in Eſſex, and firſt expoſtulated with Mr Prior, then fellow of the college, and being, upon that occaſion, as deputy ſteward, on the ſuppoſed injuſtice of their proceedings, alledging, that they had no authority to receive a ſurrender, or make a grant of an eſtate, *while* (to uſe his own terms) *the King's hands were upon it*. Mr Prior contented himſelf with anſwering, that the ſociety had not acted in that affair without taking due advice, and that they were ready to juſtify their conduct, whenever they ſhould be called upon by proper authority. This was all that paſſed in Mr Prior's preſence; but Dr Bigg, warden of the college, ſent for Mr Bohun into the parlour of the houſe, where the college courts were held, and there, in the preſence of Mr Budgell and Mr Coker (then fellow of the college, and by his office attending upon the warden in his progreſs) undertook to reaſon the matter with him calmly and diſpaſſionately in behalf of the ſociety's proceedings: but finding himſelf unable to make any impreſſion on him, and high words ariſing between Bohun and Budgell, the warden thought proper to withdraw. Soon after, Budgell having gradually ſhoved Bohun off the end of the bench on which they both ſat, Bohun ſtruck him, and the gentlemen exerciſed their canes on each other pretty ſmartly; the conſequence of which was victory to Budgell, and a ſevere beating to Bohun. Bohun, on his recovery, not only brought an action againſt Budgell for an aſſault, but likewiſe ſwore the peace againſt the warden; alledging, that he was a confederate with Budgell, and aiding and abetting to him, ſince the warden had invited Bohun into the houſe, and ought to have protected him during his ſtay in it. The warden was obliged to attend in perſon at Weſtminſter-hall, and to give bail for his further appearance; but Bohun proceeding no further againſt him, the matter, ſo far as concerned the warden of the college, dropped there (21).

(21) This anecdote was communicated to Dr Lowth, the writer of Bp Wykeham's life, by Coker and Prior.

Z.

ZINZENDORF [Nicholas-Lewis, Count de], founder of a ſect of religion ſometimes called after his name (*a*), but more generally Moravians, by which title they have been many years ſettled in England, by the diligence of their founder, who came hither ſeveral times for that purpoſe (*b*). This extraordinary perſon was deſcended from an antient and noble family in Auſtria, but directly ſprung from that Lutheran branch of it which flouriſhed in Miſnia [*A*]. He was born about the year 1700, and being endued with ſurprizingly pregnant parts, and a ſtrong religious turn of mind, he formed a deſign, from even the tenth year of his age, of gathering together a little ſociety of believers, as he called them, among whom he might live, and who ſhould intirely employ themſelves in exerciſes of devotion under him. At the age of ſeventeen he believed himſelf called by Providence to an eccleſiaſtical ſtate or condition of life. When he became of age, in the year 1721, his thoughts were wholly bent upon executing his project, and being joined by ſome perſons who were in his way of thinking, he ſettled at a village called Bertholſdorf in Upper Luſatia, where he had purchaſed an eſtate. To complete the ſettlement, he gave the curacy (then vacant) of that village, to a miniſter of his own complexion, ſo that Bertholſdorf ſoon became talked of for a new ſort of piety. The fame of this was carried to Moravia by one *Chriſtian David*, a carpenter, who had been before in that country, and had endeavoured to make converts from Popery to Proteſtantiſm. This zealous devotee now engaged two or three of the proſelytes he had made to leave that country, and to come with their families to Bertholſdorf, where they were gladly received by the Count, who directed them to build a houſe in a wood about half a league from that village, which was ſoon finiſhed; ſo that on St Martin's day 1722 the people held their firſt meeting there, and Chriſtian David made ſo ſure of the future growth of this ſettlement (*c*), that he already had fixed the ſpot of ground round it, laid out the plan of a town, which he divided into quarters, and marked the ſtreets. The event anſwered his wiſh, a great many people from Moravia and elſewhere flocked to this new ſettlement, and eſtabliſhed themſelves under the protection of Count Zinzendorf [*B*], who alſo himſelf fixed his reſidence here.

(*a*) They are called Zinzendorfians by the K. of Pruſſia, in his Memoirs of the houſe of Brandenbourg.

(*b*) He took a handſome houſe at Chelſea, which was his chief reſidence.

(*c*) They pretended to foreſee that God would kindle a light in this place that ſhould enlighten all the country.

[*A*] *Deſcended from an antient and noble family.*] The family of the Counts of Zinzendorf in Auſtria is poſſeſſed of the hereditary poſt of Grand Hunt in the country below *Ens*. It was raiſed to the rank of Counts in 1662. According to ſome authors, this houſe ſprung from that of Switzerland: but *Spencer* thinks it was originally of Auſtria, and ſays, it was in poſſeſſion of the houſe of Zinzendorf in the time of the Emperor Rodolphus I. *Ritterſhuſius* begins the pedigree of it by Chriſtopher of Zinzendorf, whoſe grandſon, named alſo Chriſtopher, was the firſt that obtained the poſt of Grand Hunt hereditary to his family, and died in 1539, leaving by his will, dated in 1535, to Stephen his eldeſt ſon the ſeveral caſtles of Houſſeck, Beerworth, Carlſtettin, &c. and to John his younger ſon the lordſhips of Pattendorff, Feiſtretz, Scharffenack, and others. The line of Stephen appears to have become extinct; but Albert, Maximilian-Eraſmus, John-William, Ferdinand, and Sigiſmund-Erneſt of Zinzendorf, either by a direct or collateral line of John the younger, were created Counts of the empire in 1662. Albert puſhed his fortune ſo well at the Imperial court, that he was appointed prime miniſter of the empire May 3, 1683, but died without iſſue. The poſterity of ſome of his brothers flouriſh to this day at the Imperial court. Francis-Lewis was Chamberlain to the Emperor, Ambaſſador in Sweden in 1709, Plenipotentiary to execute the convention of Alt-Ranſtadt. Lewis Count of Zinzendorf was Captain des Trabants of the Empreſs Dowager Wilhelmina-Amelia. Otho-Henry, Count of Zinzendorf, died in 1713, and left a large fortune to his brother Francis-Lewis. Maximilian-Eraſmus, nephew to Albert, was the founder of the Lutheran branch of Zinzendorf, which flouriſhed in Miſnia, and dying in 1672, was ſurvived by two ſons. 1. Otho-Chriſtian, Count of Zinzendorf, Lord of Freideck, Scheeneck, Thurnttein, Gravernitz, Conſtappel, Wildberg, and Scherau, hereditary Grand Hunt of the Lower Auſtria, Grand Maſter of the Artillery to the King of Poland Elector of Saxony, Privy Counſellor and Supreme Commandant of all the fortreſſes of Saxony. He died the 18th of July 1718, leaving no heirs. 2. George-Lewis, Count of Zinzendorf, Lord of Carlabach, Wieſen, Oberburg, and Hoff, died in 1700, aged thirty-eight years, being Privy Counſellor to the King of Poland Elector of Saxony. He left two ſons, Frederic-Chriſtian and Nicholas Lewis (1), which laſt is the ſubject of the preſent article.

[*B*] *They eſtabliſhed themſelves under the protection of Count Zinzendorf.*] By the Count's direction the ſociety ſoon eſtabliſhed among themſelves a ſort of diſcipline, which cloſely united them to each other. They divided themſelves into different claſſes, which difference was determined by the age, ſex, and ſituation of the members to each other. There were claſſes of married men, married women, widowers, widows, maids, bachelors, children; each had its peculiar director, choſen by its particular members on whom it depended, and who confined it to certain exerciſes of devotion, and to the obſervance of little minute rules. As a great part of their *worſhip* conſiſted in ſinging hymns, ſo at *all hours*, whether of day or night (2), ſome perſons *of both ſexes* were appointed by rotation to pray *for* the ſociety. When the brethren perceived the *zeal* of the ſociety to fall off, their devotion was revived by celebrating *agapes*, or

(1) Moreri's Dict. edit. 1740. Vol. VIII. under the letter Z, p. 109.

(2) They pretend *to know*, ſays *Rimius*, the call or watch *when their hour comes in which* they are to perform duty.

(d) Thirty-four houſes were built there in 1728, and 1732 the number of inhabitants amounted to 600.

here. In a few years it became a conſiderable village (d), having an orphan-houſe and other public buildings. Theſe coloniſts took occaſion from an adjacent hill called the *Huthberg*, to call their village *Huth des Herrn*, and afterwards *Herrnhuth*, which may be interpreted the guard or protection of the Lord, and thence the whole ſect hath taken the name of *Herrnhuters.* As the *Herrnhut* ſociety was thus begun upon the eſtate of Count Zinzendorf, under his protection, by his care and benefactions, and according to his ideas and views, it was but natural that he ſhould have a very great authority over it. Accordingly, he was always the ſoul, the oracle, and the *primum mobile* of it, being at the head of his ſect both in temporals and ſpirituals. From the year 1726 he was called the Truſtee and Guardian of the Brethren (e); and though he reſigned this title in 1730, yet he was prevailed on to take it again in 1733. He always ſhewed himſelf very ſolicitous to propagate his ſect, and ſpared neither pains nor art about it. He ſent his fellow labourers throughout the world, he travelled himſelf all over Europe, and was twice at leaſt in America. In the year 1732 the miſſionaries of Herrnhutiſm had paſſed the equinoctial line; and from 1733, a new *Herrnhut* has been eſtabliſhed in Greenland. The ſociety poſſeſſed Bethlehem in Penſilvania, and had alſo a ſettlement among the Hottentots, even China admitted it, and we know what progreſs it made in our own country, as well as on the continent [C]. To facilitate the propagation of his ſect, he ſhewed a regard to all Chriſtian communions. He wrote a letter to Pope Benedict XIII. dated from Dreſden, June 24, 1728, in which he ſtyles that Pontiff HOLY FATHER; tells him, that he throws himſelf at his feet, that he venerates his Holineſs, and earneſtly labours that the true Chriſtians in the Catholic religion, and what are called ſects, may be acquainted with him, venerate him, love him. He ſent a deputation to the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, which was well received (f). He ſhewed a great attachment to Lutheraniſm, and conſtantly pretended to be a profeſſor of it [D]. He boaſted of being a miniſter of that church, and affirmed, that he and his brethren had no other doctrine than what was taught in that communion. Afterwards, however, he became more favourable to Calviniſm, and declared in general, that whoever embraces Herrnhutiſm needs not

(e) Which happened in this ſingular manner, as he tells us himſelf: Chriſtian David the carpenter being one day in the Count's apartment, to talk with him upon ſome other ſubject, all of a ſudden gave him this title, and it was afterwards confirmed by the conſent of the ſociety.

(f) Candid narrative, &c. hereafter mentioned.

or love feaſts. The caſting of lots was much practiſed among them, they made uſe of it to learn the will of the Lord. The elders had the right of conſtituting watches, and no promiſe of marriage was of any validity without their conſent. The maids devoted themſelves to the Saviour, as they expreſſed it, not with an intent never to marry, but to marry only ſuch a perſon whom God ſhall have revealed to be regenerated, to be inſtructed in the importance of the conjugal ſtate, and appointed by divine direction to enter into that ſtate. According to Count Zinzendorf, all was extraordinary and marvellous at Herrnhut; the moſt ſtubborn diſeaſes vaniſh without help; it was very rarely that any one died of a violent fever, but it is common to die there of a cold defluxion, or ſome ſuch ſlight indiſpoſition (3).

(3) Count Zinzendorf, in his writing of Jan. 24, 1732, and preſented to the miniſtry of the court of Dreſden.

[C] *It made a great progreſs in many countries as well as England.*] In this view, their diſcipline was very arbitrary and rigid. An abſolute ſubmiſſion to the will of their ſuperiors was an eſſential article of the ſyſtem; they pretend to rule by the will of the Saviour; every thing is done by the Saviour's injunctions; *Jeſus will have it, and the Lamb commands it.* This Count Zinzendorf inculcated among his flock, with great care and aſſiduity, and this was the language of the miniſters of the ſociety. According to them, the Saviour gives his orders on the moment they are to be executed, without allowing thoſe who are to obey them the leaſt time to conſider. The ſending miſſionaries abroad, was, according to this ſect, a buſineſs in which the Saviour is particularly concerned: ſo that if a member of the ſociety is ordered to the remoteſt part of the globe, he was inſtantly ſent to the place of his deſtination, without ſo much as conſidering, much leſs demurring about it. As the brethren had always a great number of labourers on the roads, oftentimes among theſe their Count, Zinzendorf himſelf, with his family and retinue [a]; and as their general ſcheme required large ſupplies, it is neceſſary they ſhould have the ſinews of all great ſchemes, money. Thus we find that they eſtabliſhed a fund, called The Lamb's or the Saviour's cheſt, which in time grew very conſiderable by the contributions and donations of the proſelytes to Herrnhutiſm. From the beginning two brethren were truſted with it, one of whom kept the cheſt, and the other the key, though Count Zinzendorf all the while has the management and direction of it. It is known to be a fundamental condition and article of this ſociety, that whoever were candidates to be received into it as a brother, muſt contribute largely to the Saviour's cheſt; nay, he muſt do more than contribute largely, he muſt contribute his all: for thus ſays the Count himſelf, The oeconomiſts of the ſociety may ſay to a young rich man, *Either give us all thou haſt, or get thee gone; Give us all thou haſt, or thou canſt not be with us* (4).

(4) Zinzendorf's Sermons.

[D] *He pretended to be a profeſſor of Lutheraniſm.*] It does not appear that the Herrnhuters to the year 1729 pretended to be any thing more than members of the Lutheran church at Bertholdſdorf; indeed they were all of them either born among Lutherans, or converted from Popery to the faith of the Augſburg confeſſion; and if ſome of them entertained ideas of Calviniſm, their leader preſently took care to cure them of all ſuch notions. But from this time they affected to paſs for a part of thoſe Bohemian and Moravian brethren who lived ſeparately from the church of Rome a long time before Luther. In this ſtrain Count Zinzendorf talked ever afterwards. He pretended that theſe brethren were originally of the Greek church, and had in proceſs of time united themſelves with the Waldenſes, who derived their origin from the Latin church. He beſtowed the higheſt encomiums on this Moravian church, ſo much renowned in former times, overclouded and forgotten afterwards, but now again ſhining out, and revived under his auſpices at Herrnhut. He gives it the moſt pompous titles, as, *The Church of the Croſs*, *The Church of the Lamb*, *The Church of the Blood and Wounds*, *The Theocracy*, *A people whereunto was never ſeen the like*, *They are*, ſays he, *the hundred and forty thouſand ſervants of God marked in their foreheads, of whom St John makes mention in the Revelations* (5).

(5) Zinzendorf's Sermons.

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[a] It is ſaid that when the Count was employed upon the miſſion in North America, addreſſing himſelf to an aſſembly of the chiefs of one of the Indian nations on the ſubject of Chriſtianity, they ingenuouſly confeſſed themſelves to be rude and unſkilful, and utterly unqualified to make any judgment in the affair; telling him, that, in all points of religion, it was a conſtant rule with them to follow the example of their next neighbours, who were more knowing; they therefore referred him to them. The Count accordingly went to thoſe people, who were diſtinguiſhed by the character of the knowing ones, not without hopes of meeting with all the ſucceſs he deſired. In thoſe flattering views he preſently called the chiefs of the nation together, who met him with all the wiſhed for readineſs; whereupon aſking them, if ever they had heard any thing of Jeſus Chriſt? *Yes, ſurely*, replied they, *we know Jeſus Chriſt very well, Jeſus Chriſt was a Frenchman, that was murdered by thoſe rogues the Engliſh.*

change his religion. He had for ſome time preached as a miniſter in ſome of the Lutheran churches, and in 1737 was conſecrated a Biſhop of his ſect (g). From which time, according to the cuſtom of Biſhops, he ſigned his Chriſtian and that of his ſurname *Ludovicus Moravienſis*. However, if we may believe himſelf, he had very little forwardneſs to make a figure as a Biſhop, and therefore, in the third general ſynod of Herrnhutiſm, held at *Gotha* in 1740, he laid down his epiſcopal dignity. But he obtained a higher and more honourable title, that of a *miniſter plenipotentiary and oeconomiſt*, with power to nominate a ſucceſſor, and an expreſs clauſe, that nothing of importance ſhould be done or concluded on without his conſent, and at laſt he called himſelf *Lord Advocate of the Unitas Fratrum*. In the mean time, the ſettlement of this ſect in England, and the American colonies belonging thereto, occaſioned much talk; and many things being objected to the opinions and practice of the ſect, proper deputies were commiſſioned by them, who were ſent hither in order to vindicate it from ſuch as they alledged were unjuſt and malicious miſrepreſentations and aſperſions. Theſe deputies applying to the Houſe of Commons, a committee of that houſe was appointed to examine into the matter. Whereupon there came out, in 1749, folio, under the title of *Acta Unitatis Fratrum in Anglia, or The report from the committee, to whom the petition of the deputies of the United Moravian Church in behalf of themſelves and their United Brethren was referred, together with ſeveral extracts of the moſt material vouchers and papers contained in the appendix to the ſaid report*; by which it appears, that the Moravian brethren had ſettled in his Majeſty's dominions in America, and met with approbation at *Philadelphia* and *Georgia* in the year 1745, by an act of the 20th of King George II. for extending certain proviſions of foreign Proteſtants, who conſcientiouſly ſcruple to take an oath. In the preamble of which it is atteſted, that many of the ſaid Moravian brethren are ſettled in his Majeſty's colonies in America, and demean themſelves there as a ſober, quiet, and induſtrious people: farther, that on the 22d of George II. *anno* 1747, there paſſed an act for encouraging the people known by the name of *Unitas Fratrum*, or United Brethren, to ſettle in his Majeſty's colonies in America: that the petitioners proper inſtruments of their deputation from Biſhop *Ludovicus Count Zinzendorf*, and their church, whereby the ſaid Biſhop *Ludovicus* was empowered by all the congregation of the United Brethren, to be their truſtee or guardian. The ſaid petitioners produced alſo a former call in 1733, in theſe terms: We eſtabliſh you [*Count Zinzendorf*] therefore once more, and now as before, with good conſideration, in the name of our God, to be a fully empowered ſervant or advocate, houſholder or ſteward, within and without, at home and abroad, in Chriſtendom and among the heathens. It is alſo neceſſary that you nominate to us your ſucceſſor; therefore you will not wait the eventual deſignation of ſuch a one. They alſo produced the acceptance of the ſaid vocation by the ſaid Dr *Ludovicus*, in his anſwer to the Right Reverend the Biſhops, their ſenior deputies and ſyndics, as alſo their ordinaries, adjuncts, and other clergy of the Moravian church of the Augſburg Confeſſion, and other, and of both the Tropuſſes of the Unity reſpectively. They alſo produced a declaration out of one of the writings of Dr *Erneſt Jablonſki*, Dean of the chapel to the late King of Pruſſia, and his two predeceſſors, and Preſident of the Royal Society at Berlin, and eldeſt Biſhop of the Unity; ſetting forth, that the Brethren's church at *Herrnhut* is the true poſterity of the Union at *Sendomil*, and that theſe remnants of the Moravians have better ſucceeded in the uniting Proteſtants of different perſuaſions, than all the endeavours which the Proteſtant Princes have made uſe of for the procuring ſuch an union. They alſo produced two original letters to Biſhop *Ludovicus* from the late Biſhop *Jablonſki* (h); the firſt letter declaring, that what the old Bohemian brethren had with great labour preſſed, for more than one hundred and fifty years, in regard to the union of Proteſtants, had happily been effected at Herrnhut. In the ſecond letter, Biſhop Jablonſki, ſpeaking of the inſtitutions at Herrnhut, ſays, he ſeemed, in reading them through, to have got a proſpect of the antient apoſtolical lives of the primitive Chriſtians, and rejoices to ſee the old Bohemian and Moravian diſcipline now revived at Herrnhut, and appearing before the eyes of the world. In the ſame letter Jablonſki vindicates the epiſcopal ſucceſſion; ſetting forth, that the brethren had carefully kept it from the year 1548: that, indeed, the old Biſhop *Comenius Amos*, in the dedication of his hiſtory of the Bohemian and Moravian churches to King Charles II. of England, calls himſelf the ſole ſurvivor of the reliques of the brethren of the Bohemian church, *Reliquiæ eccleſiæ fratrum Bohemenſium epiſcopus indignus, ſolus adhuc ſuperſtes*, although the brethren's church in Poland was at that time in a flouriſhing condition; and in 1662, in the ſyndic of *Milanzin* in Great Poland, his father, who was ſon-in-law to old Biſhop Amos, was conſecrated a Bohemian biſhop *in ſpe contra ſpem*; and himſelf received public ordination the 20th of March 1699, at the ſynod of *Leſſa* in Great Poland, whither he went for that purpoſe, with the conſent of the then Elector of Brandenburg *Frederic* III. He ſets forth alſo, that (in 1716-17) ſome of the Proteſtant churches in general took an opportunity to publiſh in England, even in print, that the Bohemian brethren had no lawful Biſhop; upon which Dr Wake, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, deſiring to have the matter explained to him, Biſhop Jablonſki did it in a circumſtantial deduction thereof, wherewith his Grace was fully ſatisfied (i). The deputies alſo produced an extract of an inſtrument by a public notary, delivered to the high commiſſion of the King of Poland in 1732; wherein it is declared,

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(g) *Acta Unitatis Fratrum*, edit. 1749, folio.

(h) See an account of his behaviour upon the proſpect of an union between the Engliſh and Pruſſian churches, under Dr Grabe's article, in this Supplement.

(i) This deduction is printed in a treatiſe *De ſucceſſione epiſcopali*, by Dr Pfaffius, Chancellor of Tubingen.

that the brethren were the offſpring of the true Moravian conſtitution [*E*]. To prove which fact, they alſo produced the dedication of Dr *Amos*'s Catechiſm, which was dedicated to the brethren of the towns where the brethren of Herrnhut are come from. The deputies then produced an atteſted copy of A Conference held at Weſtminſter between the late Archbiſhop Potter and Advocate *Count Zinzendorf*, wherein that Archbiſhop declared, that the objections againſt the Moravian church were trifles, and that no Engliſhman, who had any notion of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, could doubt of their ſucceſſion; and for his particular, he was fully perſuaded that, with the utmoſt hazard, they ought to vindicate and defend the conſtitution of the Moravian church. They further produced an authentic copy of a report from the committee of the aſſociates of the late Dr Bray, for propagating Chriſtianity among the Negroes, appointed to wait upon the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, wherein his Grace declared, that the Moravian brethren were an apoſtolical and epiſcopal church, not ſuſtaining any doctrines repugnant to the thirty-nine articles of the church of England. They alſo produced a declaration of the Reverend Mr *Boehler*; ſetting forth, that in conſequence of his Grace's opinion, he and the Reverend Mr *Schulius* were preſented by the ſaid aſſociates to his Grace, as miſſionaries of the Moravian church, and employed by the ſaid aſſociates to inſtruct the Negroes in *South Carolina*. They alſo produced four original letters of the late King of *Pruſſia*, and two of Biſhop *Jablonſki*'s (*k*), previous to the conſecration of Biſhop Ludovicus (Count Zinzendorf); which ſet forth, that his Majeſty himſelf enquired into the matter [*F*], and that it was effected after mature conſideration and examination, in conſequence of a ſtrong oppoſition; and that the Right Reverend Biſhop *Jablonſki*, the Poliſh Biſhop *Sitgravius*, and the Moravian Biſhop *David Nitſchmann*, joined in the tranſaction. They alſo produced the inſtrument of conſecration of Biſhop *Ludovicus*, and the congratulation of the King of Pruſſia, and of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury [*G*]. They then produced ſix papers, wherein the Moravian brethren are owned to be an evangelical church. They alſo produced Biſhop *Jablonſki*'s full power for the deputies of the Moravian church to produce in the commiſſion and negotiation in Saxony in 1748. They produced likewiſe eleven writings to prove, that the deputies are not only for the epiſcopal church of the *Unitas Fratrum*, but alſo in the behalf of other *United Brethren* of the perſuaſion of *Luther*, *Calvin*, and other Proteſtant churches: alſo an abſtract of the declaration of Frederic Auguſtus King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, in 1737, declaring his pleaſure, that the congregation at Herrnhut, as long as they continue in the doctrine of the unvaried Augſburg Confeſſion, may be permitted to continue their regulations and diſcipline. They alſo produced the then preſent King of Denmark's permiſſion.

(*k*) See ſome account of this prelate under Dr Grabe's article, in this Supplement.

[*E*] *The true offſpring of the old Moravian conſtitution.*] The antient Moravians are ſaid, however, to have mixed with the Reformed in Poland, and it is certain, continues this writer, that not one of thoſe that profeſſed their doctrine remained in Bohemia and Moravia, the doctrine itſelf having been intirely rooted out of thoſe countries ever ſince the year 1620. The Moravians, who retired to Herrnhut, and who are the moſt conſiderable part of the inhabitants of that village, had nothing in common with the antient Bohemian and Moravian brethren, but were only Roman catholics converted to the Proteſtant religion (6).

[*F*] *His Majeſty inquired into the matter.*] In one of the King's four letters, his Majeſty expreſſes himſelf in terms to this effect: 'I learn with ſatisfaction, out 'of your report concerning Count Zinzendorf, that 'you maintain no other doctrine but what is taught 'in the preſent church. Berlin, May 20, 1737.'

[*G*] *The congratulation of Archbiſhop Potter.*] The following is a tranſcript of his Grace's letter on the occaſion.

Viro ad modum Reverendo Domino Nicholas Ludovico
Moravienſi Epiſcopo, Johannes Cantuarienſis,
S. P. D.

Sanctam illam vereque illuſtrem (quibuſcunque forte tenebris jam ſit involuta) Moravienſem Cathedram, ad quam, favente Divino Numine, plaudente cæleſti choro (id enim dubitare nos haud ſinit quam de Te concepimus opinio) nuper es evectus, ſincere atque ex intimo corde gratulor. Qui Tibi haud ſine eximio merito delatus honos, ut eccleſiæ ſalutaris ſit, nec Tibi Tuiſve unquam pœnitendus, ardenti prece contendo. Hoc enim faſtigio quo Divina Providentia me utcunque imparem conſtituit, penitus eſſem indignus, ſi non omni Dei populo pro virili opem ferre me ſemper exhiberem paratum. Vos aut præ ceteris amem atque amplectar, qui nec periculis territi, nec aliis quibuſvis Satanæ, Πειρασμοις, ſeducti una cum pura primævaque fide, primævam etiam eccleſiæ diſciplinam, conſtanter adhuc, ut accepimus, tuentes, arctiori nobiſcum vinculo conjuncti eſtis. Precibus me tuis oro viciſſim adjuves. Coepiſcopis autem tuis, totique cui te Deus præeſſe voluit, Chriſtiano gregi ſalutem nomine meo impertias. Vale.

Dabam Weſtmonaſteriæ IV *Idus Auguſti*
MDCCXXXVII.

Thus in Engliſh.

To the Right Reverend Lord Nicholas Lewis Biſhop
of Moravia, John Archbiſhop of Canterbury,
S. P. D.

I ſincerely, and from the bottom of my heart, congratulate that holy and (in what clouds and darkneſs ſoever it may be involved) truly illuſtrious Moravian ſee, to which you have been raiſed by the favour of the Deity, and the applauſe of the celeſtial choir (for that the opinion which we conceive of you ſuffers us not to doubt) which honour is not without egregious merit conferred upon you, I moſt ardently pray may be ſalutary to the church, nor ever be repented of by you or yours. I ſhould be altogether unworthy of the ſupreme dignity in which it hath pleaſed the Divine Providence to place me, though unequal to it, if I did not always ſhew myſelf ready, to the utmoſt of my power, to aſſiſt all the people of God. But, above others, I particularly love and embrace you, who neither deterred by any dangers, nor ſeduced by any temptations of Satan, ſtedfaſtly maintaining (as we have been well informed) together with the pure and primitive faith, the primitive diſcipline alſo of the church, are joined in a ſtricter bond with us. I beg the aſſiſtance of your mutual prayers for myſelf, and that you would in my name ſalute your brother Biſhops, and all the Chriſtian flock which it hath pleaſed God to ſet you over. Farewell.

Given at Weſtminſter IV *Ides of Auguſt*
MDCCXXXVII.

(6) Candid narrative, &c.

With regard to their being numerous, the Proteſtants of the committee aver, that their brethren amounted to above twenty thouſand, not including thoſe under the age of fourteen years, and likewiſe thoſe who ſettled themſelves in Moravia, Bohemia, and the Sclavonian countries, and other places. As to their eſtates and ſubſtance, they poſſeſs an extent of land worth above a million of crowns in one country; and that the gentlemen of another country, living upon their own income, are worth half a million of crowns; that one of them has about ſix thouſand ſubjects in a certain foreign country, and there are at leaſt as many more willing to cultivate lands belonging to the poſſeſſion of the brethren in the ſame country. This part of the *Acta* concludes with an offer to vindicate themſelves againſt any accuſation of their enemies.

The ſecond part of the Report of the Committee of the Houſe of Commons contains, 1. The Articles of the United Brethren's Faith, in number twenty-one. 2. The Form of their Liturgy. And 3. Rules for regulating their practice, together with their diſcipline in reſpect both to Faith and Manners. All which appear to be at leaſt very tolerable, and not unworthy of the encouragement that had been given them among us. Accordingly, another act of parliament paſſed this year (1749) confirming the privileges before granted, with an addition of further favours. Notwithſtanding which, the Repreſentation coming into the hands of *Henry Rimius*, Aulic Counſellor to the King of Pruſſia, that gentleman, who had been a frequenter of their meetings *(l)*, drew up a piece, by way of anſwer to the fore-mentioned challenge, which was publiſhed in 1754, under the title of *A candid narrative of the riſe and progreſs of the Herrnhuters, commonly called Moravians, or Unitas Fratrum; with a ſhort account of their doctrines, drawn from their own writings.* And in 1754, the ſame gentleman publiſhed another piece, intituled, *A ſolemn call to Count Zinzendorf, the author and advocate of the ſect of Herrnhuters, commonly called Moravians, to anſwer all and every charge brought againſt them in the* Candid Narrative, *&c.* and, in 1755, *A Supplement to the* Candid Narrative [H]. To all which pieces,

(l) But not a member of their ſociety.

ſays

[H] *A candid narrative,* &c. *A ſolemn call,* &c. *and A ſupplement,* &c.] This angry author obſerves, that as long as Herrnhut belonged to the church of Bertholſdorf, the ſociety was held in ſome eſteem, and not at all ſuſpected to differ from the confeſſion of Augſburg: that this was the reaſon given by the theological faculty at Tubingen, for granting as they did thoſe teſtimonials to which Count Zinzendorf afterwards appealed, as a proof of the ſoundneſs of his doctrine, and under whoſe ſanction much miſchief has been done. Whether Count Zinzendorf began to broach his new doctrines immediately upon the firſt eſtabliſhment of the ſociety at Herrnhut, or afterwards, is no eaſy matter to come at, as, indeed, it is not to come at the tenets of the ſect in general, ſuch, it ſeems, is the obſcurity affected by their teachers. They make it their ſtudy to ſpeak and write in ſuch a manner, that they may not be underſtood. It is a rule among them to ſpeak to thoſe who are not initiated into the *myſterious theology of the blood and wounds* in ſuch unintelligible terms, that they may not be able to relate any thing they have heard. Enough, however, may be collected from the ſermons of Zinzendorf himſelf, and from the hymns uſed by the ſociety, which are probably of his compoſing, to enable the reader to form a proper judgment of this ſect of Chriſtians (7). To begin with the idea it hath of Scripture.

(7) Candid narrative, &c.

Though Count Zinzendorf does not directly diſown the Scripture, yet the diſreſpectful manner of treating it, looks as if he intended to eſtabliſh a power and authority ſuperior to it. He ſays, in a ſermon preached at *Philadelphia,* that the ſtyle of Scripture is ſometimes like that of a peaſant, ſometimes like that of a carpenter, ſometimes like that of a fiſherman, and ſometimes like that of a man brought up among toll-gatherers: 'I verily believe (ſays he) that the 'Saviour may have ſpoken very meanly, and perhaps 'uſed many a peaſant-like phraſe, which we now 'look upon as containing ſomewhat of a quite dif'ferent nature, merely becauſe we know not the 'manner of ſpeaking which was then uſed by the 'journeymen at Nazareth.' This looks, ſays Rimius, as if Chriſt intended a new period in his church, and to declare his will henceforward only by the brethren. Concerning the Trinity, that doctrine which declares the Father to be the Creator, the Son to be the Redeemer, and the Holy Ghoſt to be the Sanctifier, is, according to them, a falſe doctrine, and one of thoſe capital errors that reign in Chriſtendom. Creation and Sanctification, ſay they, ought not to be aſcribed to the Father and the Holy Ghoſt; and to avoid idolatry, people ought to be taken from the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, and to be conducted to Chriſt the Saviour, with whom alone we have to do. The whole doctrine concerning the Father, in the manner it has been cried up in Chriſtendom, is, ſays Count Zinzendorf, a falſe theology, wherewith all dogs and ſwine, unbelievers and atheiſts, divert themſelves, in ſpite of their God and Saviour. The Holy Ghoſt is called by the Herrnhuters, *the eternal Wife of God, the Mother of Chriſt, the Mother of the Faithful, the Mother of the Church.* So that the Son is the chief, if not the only object of worſhip in this extraordinary community, and to him indeed the moſt tender, we cannot ſay the moſt adorable, names are given He is called their *Lamb,* their *little Lamb,* their *little Jeſus.* They make his name of the feminine gender, calling him their *Mother,* their *Mamma Jeſu.* They have alſo a great devotion for the five red wounds, as they call them, of his crucifixion; but that which he received in his ſide is extolled above all the reſt. This is their favourite wound, the *very dear little opening;* the *precious and thouſand times pretty little ſide.* 'They kiſs this wound; they 'kiſs the ſpear that made it, and would kiſs the ſol'dier whoſe hand conducted the ſpear; they thank 'him for it. It is in this opening that the faithful 'repoſes himſelf, there he breathes, there he ſports, 'there he lays down, ſometimes length-wiſe, ſome'times croſs-wiſe; there is his country, his houſe, his 'hall, his little bed, his little table; there he eats, 'there he drinks, there he lives, there he praiſes the 'dear little Lamb.' This childiſh, rapturous, and almoſt impious language is to be found in one of their hymns (8).

(8) Candid narrative, p.46, 47.

Regeneration, ſay they, comes of itſelf, without our being required to do any thing towards it. It is brought about ſuddenly, all at once; and one moment is ſufficient to make us free to receive grace, to be transformed to the image of the little Lamb. A perſon regenerated enjoys a great liberty, according to them. He doth what the Saviour gives him an inclination to do; and what he has no inclination for, he is not obliged to do. He doth what the Saviour makes him do; for the Saviour can diſpoſe of life and ſoul; can make the oeconomy of ſalvation, and change it every hour, that the hindermoſt ſhall be foremoſt; can make laws, and abrogate them; can make that to be moral, which is againſt nature, the greateſt virtue to be the moſt villainous action, and the moſt virtuous thoughts to be the moſt criminal; can, in a quarter of an hour, make Abraham willing to kill his ſon, which, however, is the moſt abominable thought a man can have. It is wrong therefore to ſay that a regenerated perſon doth any thing; pro-

perly

ſays he, neither the Count, nor any one of his people, ever made any repſy. But, on the contrary, the ſociety was intirely broke and diſſolved [*I*], all betaking themſelves from whence

perly ſpeaking he does nothing. It is the Saviour that acts for him. He is with reſpect to the Saviour as a child, whoſe hand is guided, yet who believes it is himſelf that writes, and rejoices at it (9).'

But of all the ſingularities for which this ſect is famous, none equal in extravagance and wildneſs the notions they entertain of the organs of generation in both ſexes. The circumciſion of the Saviour has, according to them, ſerved principally to ſhew of what ſex he was. It has likewiſe reſtored, they ſay, to honour, that part of the human body, which, as a conſequence of Adam's fall, was become a diſgrace to it. *What is called in the Bible*, ſays Count Zinzendorf, *by the odious name* pūdendum, *or a thing to be aſhamed of, on account of the fall, is changed by the Saviour into* verendum, *or a thing to be worſhipped. What was chaſtiſed by circumciſion in the time of the law, is reſtored again to its firſt eſſence and flouriſhing ſtate; it is made again equal to the moſt noble and reſpectable parts of the body; yea, it is on account of its dignity and diſtinction become ſuperior to all the reſt, eſpecially as the Lamb choſe to endure in that part his firſt wound, his firſt pain* (10). The ſiſters of the ſociety are therefore exhorted never to think of it but with ſentiments of the moſt profound veneration; they are even taught to reſpect it for ſcarce any other reaſon. *This*, ſays the Count, *is what draws reſpect from the ſiſters: for they have alſo bleſſed bodies, in one of which the huſband of ſouls has lain, in which he was formed, by which he was born whom God begat, and a woman ſuckled him. Yet they honour that member, by which we reſemble Chriſt, with the utmoſt veneration. His firſt holy wound attracts to us an eternal reſpect from them, in the married and unmarried ſtate; and if they had any other motive for reſpecting us, taken from ourſelves, and not on account of our reſembling the man Jeſus, it would be an injury to their eternal huſband. When the ſiſters ſee the brethren, not only ſuch ſiſters as are married, but all ſiſters; when they behold a brother, or occaſionally think on the male ſex, or nurſe a little boy, they are always to reflect that they are boys; thus reſpectfully remembering the man who wore the ſame member.* It appears from hence, that the organ of generation in the female ſex is alſo, in ſome degree, honourable, as having been ſanctified by the conception and birth of the Saviour. *And thus*, ſays Count Zinzendorf, *I conſider the parts for diſtinguiſhing both ſexes in Chriſtians, as the moſt honourable of the whole body, my Lord and God having partly inhabited them, and partly worn them himſelf* (11).

All ſouls, according to the Count, are of the feminine gender, not *animi*, but *animæ*; and to think of male ſouls, would, he ſays, be to entertain a folly, which ought not to enter the thought of a Chriſtian, even in the midſt of a high fever. All that is of the male quality was, it ſeems, adapted to our body at its formation, and is detached from it as ſoon as it is interred. It belongs not to its natural and primitive ſtate; it is an addition made to it afterwards; it is the ſeal of the office, with which the male ſex is intruſted; for this ſex is an employment, an office. Jeſus, we are told, is the ſpouſe of all the ſiſters; the huſbands, in the moſt proper ſenſe, are his procurators and agents, and may therefore be called Vice-Chriſts, or Vice-Gods. The ſiſters are conducted to Jeſus through the miniſtry of their huſbands, who were thus their Saviours in this world; and therefore a marriage is nothing more than the bringing a ſiſter to the true Spouſe, by the mediation of ſuch a procurator. But hear Count Zinzendorf himſelf upon this curious point. *The ſiſter*, ſays he, *ſhall be conducted to the Saviour by the mediation of a Procurator; a Legate, a Vice-Chriſt, is ſent to meet her; ſhe is to repreſent for a time the Church, whereas the Legate repreſents the Saviour of his body. As formerly a great Lord, by marrying a Princeſs in quality of Procurator, uſed to act only in the name of a bridegroom: ſo in reality no man, no child of God, can boaſt of having a wife, but is only to conſider himſelf as a chamberlain, who conducts the betrothed perſon through the world. Though the man, while he embraces conjugally, thinks like Jacob, the grandſon of the father of the Faithful*, Gen. xxx. 3. *yet he knows that he is only executing an office in Jeſus's name. He is therefore a Procurator and Vicar of Jeſus-Chriſt, a Vice-Chriſt as it were; and what he does, while he conjugally embraces towards the exiſtence of the child, is to be looked upon as an office of a Vice God, and his wife ought to look upon him as acting in the name of the Creator.* Agreeably to this fine ſyſtem, the Count, in a conference on this ſubject, held at *Oly*, with the ſeventh-day men, is ſaid to have declared, that was he to die in the very conjugal act, he could ſay to the Saviour, *I am come from that act, which I was performing in thy name* (12).

It is eaſy to conceive from hence, that marriage muſt be a high affair with this wonderful ſect, and ſo indeed we find it. 'Marriages (ſays the Count) are a capital article of the ſociety; they are a *primum principium*, as I may ſay, a firſt principle of the whole ſociety, the root of the ſociety's tree; and we muſt alſo conſider them as the moſt precious depoſitum from the hand of our Lord, as the greateſt myſtery of all human things depoſited with us, and whereof the key is given to us. Matrimony among us is full of reſpect, grace, and bleſſedneſs; but our office, and the enjoyment in it, is not as yet ſtrictly enough obſerved; we do not perform and enjoy enough; the huſbands labour not enough for their wives; there is ſtill too much remiſſneſs. *When the children of God will not experience at a certain age things ſuitable at a certain age, they become unhappy, and ſay within themſelves, I do not feel what other people feel.*' If the reader ſhould not think this laſt ſentence clear and explicit enough, he may take the following as a comment. *The married brother knows matrimony, reſpects it, but does not think upon it of his own accord: and thus the precious member of the covenant*, viz. *the* pūdendum virile, *is ſo much forgot, becomes ſo uſeleſs, and conſequently is reduced to ſuch a natural numbneſs by not being uſed, that afterwards, when he is to marry, and uſe it, the Saviour muſt reſtore him from this deadneſs of body. And when an Eſther by grace, and ſiſter according to her make, gets ſight of this member, her ſenſes are ſhut up, and ſhe holily perceives that God the Son was a boy. Ye holy matrons, who as wives are about your Vice-Chriſts, honour that precious ſign by which they reſemble Chriſt with the utmoſt veneration.* But to return to their notions of marriage, and to conclude with this point: 'I do not underſtand (ſays the Count) the conjunction of ſexes any otherwiſe than in a miniſterial or procuratorial ſenſe; where two perſons, one of whom repreſents the huſband of all ſouls, the Saviour, and the other the congregation of all ſouls, the Church, do by God's appointment keep a daily worſhip, according to the liturgy of a ſanctuary on purpoſe appointed for it, called the marriage bed; and where, among other office duties and church graces, it comes to paſs that children are begot in the name of Jeſus, and conceived in the name of the Church (13).'

The leaders of Herrnhutiſm are accuſed of having inſtituted ſuch ceremonies in the celebration of their marriages, as, according to our ſenſe of things, exceed all the bounds of decency and modeſty, ceremonies, it is ſaid, of which the eye ſhould not be witneſs. Theſe, however, are reſerved, it ſeems, for confirmed members, who are initiated into the moſt ſecret myſteries of the ſociety, and therefore cannot eaſily come to the knowledge of the profane vulgar. Yet that ſuch ceremonies are performed, cannot be thought at all incredible. We have ſeen already, that the conjugal embrace is looked upon as the higheſt act of devotion; and we may obſerve farther, that, in many of their hymns, they devoutly addreſs themſelves to what we dare not name: *Member full of myſtery! which holily gives, and chaſtly receives the conjugal ointments for Jeſus ſake, during the embraces invented by the Moſt Merciful himſelf, the Seed of the Church being then ſowed, mayeſt thou be bleſſed and anointed with the blood that formerly ran from our huſband! mayeſt thou feel or meet with great tenderneſs at the ſide, which is open for the Lamb's ſpouſe, ſince the ſpear has puſhed into it, and which is the object of married people. A kiſs of peace, and a greeting to all our dear bones and ribs, upon the breaſt, where our little children take their nouriſhment from, and the body of the ſiſters is incorporated with the Saviour* (14), &c.

[*I*] *Were broke and diſſolved.*] This is a notorious falſhood. Indeed, after the Count's death, the ſeveral offices

(9) Zinzendorf's Sermons in the Candid narrative, p. 52, 53.

(10) Ibid. p. 56.

(11) Ibid. p. 57, 58. from Zinzendorf's Sermons.

(12) Idem, ab eodem, p. 62, 63.

(13) Page 64 to p. 67.

(14) Page 68.

whence they came, on the death of their founder Count Zinzendorf, which happened on the 9th of May 1760, at Herrnhut in Sileſia, in the ſixtieth year of his age. He publiſhed ſeveral ſermons, and hymns alſo for the particular uſe and ſervice of his ſect in the public worſhip.

In his younger days he engaged in a marriage with the Counteſs Erdmuth Dorothea Reuſs of Eberſdorf, by whom he had ſeveral children, ſome of which are ſtill living, particularly one of his ſons, who is now a Biſhop, and reſides at Herrnhut, where he is poſſeſſed of his father's preferments.

offices he ſuſtained were diſtributed ſeparately among other brethren, which occaſioned, perhaps, ſome brigues; but theſe were far enough from breaking or diſſolving the ſociety; on the contrary, the ſect continued, and ſtill remains to this day in their eſtabliſhment at Herrnhut. It is true, indeed, that ſome of this ſect ſettling at a place called *Herrnhaag*, in the territory of the *Count of Budingen*, independent of the Emperor of Germany, fell under the diſpleaſure of that Count, who not approving of ſome parts of their faith, worſhip, or diſcipline, inſiſted on their altering them, on pain of baniſhment from his territories; which they not thinking proper to comply with, choſe to remove to ſome other parts of Germany, where they are now eſtabliſhed (15). Mr Rimius likewiſe, in the ſame malicious ſpirit, has extracted a paſſage from one of Count Zinzendorf's hymns, made in honour of one *Anna Nitſchmann*, a damſel whom the Count had a peculiar regard for, and whom, though he had a Counteſs, he uſed to carry about with him in his circuits. In this hymn, continues Rimius, is the following paſſage: *Now ſhe is at all hours a little wound worm, Oh a dainty! Now, dear huſband the Saviour, I earneſtly pray thee, that thou wouldeſt anew embrace her, fill her with joy, anoint her, and that right conjugally.* In another hymn, proceeds Mr Rimius, which is alſo compoſed in honour of her, we find theſe words: *Reverend Lamb's prieſteſs, thou choice of God's maids, who ſo willingly and heartily puts herſelf at the feet of the warriors! This is the reaſon why a perſon diſtinguiſhed in the world often cannot look at thee, but as deeply bent before thee.* By the perſon diſtinguiſhed in the world, is here doubtleſs meant no other than Count Zinzendorf himſelf, the author of this hymn, whoſe inclination to be *deeply bent before the Lamb's prieſteſs*, has, it is to be feared, cauſed much ſcandal in the world. The following verſe, though not directed to *Anna Nitſchmann*, but to the whole ſiſterhood, is of ſo ſingular a caſt, that we cannot help, continues this writer, giving it a place here: *This is the reaſon that you are honoured as Jeſus's ſiſters, you reſemble by your ſex the precious wound in his ſide, and whoever ſees and hears of you, finds a reſemblance of his dear corpſe. Thoſe things which have a reſemblance of God's paſſion, are immediately conſecrated to us.* Mr Rimius obſerves, that none of his pieces ever received an anſwer, either from Count Zinzendorf or any of his brethren; and certainly ſuch wilful and malicious aſperſions deſerved nothing better than a contemptuous neglect. The warm expreſſions in theſe hymns manifeſtly flow from the moſt ardent zeal for his Saviour, and his ſufferings, flaming out to a degree of poetical enthuſiaſm, which needs no other apology than the example of Solomon's Song in the Bible.

(15) Communicated by Mr Gambol the Moravian miniſter in London.

P

APPENDIX

TO THE

SUPPLEMENT.

H.

HANMER [Sir THOMAS], Baronet, a ſtateſman of diſtinguiſhed merit, and a polite writer, was deſcended of a very antient and honourable family in North Wales [*A*], and the ſon of William Hanmer, Eſq; of Hanmer, in the county of Flint, where he was born about the year 1676. He received the firſt part of his education at Weſtminſter ſchool, from whence he was ſent to Chriſt Church college, Oxford. Being a very handſome perſon, and an accompliſhed gentleman, he obtained in marriage, in 1698, the lady Iſabella, ſole daughter and heir of Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, and relict of Henry Duke of Grafton (*a*), with whom he lived in conjugal felicity many years, and it was not long before he received a public atteſtation of his merit. In the laſt parliament of King William, which met at Weſtminſter Dec. 30, 1701, he was elected a member for the town of Flint, and alſo for the borough of Thetford in Norfolk; and on Queen Anne's acceſſion to the throne, he was choſen Knight *of the ſhire for the county of Flint.* Upon the death of his father the eſtate of Mildenhall in Suffolk devolving upon him, he reſided there, and ſoon procured the particular eſteem of that county, for which he was elected one of the Knights in the firſt parliament of Great Britain, which met in 1707; he ſerved for the ſame county during the remainder of that reign, and in the laſt parliament of it in 1712, he was unanimouſly choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, where he had alſo a ſeat for the ſame county in both the parliaments of King George I. After the loſs of his lady the Ducheſs of Grafton, who died Feb. 7, 1722-3, he entered into a ſecond marriage with Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Thomas Folkes, of Barton, Eſq; in Suffolk (*b*), a match which proved unfortunate to him. This lady ſuffering herſelf to be ſeduced by the honourable William Hervey, Eſq; a younger ſon to the Earl of Briſtol, which gentleman created him an infinite deal of trouble and vexation during her life, and after her death, which happened March 24, 1740-1 (*c*), he printed a moſt virulently abuſive pamphlet againſt Sir Thomas, under the title of *A letter from the honourable Thomas Hervey, to Sir Thomas Hanmer, Baronet* (*d*) [*B*]. The wrath of this impetuous

foe

(*a*) Her father's honours being limited to her, ſhe aſſiſted after the death of the Duke, at the ceremony of King Geo. Iſt's coronation, as Counteſs of Arlington in her own right. Peerage of England.

(*b*) Baronettage of England, vol. i. p. 141. & *ſeq.* in 5 vols 8vo. p 385. Corrected from his monumental inſcription.

(*c*) She died in Park Place, St James's. Id.

(*d*) The third edition came out in 1753.

[*A*] *Deſcended of an antient family.*] The firſt of the family mentioned in our annals, was Sir Thomas Muckfet, ſaid to be a man of great proweſs, whoſe ſon John was knighted, and became conſtable of Carnarvon-caſtle, in the reign of Edward I. He reſided at the town of Hanmer, which was part of his poſſeſſions; and obtained from thence the ſurname of Hanmer, which has been retained by his poſterity ever ſince. Among theſe, after ſeveral generations, ſprung John Hanmer, who was created a Bart. July 8, 1620, and ſat in parliament as Knight of the ſhire for the county of Flint in 1621. He lived in the general eſteem of all that knew him, and died much lamented in the fortieth year of his age in 1624, when the title and eſtate devolved to his ſon Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart. who married two wives, firſt Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Baker, and ſiſter and heir of Sir Thomas Baker, of Whittingham in Suffolk; ſhe was maid of honour to Ann, Queen conſort to King James I. by whom he had one ſon his ſucceſſor, and a daughter named Trevor, who married Sir John Warner of Parham in Suffolk, Knt. His ſecond wife was Suſanna, daughter of Sir William Hervey, of Ickworth in Suffolk, Knt. (by Suſanna, ſiſter of Sir Thomas Jermyn, Knt.) by whom he had two ſons, William and Thomas, and two daughters, Suſanna, married to Sir Henry Bunbury, of Stanney in Cheſhire, Bart. and another that married Robert Booth of Cheſter, afterwards Dean of Windſor, beſides other children who died young. William the eldeſt ſon married Peregrine, daughter of Sir Henry North, Knt. of Mildenhall in Suffolk, to whom he gave his whole eſtate. This Sir Thomas Hanmer the father married Catharine, ſecond daughter of Sir Thomas Moſtyn, Knt. ſon of William Moſtyn, Eſq; who, together with the gentlemen of North Wales, were directed 69 of Eliz. to hold an *eiſenſtadd* for the ſeſſions of the poets, muſicians, and bards, at Caerwis (which was the laſt held by royal authority) in which commiſſion it is ſaid, that the ſaid William's anceſtors had the right of beſtowing the ſilver harp on the perſon judged the moſt worthy by the commiſſioners, which harp is ſtill at Moſtyn. He lived in great reputation and honour, ſerved in parliament for Flintſhire, and died in that truſt ann. 1678, being ſucceeded in honour and eſtate by Sir John Hanmer, Knt. and Bart. his only ſon by his firſt wife; he ſerved likewiſe for Flintſhire in the reign of Charles II. as alſo burgeſs for the town of Flint in the reign of King James II. and King William and Queen Mary. Applying himſelf to the army, he commanded a regiment under King William, at the famous battle of the Boyne in Ireland, where he acquired great honour; he ſerved with reputation to the end of his life, dying a major general and colonel of the ſame regiment in 1701. He married, Mary daughter and heir of Joſeph Alſton of Netherhall in Suffolk, ſon and heir of Edward Alſton of Boxford; but leaving no iſſue, his eſtate and title of Bart. devolved upon Sir Thomas Hanmer his nephew, only ſon of William Hanmer, Eſq.

[*B*] *A letter from Mr Hervey, &c.*] This honourable gentleman having procured from the ſeduced lady all the right which ſhe could give him to an eſtate of Sir Thomas's at Barton, upon the ſtrength

of

foe was ſcarce abated by our baronet's prudent conduct, when he was attacked with equal vengeance, envenomed with a more miſchievous malice, as it was pointed with a greater degree of parts and learning. Sir Thomas had for ſome time amuſed his leiſure hours in reviſing Shakeſpear's plays, and in making ſuch corrections in the printed copies of them, as either were prompted by his own genius, or ſuch as he found advanced upon good ground by others. His enquiries this way, falling into diſcourſe about it with his friend and acquaintance Dr Sherlock, then Maſter of the Temple, and Biſhop of Saliſbury, his lordſhip informed him that he knew Mr William Warburton had employed himſelf upon the ſame ſubject for a conſiderable time, promiſing to recommend that critic to our baronet. This being done, that profeſſed critic waited upon him, and communicated ſeveral emendations he had made in the forementioned plays: Some of theſe conjectures being approved by Sir Thomas, were inſerted in his copy, rejecting, however, the far greateſt part of them as wild and out of the way. Upon ſhewing the copy thus improved to ſome particular friends, they urged him not any longer to reſerve ſuch a valuable treaſure to himſelf, but to enrich the public with it. Being prevailed upon by their ſollicitations, he complied, and for that purpoſe made a preſent of his copy to the univerſity of Oxford, who printed it in ſix quarto volumes, adorned with many curious prints, at Sir Thomas's own expence, in 1744. How highly Mr Warburton was provoked at this elegant and beautiful edition, as alſo his procuring, after he became Biſhop of Glouceſter, to have a letter of Sir Thomas's, printed under Dr Joſeph Smith's article in Biographia Britannica, to be caſtrated, has been related in a pamphlet publiſhed in 1763 [*C*]. Sir Thomas ſurvived this publication of his Shakeſpear but a little while, being removed from the ſtage of this world in the month of May the following year 1746, at Mildenhall in Suffolk, whence his corpſe was conveyed to his ſeat at Hanmer, and interred in the chancel which had been built by himſelf in that church, where there is a ſtately and elegantly carved monument of white marble, with an inſcription (*e*) erected to the memory of this highly accompliſhed and

(*e*) Gent. Mag. for Nov. 1762.

of that pretence wrote a letter to Sir Thomas, when he was about to ſell the timber upon his eſtate, as appears from the following extract:

‘ Sir,

‘ Having had an intimation at your door, that it
‘ would be of little uſe to me to multiply my viſits,
‘ I thought neceſſary to give you this trouble. As to
‘ your pretended quarrel to me on my behaviour to
‘ your wife, I am proud of it, having done nothing
‘ towards you, but what any man of the ſtricteſt
‘ honour might have done; nothing towards her but
‘ what every generous and well natured man ought
‘ to have done; and you know, as ſhe had ſenſe and
‘ ſpirit enough at laſt to aſſert her freedom, you
‘ ought to thank heaven that ſhe happened to throw
‘ herſelf into the arms of a ſon of Lord Briſtol. I
‘ waited on you, Sir, to aſk a piece of *juſtice* of you,
‘ not a favour, for of all mankind you are the laſt
‘ perſon to whom I would be obliged. I am in-
‘ formed that you have ſent orders into Wales to cut
‘ down all the timber upon the eſtate of which I have
‘ the reverſion, the execution whereof I hoped to re-
‘ ſpite, by remonſtrating to you, that it would have
‘ been a little more becoming you as a gentleman, to
‘ have offered me the refuſal of it——Nevertheleſs,
‘ I am ſtill deſirous to purchaſe the wood, &c.’

To this Sir Thomas's anſwer was.

‘ *Sir,*

‘ *I little thought I ſhould have been laid under the ne-*
‘ *ceſſity of denying you admittance to my houſe, and of*
‘ *declining any correſpondence with you, becauſe I imagined*
‘ *it impoſſible that you ſhould ever ſeek either. To hear*
‘ *that called a demand of* juſtice, *which you now make the*
‘ *ſubject of your letter, is another ſurprize to me, for I*
‘ *think I have the common right of all mankind to diſ-*
‘ *poſe as I pleaſe of my own, which right I ſhall exer-*
‘ *ciſe without aſking any perſon's conſent. And there-*
‘ *fore my anſwer muſt be, that I am inclined to deal*
‘ *with others for the wood I have to ſell rather than*
‘ *with you.*

‘ *I am,*

Dec. 12, 1741.

‘ *Your humble ſervant,*

‘ Thomas Hanmer.’

This peremptory denial made the honourable gentleman quite deſperate; and having in his rage cruelly expoſed a letter to Sir Thomas from his lady, finely enriched with an ambiguous paſſage, the purport of which was, *You know I am the only woman in my circumſtances, who would have behaved to you as I have done.* This innuendo, proceeds the diligent expoſitor, was by other animadverters on it, thought equal to its analyſis: Yet I, who was determined not to proceed upon preſumptions or ſurmiſes, by perſecuting her with my *importunity* (though ſhe often put by my ſuit with ſighs and tears, as was natural to a woman of her modeſty) at laſt obtained an explanation of it. She aſſured me you never had the leaſt knowledge of her, and that although ſhe deſpiſed you for it, ſhe thought it the only happy circumſtance of her wretched life: And ſhe ſeemed really as much pleaſed with the delivery, as a poor woman after a hard labour could be with the production of her child: Yet I could not help recurring to it again, and aſking ſome farther queſtions in as decent terms as I could find to expreſs myſelf, which though they made her bluſh (poor wretch) I remember made her laugh. *What*, ſaid I, *did he never attempt to conſummate? Did he never try to pin the matrimonial* BASKET? Upon which ſhe averred to me, That ſhe could not certify you was a man, if ſhe were called upon for ſuch an atteſtation: That you once made ſome little feint towards joining of your perſons on the wedding night, and the next morning begged pardon for her diſappointment, but from thence took no more notice of her than if you had forgotten her ſex, which *probably*, Sir, *if you did not take a pair of* white gloves *to bed with you* (2), *you never was at all acquainted with.* I do not wonder at your aſſerting your *natural* rights (3) with ſo much warmth, it ſeems you have ſo few to ſpare (4).

(2) In alluſion, ſays this writer, to a ſtory your friends uſed to tell of you at the Britiſh Chocolate Houſe.

(3) A reference to your own letter to me.

(4) Mr Hervey's letter, p. 27, 28, 29.

[*C*] *A pamphlet in* 1763.] To this pamphlet was annexed the caſtrated ſheet, reprinted with additions obtained after it was firſt printed in the *Biographia Britannica*, in order to reſtore it to its proper place; but the copy being printed uncorrectly, another copy is here ſubjoined, with ſome marginal notes, which have ſince come to hand, relating to Mr Michel's benefactions at Queen's college, Oxford, and a benefaction of Lord Somers's, towards building the New chapel at Trinity college, where he was bred. As alſo that his Lordſhip was a patron to Mr George Vertue, the famous engraver and antiquary, whom he employed to engrave a print of Archbiſhop Tillotſon, and rewarded him nobly for it, and it proved the ground work of Vertue's reputation, and deſerved to be ſo, nothing like it had appeared for ſome years, nor at the hour of its production had it any competitors.

very worthy gentleman [*D*]. Beſides other charities to the poor in general, he built a handſome houſe at Milden-hall for four antient people of that pariſh, and endowed it as handſomely [*E*]. His principal ſeats were Hanmer in Flintſhire, and Milden-hall in Suffolk. Leaving no iſſue, the eſtate at Milden-hall devolved to his heir at law Sir Henry Bunbury of Stanney, and Bunbury in Cheſhire, Bart. who married his only ſiſter: But the eſtate at Hanmer, Sir Thomas bequeathed by his will to a relation of his own name, whoſe ſon Humphry Hanmer, Eſq; is the preſent poſſeſſor, and has built a very noble houſe upon it (*f*). Arms of the family are, argent, two lions paſſant guardant, azure, armed and langued, gules: Creſt, on a cap of dignity, azure, armine, a lion ſejant and guardant, argent (*g*).

[*D*] *With an inſcription erected to his memory.*] It is as follows:

Honorabilis admodum Thomas Hanmer, Baronettus,
Wilhelmi Hanmer, Armigeri è Peregrinâ Henrici North
De Mildenhall in Com. Suffolciæ, Baronetti Sorore et
[hærede
Filius,
Johannis Hanmer de Hanmer, Baronetti,
Hæres Patruelis,
Antiquo Gentis ſuæ et titulo et patrimonio ſucceſſit.
Duas uxores ſortitus eſt,
Alteram Iſabellam honore à Patre derivato de Arling-
[ton Comitiſſam
Deinde celciſſimi Principis ducis de Grafton Viduam
[dotariam:
Alteram Elizabetham, Thomæ Folkes de Barton in
Com. Suff. Armigeri
Filiam et Hæredem.

Inter Humanitatis ſtudia feliciter enutritus,
Omnes liberalium artium diſciplinas avidè arripuit;
Quas morum ſuavitate haud leviter ornavit.
Poſtquam exceſſit ex ephebis,
Continuo inter populares ſuos famâ eminens,
Et Comitatûs ſui Legatus ad parliamentum miſſus,
Ad ardua regni negotia per annos propè triginta ſe
[accinxit:
Cumq; apud illos ampliſſimorum virorum ordines
Soleret nihil temere effutire,
Sed probè perpenſa diſertè expromere,
Orator gravis et preſſus
Non minus integritatis quam eloquentiæ laude com-
[mendatus;
Æquè omnium utcunq; inter ſe alioqui diſſidentium
Aures atque animos attraxit.
Annoq; demum MDCCXIII. regnante Annâ,
Feliciſſimæ florentiſſimæq; memoriæ Reginâ,
Ad Prolocutoris Cathedram
Communi ſenatûs univerſi voce deſignatus eſt.

Quod Munus
Cum nullo tempore non difficile
Tum illo certe negotiis
Et variis et lubricis et implicatis difficillimum
Cum dignitate ſuſtinuit.
Honores alios et omnia quæ ſibi in lucrum cederent
[munera
Sedulo detractavit,
Ut rei totus inſerviret publicæ;
Juſti rectiq; tenax,
Et fide in patriam incorruptâ notus.
Ubi omnibus quæ virum civemq; bonum decent officiis
[ſatisfeciſſet,
Paulatim ſe a publicis conciliis in otium recipiens;
Inter literarum amœnitates,
Inter ante-actæ vitæ haud inſuaves recordationes,
Inter amicorum convictus et amplexus
Honorifice conſenuit:
Et bonis omnibus, quibus chariſſimus vixit,
Deſideratiſſimus obiit.

Hic, juxta Cineres Avi, ſuos condi voluit, et curavit
Gulielmus Bunbury B^{ttus} Nepos et Hæres.

Tho. Singleton, Bury St Edmunds, fecit.

[*E*] *He built and endowed an alms-houſe, &c.*] The alms people are new cloathed at their admiſſion, and every year the ſame, and are allowed half a crown a week, beſides firing, &c. The houſe ſtands at the weſt end of the church-yard, and has this inſcription over it:

In Levamen paupertatis et ſenectutis
Thomas Hanmer, Baronettus, ſtruxit et
Dotavit, anno dom. MDCCXXI.

(*f*) Communicated by Mr Hanmer of London.

(*g*) Baronettage of England, vol. i. p. 416.

HARRISON [John], an illuſtrious mechanic, and the inventor of the watch for diſcovering the longitude at ſea, is the ſon of Mr Henry Harriſon, carpenter and joyner, and was born in the latter end of May 1693(*a*), at Foulby, in Wragley pariſh, in a houſe near the ſeat of Sir Rowland Wynne, Bart. called Noſtell Abbey, in Yorkſhire, by whom Mr Henry Harriſon the father was employed. At this gentlemans requeſt, he removed to another ſeat of his in Lincolnſhire, and ſettled at Barrow, near Barton upon Humber, in that county. Our mechanic was then only ſeven years of age, but as ſoon as he became able he was taken in to his father's aſſiſtance, and continued to work at his buſineſs till he was twenty years of age, when having turned his thoughts to clock work, he made ſome machines of that kind which much ſurprized his father, who ſuffered him to cultivate his genius; which he did with ſo much diligence and ſucceſs, that in 1726 he made a pendulum clock that kept time ſo exactly with the heavens, as not to err above a ſecond in a month for ten years together; an invention not only admirable in itſelf, but of very great uſe towards the improvement of aſtronomy and navigation. After this Mr Harriſon living near a ſea port town, was induced to conſider how to alter the conſtruction of his clock, ſo as it might not be ſubject to any irregularities occaſioned by the difference of climates, or the motions of a ſhip. Theſe difficulties he alſo ſurmounted, and his machine having anſwered his expectations in a trial attended with very bad weather upon the river Humber, he was adviſed to carry it to London, in order to apply to the commiſſioners appointed for providing a public reward for the diſcovery of the longitude at ſea. Accordingly he arrived with it at London in the year 1735, and ſhewing it to ſeveral members of the royal ſociety, he received a certificate from the principal members thereof, that the principles of his machine for meaſuring time, promiſed a very great and ſufficient degree of exactneſs (*b*). In conſequence of this certificate, the machine, at the recommendation of Sir Charles Wager, was put on board a man of war in May 1736, and carried with Mr Harriſon to Liſbon and back again, and by its exact meaſure of time, in its return corrected an error of almoſt a degree and a half in the computations of the reckoning of the ſhip, even though the run was nearly on a meridian (when that reckoning is made in the moſt accurate and beſt manner) as was certified by Mr *Roger Wills*, maſter of the man of war. Upon this ſucceſs the commiſſioners of longitude gave him five hundred pounds (*c*), deſiring him to proceed in making further improvements in his machine. Thus encouraged he proceeded accordingly, and in 1739 he finiſhed a *ſecond* machine, and various experiments being made upon it, the reſult was, that (as far as could be determined without making voyage at ſea) the motion of the machine was ſufficiently regular and exact for finding the longitude of a ſhip within the neareſt limits propoſed by parliament, and probably much nearer. Upon the ſucceſs of this Mr Harriſon undertook a ſtill more advantageous machine, which in January 1741, was in ſuch forwardneſs, that twelve of the chief members of the royal ſociety (*d*), after giving an account of his performances, were pleaſed to ſignify their opinion in the following words: "We whoſe names are under written, are of opinion that theſe machines, even in their preſent degree of exactneſs, will be of great and excellent uſe, as well for determining the longitude at ſea, as for correcting the charts of the coaſts, and as every ſtep towards further exactneſs and ſecurity is a matter of ſuch importance to the public, it is greatly to be valued: We do recommend Mr Harriſon to the favour of the commiſſioners appointed by act of parliament, as a perſon highly deſerving of ſuch further encouragement and aſſiſtance as they ſhall judge proper and ſufficient to finiſh his third machine." This was delivered to the commiſſioners of longitude, January 16, 1741-2. In 1749 the curious inventions of Mr Harriſon's machine procured for him of the royal ſociety their annual gold medal, and at the ſame time the moſt honourable teſtimony of his abilities by the preſident Mr Folkes, in his ſpeech to that ſociety, which containing a particular diſcription of his time keeper, and the gradual improvements of it, is inſerted below [*A*]. About 1758 Mr Harriſon finiſhed his *third time piece*, having then

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[*A*] *Mr Folkes made a ſpeech.*] It was in theſe terms:

'Gentlemen,

'Sir Hans Sloane, our late worthy preſident, my honourable predeceſſor, has this year, as the ſurviving executor and truſtee of the late Sir Godfrey Copley, Bart. recommended Mr John Harriſon of Orange Street, Red Lyon Square (1), to receive from you the prize medal annually beſtowed by this ſociety, in conſequence of Sir Godfrey's benefaction; and that in conſideration of thoſe curious inſtruments invented and made by him for the exact menſuration of time, and which have already deſerved the notice of the public, and received their encouragement.

'I therefore took the firſt opportunity of acquainting the gentlemen of your council with this nomination, to which they were pleaſed to add their ſanction, and to deliver into my hands the medal now to be preſented, and upon which, according to cuſtom, I have cauſed the name of Mr Harriſon, and the date of the preſent year to be engraved.' He then proceeds to make a compliment for the choice of Mr Harriſon to receive the medal, and goes on thus: 'It will not, I preſume, be here expected that I ſhould give a full deſcription of Mr Harriſon's time keepers; I freely acknowledge myſelf unequal for ſuch a taſk, and both he and his performances muſt greatly ſuffer by the very imperfect account I ſhould be able to give of inſtruments, in which ſo many things are new and remarkable: Inſtruments which I never yet ſaw without ſurprize and admiration, and of which (even if I was much better qualified than I really am) to make a judgment, it would be impoſſible for me to give an adequate idea without the aſſiſtance of figures, and ſuch an enquiry into minute particulars, as neither time nor place can at preſent admit of.

(*a*) He was baptized on the laſt day of that month. Communicated with the other particulars of this article by Mr Harriſon himſelf.

(*b*) This certificate was ſigned by Dr Halley, Dr Smith, Dr Bradley, Mr John Machin, and Mr George Graham.

(*c*) Mr Graham preſſed them to give 1000l. or at leaſt 800l. which being refuſed, he was prevailed on by Lord Monſon to accept the 500l. as an earneſt of ſomething more to come afterwards.

(*d*) This was ſigned by Mr Folkes, then preſident, the Earl of Macclesfield, afterwards preſident, Dr Smith, Dr Bradley, profeſſor Colſon, Mr Geo. Graham, Dr Halley, Mr Wil. Jones, Dr Jurin, Lord Charles Cavendiſh, Mr De Moivre, and Mr John Hadley, and delivered to the commiſſioners of longitude July 16, 1741-2.

(1) He has ſince removed into a houſe in that ſquare.

then in hand a *fourth*, ſince improperly called a watch; but being fully perſuaded that this third was ſufficiently exact to intitle him to the higheſt reward mentioned in the act of Queen Anne, he applied to the commiſſioners for orders to make a trial of that inſtrument

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‘ I muſt therefore, gentlemen, content myſelf with laying before you a ſhort hiſtorical account of Mr Harriſon and his inventions, by which it will however in ſome ſort appear, by what degrees he from time to time improved theſe machines, until they came to deſerve the notice and attention of ſeveral worthy members of this ſociety, and of the public, and until he at laſt brought them to that ſtate of perfection in which they now ſeem to be

‘ Mr Harriſon, who before he came to this town lived at a place called *Barrow*, in the county of Lincoln, not far from Barton upon Humber, was not originally brought up to the buſineſs he now profeſſes, though he was afterwards directed to it by curioſity and inclination, and by the ſtrong impulſes of a natural and uncommon genius, but ſuch a one as has been found in other inſtances alſo to carry thoſe who have been poſſeſſed of it much farther than they could have been led by the moſt elaborate precepts and rules of art. And thus it was, that he found himſelf capable, not only of executing whatever had hitherto been done by any of the ableſt performers in the art of clock-making, but alſo of ſtriking out new lights in that buſineſs, through the judicious purſuit and application of which he has produced time keepers far more exact than any that has yet been made, and whoſe regularity has been found upon trial to exceed greatly all that had before been thought poſſible by the moſt eminent and moſt experienced maſters.

‘ His firſt eſſays, and which he made whilſt he was yet but young, had a particular relation to his former buſineſs, that of a carpenter and joyner, which he then followed under his own father, and as that had very properly led him to the making ſeveral enquiries into the nature and conſtitution of wood, he thereby found that his firſt movements which he had chiefly made of that ſubſtance, (2) had even from thence derived certain advantages, which he has thought worthy of being preſerved, and ſtill applied in his more perfect and finiſhed machine.

‘ He thus found that pivots of braſs might very commodiouſly be made to move in ſockets of wood, with the help or uſe of oil, and that thereby the inconveniencies ariſing from the expanſion or condenſation of that fluid, and the neceſſity of cleaning the work from time to time, occaſioned by the ſame conſideration, might thus be effectually avoided and prevented.

‘ He alſo found that by cauſing the teeth of his wheels, inſtead of playing in the common way againſt the leavers of his pinions, to run againſt cylindrical rollers of wood, fixed by braſs pins, at a proper diſtance from the axes of the ſame pinions; he could in ſo great a degree remove all the inconveniences of friction in ſuch caſes, that he immediately judged it would be well worth while, in all thoſe parts of his machines where they could be poſſibly applied, to make uſe of ſuch rollers, or ſomewhat at leaſt analogous thereunto.

‘ But that which he looks upon as the moſt conſiderable of all his contrivances for the removal of friction, was that by which he found means in a manner to take it all away from the wheel that immediately applies to the pallets of the pendulum, which was performed by the addition of a ſort of joint to thoſe pallets, whereby they were themſelves made to work in the nature of rollers of a large radius, without any ſliding, as uſual, upon the teeth of the wheel.

‘ The next difficulty that preſented itſelf was the lengthening and ſhortening of the pendulum by heat and cold, a difficulty that ſtill remained unconquered, and even ſeemed to have ſet in the firſt principle a bar to all further improvements, from the time that the great Huygens had by his cylindrical cheeks removed the other great irregularity ariſing from the unequal lengths of the oſcillations; but this alſo Mr Harriſon found a moſt happy contrivance to take away. He had obſerved that notwithſtanding all rods of metal do lengthen by heat, and on the contrary become ſhorter by cold, yet that they do not alter their lengths equally, but ſome more ſenſibly than others; he therefore of the two metals of braſs and ſteel compoſed a frame, in ſhape ſomewhat reſembling a gridiron, in which thro' the unequal contraction or dilatation of thoſe two metals, a motion would be given to the center of gravity of the compound, contrary in direction to what that motion would have been in caſe the whole frame had only conſiſted of one uniform ſort of materials. This frame he made uſe of inſtead of the plain rod of his pendulum, and that after almoſt an infinite number of experiments, at laſt ſo adjuſted all its parts, as to have by this means a compound pendulum, whoſe centre of oſcillation was, as to all ſenſe, at the ſame abſolute diſtance from the point of ſuſpenſion through all the ſeveral variations of heat and cold in the year. And thus he furniſhed himſelf as early as the year 1726 with two long pendulum clocks, in which all the irregularities, to which thoſe machines are known to be ſubject, were either removed, or at leaſt ſo happily balanced againſt one another, that thoſe two clocks, in different parts of his houſe, kept time together, without the variation of more than one ſingle ſecond in a month, and that one of them, which he kept for his own uſe, and ſtill has by him, and which he conſtantly compared with a fixed ſtar, had not varied from the heavens ſo much as one whole minute in the ten years that he continued in the country after the finiſhing of that machine.

‘ It is reaſonable to think that ſo extraordinary a ſucceſs in his firſt performances, could not fail of prompting a genius ſo inquiſitive and enterprizing as that of Mr Harriſon, ſtill to attempt further things; and that the ſame ſpirit and deſire of ſtill making new improvements, which he poſſeſſed in ſo eminent a degree, would hardly ever leave and forſake him, before that day, which muſt at laſt put a full period to all human undertakings.

‘ He lived near a ſea port town, and was thereby acquainted with the nature and motion of ſhips, and he well knew of how great importance it would be to navigation, and of how great ſervice to mankind, if time-keepers, in any degree capable of ſuch exactneſs as thoſe he had already conſtructed, could be carried to ſea, and there be rendered capable of enduring the violent and irregular motions of that unſettled and boiſterous element: He therefore ſet himſelf ſeriouſly to conſider how far it would be neceſſary to alter the conſtruction of his clocks, ſo as to enable them to bear the ſea, without loſing the advantage of his new improvements; and how far he might be capable, even there alſo, of preventing all the commonly known irregularities.

‘ It was immediately evident that the firſt mover here muſt be changed from a weight to a ſpring wound up, and that the regularity of the motion muſt now be derived from the vibrations of balances, inſtead of thoſe of a pendulum in a ſtanding clock: He therefore, for this laſt purpoſe, made uſe of two balances ſituated in the ſame plain, but vibrating in contrary directions; that ſo the one of theſe being either way aſſiſted by the toſſing of the ſhip, the other might conſtantly be juſt ſo much impeded by it at the ſame time. And as the equality of the times of the vibrations of the balance of a pocket watch is in a great meaſure owing to the ſpiral ſpring that lies under it, ſo the ſame was here performed by the like elaſticity of four cylindrical ſprings or worms, applied near the upper and lower extremities of the two balances, juſt above ſpoken of. But as all who are acquainted with the nature of balances moved by ſprings well know, that the ſtronger thoſe ſprings are, the quicker the vibrations of thoſe balances are performed, and *vice verſa*, ſo it muſt follow that thoſe ſprings, when braced by cold, or when relaxed by heat, muſt of neceſſity cauſe the time-keepers to which they belong to go either faſter or ſlower, unleſs ſome ſufficient remedy could likewiſe be found and applied to that inconvenience. But even this alſo the contriver of the machine found means to effect, by cauſing the ends of the cylindrical ſprings in their play to ſtop nearer or fur-

(2) All that part which was executed in wood was taken away in the ſubſequent machines for finding the longitude at ſea.

ſtrument to ſome port in the Weſt Indies, as directed by the ſame ſtatute. Accordingly on the 12th of March 1761, he received orders for his ſon William to proceed to Portſmouth with the third inſtrument(e), and Capt John Campbell, of the Dorſetſhire man of war, was to carry him to Jamaica; but he being ordered on another ſervice, Mr William

‘ further off, againſt two poliſhed plates, which continually approached to or receded from them, and thereby kept them more or leſs bent, as they were directed by the gridiron-like frames of braſs and ſteel, of the ſame nature as thoſe above-mentioned; and ſo carefully adjuſted, as conſtantly to keep the elaſticity of thoſe ſprings the ſame, by increaſing or diminiſhing their tenſion, as the change of heat and cold reſpectively could have rendered them weaker or ſtronger.

‘ The pallets were applied to the balance wheel, which entertains the motion in a manner much reſembling that made uſe of in the ſtanding clock, and the main ſpring being as carefully as poſſible adjuſted, and fitted to a proper ſort of fuſee, drove the reſt of the wheels as in the other machine; but from all which the friction was as far as could be taken away by ſome of the forementioned and other analogous contrivances. The main ſpring was wound up once a day, and a ſecondary one preſerved the motion of the wheels, and kept the machine going whilſt it was winding up. The whole being placed in a ſort of moveable frame, ſomewhat reſembling what the ſailors call a compaſs-jimble, but much more artificially and curiouſly made and diſpoſed.

‘ In this condition this inſtrument, which Mr Harriſon had alſo great reaſon to be ſatisfied with, was after ſome trials in a large barge upon the river Humber, and that in rough weather, brought up to London, where it alſo much exceeded the expectations of ſuch as were pleaſed to take the pains of making regular obſervations upon its performances, and that for a conſiderable time together.

‘ It was then, upon the humble requeſt of the maker, ſent, by order of the late Sir Charles Wager, on board a man of war to Liſbon, from whence it was in the ſame manner brought back again, and during the whole voyage, both going and coming, continued its motion very regular, ſcarce ſeeming at all affected by the roughest weather, or by the working of the ſhip through the vaſt rolling waves of the bay of Biſcay, inſomuch that at the entrance of the channel, it gave to good exactneſs the diſtance of the preſent meridian from that of Liſbon, correcting the dead reckoning kept on board the ſhip about a degree and a half, as appears by the certificate of the maſter of the ſame.

‘ It was upon an authentic report made of the ſucceſs of this voyage to the commiſſioners for the longitude, that they were pleaſed to encourage the author to proceed, and to direct him to make, for the public a ſecond clock, ſomewhat leſs, if poſſible, than the firſt, as it had been thought by the room that it took up, ſomewhat cumberſome on board. This he then immediately ſet about, and has finiſhed agreeable to his inſtructions, the whole hardly taking up ſo much as half the ſpace of the former; ſince which he has likewiſe completed a third yet leſs, and ſtanding with all its apparatus upon an area of only four ſquare feet. To both theſe machines he has beſides made ſeveral conſiderable improvements, which I ſhall but juſt mention, as I am very ſenſible how much of your time I have already taken up. One of theſe advantages, and that a very remarkable one, is the leſſening the number of the wheels really concerning the meaſuring of time, and which is done by cauſing the wheel that immediately entertains the motion of the pallets in the third machine, and that which is next to it in the ſecond, to be moved, not by the force of the main ſpring, but by the force of two others purpoſely made only to move thoſe ſingle wheels, and which ſprings are themſelves wound up by the main ſpring in the ſecond machine ſixteen times in an hour, and in the laſt every half minute, whereby the ſecond machine may truly be ſaid, as far as concerns the meaſuring of time, and the equability of its motion, to conſiſt only of two wheels, and the third only of one; all the others being only concerned in the winding up theſe laſt ſprings, and conſequently their irregularity ariſing from friction, ſo far as any ſuch may notwithſtanding his former precautions ſtill remain, is hereby prevented from having any effects upon the going of the clock.

‘ Another advantage of the laſt inſtrument is, that by altering the poſition of the two balances, and by changing of their figures from that of ſtreight rods, with braſs globes at their extremities, into complete circular flat wheels, in which he has alſo ſome other advantages, Mr Harriſon has been able to change the four cylindrical ſprings which regulated the vibrations of thoſe balances into one ſingle ſpring of the ſame ſort, and which conſequently, in a yet more ſimple manner, performs the ſame work; and had beſides, in its new ſituation, the advantages of being braced or relaxed, as the changes of heat and cold ſhall at all ſeaſons make it neceſſary, by the motion of a new metalline thermometer, if I may ſo term it, of a yet leſs complex conſtruction, and only conſiſting of two flat rulers of braſs and ſteel laid upon each other, firmly joined together, but moſt eſpecially near their extremities, whoſe outer ſuperficies become hereby more or leſs convex or concave, according to the different degree of the expanſion of thoſe two metals.

‘ This is, gentlemen, in general, the ſtate in which Mr Harriſon's inſtruments now are. They are intirely finiſhed, and he is only employed in regulating and adjuſting of his laſt machine, which he hopes to carry ſoon to ſea, and there ſubmit it to the moſt rigorous trial, and the moſt concluſive examination. He is, indeed, one of the moſt modeſt perſons I have known, in the ſpeaking of his own performances, and yet he has aſſured me, that from the immenſe number of diligent and accurate experiments he has made, and from the ſevere teſts to which he has in many ways put his inſtruments, he was well aſſured and ſatisfied, that he may with ſufficient certainty expect he ſhall be able, through all the greateſt variety of ſeaſons, and the moſt irregular motions of the ſea, to keep time conſtantly, without the variation of ſo much as *three ſeconds in a week*; a degree of exactneſs that is aſtoniſhing! and even ſtupendous! conſidering the immenſe number of difficulties, and thoſe of very different ſorts, which the author of theſe inventions muſt have had to encounter and ſtruggle withal.

‘ I ſhall now trouble you no longer on this ſubject, to which I am utterly unable to do juſtice, or to ſpeak of the author and of his inventions, as I am truly perſuaded they deſerve. But this I am well aſſured, that every gentleman who ſhall ſee his works, and take the pains to examine and conſider his contrivances and improvements, will be convinced, as I am, that too much cannot be ſaid in commendation of them, and that the author of ſuch performances well merits all the encouragement that can poſſibly be given him.’

After which, addreſſing himſelf to Mr Harriſon, he ſaid,

‘ Mr Harriſon,

‘ I do here, by the authority and in the name of the Royal Society of London, for the improving natural knowledge, preſent you with this ſmall but faithful token of their regard and eſteem. I do in their name congratulate you upon the ſucceſſes you have already had, and I moſt ſincerely wiſh that all your future trials may every way prove anſwerable to thoſe beginnings; and that the full accompliſhment of your great undertaking may at laſt be crowned with all that reputation and advantage to yourſelf, that your warmeſt wiſhes can ſuggeſt, and to which ſo many years ſo laudably and ſo diligently ſpent in the improvement of theſe talents, which God Almighty has beſtowed upon you, will ſo juſtly intitle your conſtant and unwearied perſeverance.’

Ordered,

That the thanks of the Society be returned to the preſident for this excellent diſcourſe (2).

Harriſon,

(e) In Sir Chriſtopher Wren's [illegible]cle, p. 4355, under rem. [illegible]OO], he is sai[illegible] miſtake to have ſailed to Jamaica with the third machine.

(2) Extract of the minutes of the Royal Society, 30th, Nov. 1749.

Harriſon, after ſtaying five months at Portſmouth, returned to London. In the mean time the *fourth time-piece* being finiſhed, Mr William Harriſon ſailed from Portſmouth to Jamaica in the Deptford, Captain Digges, November 18, 1761, with this fourth inſtrument (*f*), and returned to Portſmouth March 26, 1762. In which voyage the time-keeper only erred one minute, fifty-four ſeconds and a half, which in the latitude of Portſmouth amounts to about eighteen geographical miles, or minutes of a great circle, whereas the act required it ſhould only come within the diſtance of thirty; ſo that by that act he was intitled to the 20000l. reward. This being ſet forth by Mr Harriſon, in a petition to the Houſe of Commons in 1763, praying the aſſiſtance of parliament, there paſſed an act in which he was impowered to receive the ſum of 5000l. immediately, as part of the ſaid reward. But difference of opinion ariſing among the commiſſioners appointed by that act, concerning the method of carrying the act into execution (*g*), Mr Harriſon received no part of the 5000l; and it was thought more for his benefit and that of the public, that a ſecond experiment of the correctneſs of the time-keeper ſhould be tried by another voyage to the Weſt Indies. Barbadoes was fixed on by the commiſſioners of longitude for that purpoſe, and accordingly having received inſtructions from the admiralty, Auguſt 9, 1763, and in February 4, 1764, an order for his ſon to go on board the Tartar, Captain Lindſay, he ſailed in that ſhip with the time-keeper for Barbadoes, March 28th following, from Spithead, and returned in July the ſame year, without loſing the longitude beyond the neareſt limits mentioned in the act of Queen Anne, and even conſiderably within the ſame (*h*). In conſequence of this an act paſſed in May 1765, appointing the payment of the whole reward of 20000l. to our inventor, one moiety upon diſcovering the principles of the conſtruction of his watch, and the other moiety as ſoon as it could be made, to the ſatisfaction of the commiſſioners appointed therein, of general uſe to the public. But as this laſt condition may not be performed except in a long ſpace of time [*B*], Mr Harriſon, in order to ſatisfy any doubts or ſcruples that can poſſibly ariſe, and to the end that his invention may not be loſt to the public by the accident of his or his ſon's death, hath offered, and is willing to deliver either to the commiſſioners of longitude, or lords of the admirality, his time-keeper, by which any other ſkilful workman may be enabled to make other time-keepers on the ſame principles. And for a further ſatisfaction he is willing to depoſit in the hands of the lords of the admiralty correct drawings upon oath, with explanations of ſuch drawings, and alſo of the principles on which the ſame is conſtructed.

Mr Harriſon ſhould hope that what is thus propoſed will be a ſufficient proof of his ſincere deſire that the public may ſo ſoon as poſſible reap the benefit of his invention; yet, for the further ſatisfaction of the public, he is willing to engage his ſon immediately *on his receiving the reward given by the legiſlature*, to employ a ſufficient number of hands, ſo as with all poſſible ſpeed to furniſh his Majeſty's navy, the merchants and navigators of this kingdom, with ſuch a number of time-keepers, of equal goodneſs with that already made and in two voyages inconteſtably proved, at ſuch reaſonable rates as the nature of the undertaking will admit, not doubting but the public will conſider the charge of the outſet of the undertaking.

Mr Harriſon hopes theſe propoſals will be thought ſatisfactory to the public, without ſubjecting him to thoſe delays and inconveniencies which might probably attend the methods propoſed by the honourable the commiſſioners of the longitude, as he is already very infirm, and far advanced in years, above forty whereof have been intirely taken up in this ſervice alone. Moreover, if the method propoſed by Mr Harriſon be approved of, the public will be ſecured from any impoſition by counterfeits. Mr Harriſon likewiſe would not be deprived of the rewards he may receive from foreign nations, to whom he may communicate his diſcovery (*i*).

But this wonderful watch was not the only invention of our extraordinary genius: Having a very nice and delicate ear, he was offended with the ring of bells at the church of Hull in Yorkſhire, which, for want of being in perfect tune, were exceedingly harſh and diſagreeable: He therefore undertook to put them into ſuch

(*f*) This fourth machine is brought into the compaſs of 6 inches diameter, and was carried in a box of about one foot long, and half a foot broad.

(*g*) See Sir Chriſtopher Wren's article, as before cited.

(*h*) In this act it is declared that the watch in this voyage did not loſe its longitude beyond ten geographical miles.

(*i*) A narrative of the proceedings relative to the diſcovery of the longitude at ſea, &c. edit. 1765, 8vo.

[*B*] *In a long ſpace of time.*] The words of the act are: ‘That one moiety of the greateſt reward ‘ which is directed by the act made in the 12th year ‘ of the reign of Queen Anne, to be paid to the firſt ‘ author or authors, diſcoverer or diſcoverers, of a ‘ proper method for finding the ſaid longitude at ſea, ‘ ſhall be paid to the ſaid John Harriſon, his exe- ‘ cutors, adminiſtrators, or aſſigns, when and ſo ſoon ‘ as the principles upon which his ſaid watch or ‘ time-keeper is conſtructed are fully diſcovered and ‘ explained, to the ſatisfaction of the ſaid commiſſi- ‘ oners for the diſcovery of the longitude, or the ‘ major part of them; and when and ſo ſoon as the ‘ ſaid John Harriſon hath aſſigned to the ſaid com- ‘ miſſioners, for the uſe of the public, the property of ‘ the three ſeveral time-keepers, which in and by ‘ the ſaid articles he agreed to deliver up, and alſo ‘ the property of the ſaid laſt-mentioned watch or ‘ time-keeper, deducting from and out of the ſaid ‘ moiety ſo to be paid to the ſaid John Harriſon, his ‘ executors, adminiſtrators, or aſſigns, the ſum of two ‘ thouſand five hundred pounds, already advanced ‘ and paid to him; and that the other moiety of the ‘ ſaid greateſt reward mentioned in the ſaid act ſhall, ‘ when and ſo ſoon as other time-keepers of the ſame ‘ kind ſhall be made, and ſhall, upon trial, be found ‘ to be of a ſufficient correctneſs to determine the ſaid ‘ longitude within half a degree of a great circle, or ‘ thirty geographical miles, to the ſatisfaction of the ‘ ſaid commiſſioners, or the major part of them, be ‘ paid to the ſaid John Harriſon, his executors, admi- ‘ niſtrators, or aſſigns.

‘ Provided always, and be it further enacted, by ‘ the authority aforeſaid, That the ſaid maſter John ‘ Harriſon ſhall not be intitled, by virtue of any thing ‘ contained in this act, to the ſaid reward, or any ‘ part thereof, unleſs the diſcovery and explanation ‘ of the principles upon which his ſaid time-keeper is ‘ conſtructed, ſhall be made within ſix months after ‘ paſſing of this act.’

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an exact tune as ſhould make them intirely melodious. Upon this occaſion being brought into the company and acquaintance of an ingenious mathematician in that town, he mentioned to him the imperfections in the notes in the ſcale of muſic then in uſe, which he had obſerved by his ear. After this, in ſome further diſcourſe, the gentleman having been engaged with another view, to make ſome calculations about the proportion of the circumference of the circle to the diameter, obſerved, though not ſkilled at all in muſic, that by what Mr Harriſon had told him, that he believed that proportion might be of uſe in ſettling a rule for tuning the thirds in the ſcale of muſic. Afterwards Mr Harriſon coming to London with his clock for finding the longitude at ſea, became known to Dr Robert Smith, aſtronomy profeſſor at Cambridge, who was one of the commiſſioners for that purpoſe. This gentleman falling into diſcourſe with our genius upon the ſubject of muſic, mentioned to him the improvements he had made in the ſcale, commonly uſed, by the help of a monochord, conſtructed by himſelf. Upon this, the doctor, being a good mathematician, and performing upon the viol, preſently ſet himſelf to make a new diviſion of the ſcale calculated more exactly (*k*) than before, and with great pains he brought it very nearly to agree with Mr Harriſon's, except in the ſixths, which after all were found by him to be too ſharp, nor was the doctor able to correct them. In the mean time Mr Harriſon communicating occaſionally his method to other muſicians, it was intirely approved by them, inſomuch, that this method is now followed by ſeveral teachers of the art. Mr Harriſon ſome time ago begun to write a treatiſe, which he intituled, *A ſhort but full account of the grounds and foundation of muſic*; *or*, *particularly of the real exiſtence of the natural notes of melody*, in which he has made a good progreſs, as I have ſeen, and 'tis hoped he will live to finiſh and give it to the public.

(*k*) See two treatiſes of his cited in rem. [*II*], p. 4130, of Dr Waller's article.

Mr Harriſon is ſtill living, and notwithſtanding his great age, being in his ſeventy-third year, enjoys a good ſtate of health, and continues in the full vigour of his parts. He has been twice married, and his ſecond wife is ſtill living, and two children, a daughter and a ſon, mentioned in the courſe of the preſent memoir, who in ſome meaſure is poſſeſſed of his father's genius. He married advantageouſly ſome years ago, but is now a widower, and has two children.

S.

SHERLOCK [Thomas], ſucceſſively Biſhop of Bangor, Saliſbury, and London, a very learned and elegant writer, was a younger ſon of the famous Doctor William Sherlock(*a*), and born in London in the year 1678(*b*). From the firſt dawnings of reaſon he ſhewed an eager thirſt for knowledge, and he imbibed the firſt rumidents of it at Eton ſchool. Here he applied himſelf to grammatical learning, under an able maſter, and laid the foundation of that claſſical elegance and correctneſs which do ſo much honour to his compoſitions[*A*]. From Eton he was removed to Cambridge, and admitted of Catharine hall about 1693, under the tuition of Dr Long (afterwards Biſhop of Norwich) where taking his degrees in arts at the uſual periods, he was in the interim elected into a fellowſhip of his college; and ſoon after he had attained to the canonical age, entered into prieſts orders. He was appointed Maſter of the Temple, November 28, 1704, on the fourth of Queen Anne(*c*), upon the reſignation of his father. Such a ſtation at ſuch an age to a man of ordinary parts, would rather have brought contempt with it than reſpect; and indeed great prejudices aroſe againſt him on the ſcore of his youth, on his firſt deſignation to this office; but a ſhort trial of his abilities intirely removed them; his parts and judgment were ripe, and his knowledge was far beyond his years; he was duly ſenſible of the importance of his ſtation, and was the more diligent in improving the great talents that nature had given him, that he might not be wanting in any accompliſhment that was neceſſary to fill it with dignity. His ambition was equal to his parts, and he would have thought it an indignity to have been the ſecond in any character in which he choſe to appear. Young therefore as he was, when he firſt appeared in the character of a public preacher, he ſoon ſurpaſſed the moſt eminent preachers of thoſe times, in ſolidity of matter, in ſtrength of reaſoning, and true pulpit eloquence[*B*]. In the mean time he entered into a marriage in 1707, with Mrs Judith Fountaine(*d*), deſcended from a good family in Yorkſhire, in whom he was very happy all his life. He had a little before commenced D.D. and upon the reſignation of Sir William Dawes, promoted to the Archbiſhopric of York, Dr Sherlock ſucceeded him in the maſterſhip of Catharine hall in 1714(*e*)[*C*]. Having obtained the Deanery of Chicheſter in 1716(*f*), and not long after it, he made his firſt appearance in print, being at the head of the controverſy againſt Dr Hoadly, then Biſhop of Bangor, during which he publiſhed a great number of pieces, one of the principal whereof was intituled, *A vindication of the corporation and teſt acts*,

(*a*) See his article.

(*b*) Collected from his age at his death, mentioned on his monument in rem. [*K*]

(*c*) Regiſter of the Inner Temple.

(*d*) From the inſcription on her monument, mentioned in rem. [*K*].

(*e*) Carter's hiſt. of Cambridge.

(*f*) The regiſter of that church.

[*A*] *Does honour to his compoſitions.*] It has ſometimes been remarked that fine parts frequently lye concealed, and are not to be developed by any art of education, till a man is paſt his youth, and advancing perhaps towards the middle of life; and there is a tradition which, ſays my author, I have often heard, that this was the caſe of Biſhop Sherlock, but it is a tradition to which there is certainly no colour of truth. It appears from the teſtimony of thoſe that knew him in his early youth, that in *that*, as in all other parts of life, he ſtood on the higheſt ground; that in the courſe of his education he was always at the head of his claſs, and never failed to lead his equals and companions even in their puerile ſports and amuſements (1).

(1) Dr Moſs's charge to the clergy of the Archdeaconry of Colcheſter, p. 13. edit. 1764, 8vo.

[*B*] *True pulpit eloquence.*] There are very few now living who are able to remember thoſe times; but if general report did not ſupport me in this obſervation, there is a teſtimony that I can appeal to, which is above all exception, and that is his own diſcourſes, which he was happily prevailed on to give to the public a few years before his death, and which, with a very few exceptions, were all the product of his younger years. The reception they have met with is a full proof of their merit, and I do but declare the judgment of the public in ſaying, That for variety and choice of matter, and the judicious arrangement of it, for ſtrength and ſolidity of reaſoning, for force and eloquence of language, and for a natural flow of manly eloquence, they ſtand in the firſt rank of reputation of any theological diſcourſes in the Engliſh, or any other language (2).

(2) Idem ibid. p. 16, 17.

[*C*] *Succeeded in the maſterſhip of Catharine hall.*] While he held this place, he was promoted to the office of Vicechancellor of the univerſity: In that ſtation no man was more attentive than himſelf to the buſineſs of it. The public archives had for many years lain in great confuſion, and he thought it an indignity to that learned body, that papers and public inſtruments of great value ſhould continue longer in ſo confuſed and uſeleſs a ſtate; he examined them accordingly with great care, and reduced them into proper order; and the knowledge he acquired in the proſecution of this work, repaid him amply for his trouble. The conſtitution of the univerſity in ſome parts of it is not clearly defined and aſcertained, on account of ſome obſcurity and defects in its hiſtory, and by means of the different ſources from whence it derived its power and immunities; but by the help of theſe archives, and other materials that fell into his hands, he acquired ſuch a knowledge of it, that in the ſubſequent parts of his life he was appealed to as a kind of oracle, in doubts and difficulties that occaſionally aroſe in regard to its juriſdiction and government (3). Thus he diſcovered early, not only great parts with deep and extenſive learning, but alſo great wiſdom, policy, and talents for governing; and it was in an alluſion to this part of his character, that Dr Bentley, during his ſquabbles at Cambridge, gave him the nickname of Cardinal Alberoni (4).

(3) Ibid. p. 14, 15.

(4) Dr Nicholls's ſermon, from Dr Middleton's works, vol. iii, p. 275, edit. 1752, 4to.

in anſwer to the Biſhop of Bangor's reaſons for the repeal of them; to which is added a ſecond part, concerning the religion of oaths, 1718, 8vo. The Biſhop of Bangor anſwered it in 1719, to which our Dean replied the ſame year in a ſmall pamphlet, wherein he ſets forth *The true meaning and intention of the corporation and teſt acts aſſerted* (g). About three years after this came out Mr Collins's diſcourſe of the grounds and reaſons of the Chriſtian religion, wherein he endeavours to fix the evidence of it chiefly, if not ſolely, upon the prophecies of the Old Teſtament, and then explains thoſe prophecies in ſuch a manner, as that they may ſeem to have no better a foundation than the divinations among the Heathens, "Who learned, ſays he, that art in ſchools or under diſcipline, as "the Jews did prophecy in ſchools and colleges of the prophets." This work occaſioned a great number of pieces to be written upon the ſubject of prophecy, and though our Dean did not enter directly into the controverſy, yet he took an opportunity of communicating his ſentiments in *ſix diſcourſes delivered at the Temple church*, in April and May 1724, which he printed the following year, under this title, *The uſe and intent of prophecy in the ſeveral ages of the world*, 1725, 8vo. [*D*], where we have a regular ſeries of prophecies deduced through their ſeveral ages from the beginning, and preſented to us in a connected view, together with the various degrees of light diſtinctly marked, which were ſucceſſively communicated in ſuch a manner, as to anſwer the great ends of religion, and the deſigns of providence, till the great events to which they pointed ſhould receive their accompliſhment. In 1728 the Dean was promoted to the Biſhopric of Bangor, in which he ſucceeded Dr Hoadly, as he did alſo in that of Saliſbury in 1738, and in both theſe ſtations he made ſuch a diſtinguiſhed figure, that upon the death of Archbiſhop Potter, in 1747, he was offered the following year to be ſet at the head of the church in the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury, which, however, he thought beſt to decline on account of the ill ſtate of his health at that juncture; but recovering the next year, 1749, he accepted a tranſlation to the ſee of London, void by the demiſe of Dr Gibſon. Upon this promotion he had ſome difference with Dr Herring, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, about his Grace's right to an *option*, which, however, was at length compromiſed [*E*]. Notwithſtanding his advancement to all theſe dignities, he ſtill continued to hold the maſterſhip of the Temple; he was ſo much beloved and eſteemed by both thoſe honourable ſocieties, as rendered the poſt very agreeable to him, and he was greatly urged by the members not to leave them. He therefore continued there till Midſummer 1753 *, and after his

(g) He did not at all approve of theſe writings againſt Biſhop Hoadly, and in his latter years told a friend that he was a young man when he wrote them, and he would never have them collected into a volume.

* From the regiſter of the Inner Temple.

[*D*] *The uſe and intent of prophecy, &c.*] Theſe diſcourſes were exceedingly admired, and have gone through ſeveral editions. The fourth, corrected and enlarged, was publiſhed in 1744, 8vo. to which are added, *Four diſſertations*, 1. *Upon the authority of the ſecond epiſtle of St Peter.* 2. *The ſenſe of the antients before Chriſt, upon the circumſtances and conſequences of the fall.* 3. *The bleſſing of Judah, Gen.* xlix. 4. *Chriſt's entry into Jeruſalem.* Three of theſe diſſertations were printed alone from their firſt publication, the fourth was added afterwards. In 1749 our author, then Biſhop of London, publiſhed an appendix to the ſecond diſſertation, being a further enquiry into the Moſaic account of the fall; to which is prefixed an advertiſement, ſetting forth that the diſſertation was drawn up ſome years ſince, and was intended as an examination of the objections made to *The hiſtory of the fall*, by the author of *The literary ſcheme of prophecy*; but that author being dead, is now publiſhed, not in anſwer to him, but to all who call in queſtion or are offended with the hiſtory as it ſtands recorded by Moſes. It has been obſerved that a ſharp and ſatirical examination was publiſhed of this treatiſe in 1750, by Dr Conyers Middleton, who deſcended ſo low as to make ſome perſonal reflections upon an old friend and acquaintance, whom he had formerly much eſteemed and reſpected, and even complimented upon this very piece, but *tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis.* Dr Middleton's rude attack upon him was merely owing to reſentment, as he thought the Biſhop had oppoſed his preferment to the maſterſhip of the Charter-houſe, when Mr Mann was appointed againſt his intereſt. But his Lordſhip told a friend the Doctor's reſentment was not well grounded, for he did not oppoſe him, nor was he then a candidate for the place, or interfered in it, farther than being preſſed hard by Sir Robert Walpole to give him his advice whether it would be reliſhed by the clergy or not; the Biſhop told him it would not (5). Archbiſhop Potter and Biſhop Gibſon ſtrongly oppoſed Dr Middleton, who in his controverſy with Dr Pearce, had advanced ſome things very objectable to the truth of the ſcripture in ſome particular points.

[*E*] *He diſputed the Archbiſhop's right to the Options, which, however, at length was compromiſed.*] Upon his tranſlation to London, Dr Herring, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, made his option for the rectory of St George's, Hanover-ſquare, worth about 800l. *per Ann.* at leaſt, and the incumbent, Dr Trebeck, very old and infirm: Our Biſhop, not well brooking the diſappointment in having the preſentation of the beſt living in his dioceſe taken from him, drew up a pamphlet, declaring his thoughts on the point of his Grace's right to theſe options, which for a while he reſolved to oppoſe; but upon the conſideration of his age and infirmities, and the fatigue and vexation of a law ſuit in the proſecution, the Archbiſhop was prevailed upon to relinquiſh his firſt demand, and inſtead of St George's accepted St Anne's, Soho, which was ſubmitted to by Dr Sherlock, who, however, ſome years after, in 1755, printed his thoughts in a folio pamphlet, with the title of *The Option*; *or, An enquiry into the grounds of the claim, &c.* but it was never publiſhed (6). Archbiſhop Herring, it is ſuppoſed, reprinted it in 4to. which he gave to a few friends, with a ſhort anſwer in one page. The Archbiſhop's claim of what is called an *option*, is a claim upon every Biſhop, either conſecrated or tranſlated, of any eccleſiaſtical dignity or benefice in the patronage of the Biſhop, to be granted to the Archbiſhop and his aſſigns, for the firſt turn only. In oppoſition to this claim, the Biſhop endeavours to prove that the Archbiſhop never had, and has not at this time, a right to an option from a tranſlated Biſhop: That the claim on conſecrated Biſhops is well founded, for it is properly a conſecration fee, and becomes due *ratione conſecrationis*: That the true and legal claim is to the firſt prebend or competent benefice in the patronage of the new Biſhop that ſhall happen to become vacant after his conſecration, and that the grant of a particular benefice to the Archbiſhop by fœdum, is nothing more than a voluntary agreement or compoſition with his Grace for this ancient right. The proofs alledged by the Biſhop in ſupport of theſe points, are chiefly drawn from the regiſters of Lambeth, and they ſeem to carry great weight with them: But whatever the iſſue might be, in caſe this queſtion ſhould come to be agitated and determined in a court of law, uninterrupted uſage in favour of the Archbiſhop, from the time of Archbiſhop Bancroft, and the neceſſity of his claim for ſupporting the dignity of the archiepiſcopal ſee, will always be weighty arguments againſt any attempts to overthrow it.

(5) Communicated by a friend and acquaintance of Dr Sherlock.

(6) He printed no more than 50 copies, which were put into the hands of thoſe only who were intereſted in the ſubject. It contained about ſix ſheets in folio. Idem.

reſignation

reſignation addreſſed a kind letter of acknowledgment [*F*] for their extraordinary favours ſhewn to him during the courſe of his relation to them, the duties of which his infirmities had rendered him unable to perform. His infirmities in truth began to affect him very much, and though for three or four years he applied himſelf to buſineſs [*G*], and made one general viſitation of his dioceſe in perſon, yet he was then viſited with a very terrible illneſs, which deprived him firſt almoſt of the uſe of his limbs, and of his ſpeech [*H*], inſomuch that he could not be underſtood but by thoſe who were conſtantly about him: Yet ſtill the powers of his underſtanding continued in their full vigour, and under this weak ſtate of body, in which he lay many years, he reviſed, corrected, and publiſhed, a volume of his ſermons in 1755, which were followed by four volumes more [*I*] in 1756, 8vo.

[*F*] *A letter of thanks.*] The letter was as follows:

To the Treaſurers and Maſters of the bench of the two ſocieties of the Temple.

'Gentlemen,

'His Majeſty having been graciouſly pleaſed (in 'conſideration of my age and infirmities) to accept of 'my reſignation of the maſterſhip of the Temple; 'permit me to take this firſt opportunity of your 'meeting, after the receſs of the vacation, to return 'my thanks for your great goodneſs to me, during 'the continuance of the long courſe of my miniſtry 'among you.

'It would be a ſatisfaction and a pleaſure to me to 'acknowledge theſe obligations, and to expreſs the 'ſenſe I have of them in perſon. But as I cannot 'promiſe myſelf, in the uncertain ſtate of my health, 'that I ſhall be able to do it in proper time (7), I 'beg leave to do it by writing, and to aſſure you, 'that I ſhall always remember the many inſtances of 'your favour to me, ſome of which were ſo diſtin'guiſhing marks of your approbation of my ſervices; 'as I muſt never, I can never forget, and yet to 'mention them particularly might be conſtrued as an 'effect rather of vanity than of gratitude.'

'I eſteem my relation to the two ſocieties to have 'been the great happineſs of my life, as it introduced 'me to the acquaintance of ſome of the greateſt 'men of the age, and afforded me the opportunities 'of improvement by living and converſing with gen'tlemen of a liberal education, and of great learning 'and experience.

'I am,

'Gentlemen,

'Your moſt obedient,

'and moſt humble ſervant,

Fulham,
Nov. 5, 1753.

'THOMAS LONDON.' *

[*G*] *He applied himſelf to buſineſs.*] When he was tranſlated from Saliſbury to this great and important dioceſe, though it was at an advanced age, his parts were in their full vigour, of which he gave ſufficient proof in the conduct of ſome points of no ſmall difficulty, both of a public and private nature, on his firſt eſtabliſhment in the ſee. The papers and documents prepared by him on thoſe occaſions carried the marks of a maſterly hand, and ſhewed that the powers of his mind had loſt nothing of their meridian force and ſplendor. When age and infirmities had made large advances upon him, and the powers of his body were well nigh ſpent, he was ſo perfect a maſter of every branch of epiſcopal knowledge, that with all the diſadvantages under which he laboured, he diſpatched the variety of buſineſs that came before him with eaſe to himſelf, and ſatisfaction of thoſe who had occaſion to apply to him; and when general debility had at laſt poſſeſſed him, and taken from him the power of articulation and diſtinct utterance, his conception was ſtill clear and ſtrong, and in this laſt ſtage of decline, he was able to dictate his thoughts to thoſe about him in broken words and ſentences, and has left behind him ſuch able deciſions on ſome critical points of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, as ſhewed his judgment to be ſound and unimpaired, and would have done honour to his more vigorous age †.

[*H*] *He loſt the uſe of his limbs and ſpeech.*] There is nothing, perhaps, that is more worthy of admiration under this uncommon ſtate of weakneſs and decline, than the extraordinary compoſure of his mind. It is one of the general characters of old age to be querulous and peeviſh, and indeed ſickneſs and infirmities are apt to create a petulance and acrimony in the beſt natures, both young and old; but the great prelate we are ſpeaking of was a remarkable exception to the general obſervation. Though he had naturally a quickneſs and ſenſibility of temper, age and ſickneſs were ſo far from ſtimulating, that they ſerved rather to ſmooth and ſoften it; as infirmities increaſed upon him, he became more quiet and compoſed, and though in the common courſe of buſineſs, and his general intercourſe with the world, as well as the interior œconomy of his own family, incidents muſt have ariſen frequently that were diſpleaſing to him, yet nothing could ever break in upon that conſtancy of mind, and that uniform tranquility and compoſure that ſo happily poſſeſſed him. Had the ſame caſe occurred in the reign of ancient Stoiciſm, What triumphs would have been ſung, what honours paid to the great maſters and ſchools of ſcience? Why ſhould its due praiſe and honour be with-held from that true philoſophy which cometh from above? in which no man was more deeply practiſed than our truly Chriſtian prelate, whoſe happy ſtate of mind was the pure and genuine effect of it ‡.

[*I*] *His ſermons.*] Original characters are rarely to be found in any claſs or profeſſion of men; original writers of any orders are but few, and feweſt of all perhaps amongſt the writers of ſermons. It is natural for a young preacher to take ſome writer of name and character as his model for compoſition, or he falls inſenſibly into an imitation of thoſe writers who happen to ſuit beſt with his taſte and judgment, he borrows their matter, copies their method and manner, and works their ſpirit, ſentiments, and language into his own compoſitions; and in general, he that reads the beſt writers, and takes them for his pattern in writing, purſues the moſt promiſing method of becoming a good writer himſelf. But a true genius always ſtands on his own ground, his air, dreſs, and figure, are all his own, and he diſdains to appear in borrowed colours; he reads the books of others to ſtock his mind with, to exerciſe his reaſon, and to inform his judgment; but when he ſits down to write, it is on rules and models that are the reſult of his own reflection, with materials ſuggeſted by his own imagination, and thrown into ſuch order and method as are dictated by the natural train of his own ideas.

If you compare the diſcourſes of the moſt eminent divines on the ſame ſubject, you will find a ſimilarity of matter and method, or both. If you make the ſame experiment on the diſcourſes of this great man, the caſe will be far otherwiſe: You will ſee new topics ſtruck out on the general argument; new model to ſupport the ſame general concluſion, and ſomething new perhaps in the arrangement of the matter, as well as in the application of it. There is in ſhort, ſomething in every diſcourſe that is peculiarly his own; it ſtrikes you at once in the light of an original, and you recognize at firſt ſight the genius and characters of a great maſter.

Perſpicuity is a diſtinguiſhing character of theſe, as well as of all his other compoſitions; a character that is eſſential to good writing; the natural conſequence of a clearneſs and diſtinctneſs of conception, and a certain proof of it. Of all the writers I ever read, and of all the men I ever converſed with (for his converſation was in every reſpect ſimilar to his more ſtudied productions) he had a ſingular felicity in the diſpoſition or arrangement of his matter, and never

failed

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(7) He had now procured the maſterſhip for Dr Nicholls, which was done purely out of reſpect to him, though not agreeable to the ſociety.

* From the regiſter of the Temple.

† Dr Charles Moſs's charge, as before.

‡ Ibid

8vo. which, beſides the excellence of having in common with the beſt productions in that way, are particularly to be admired for their ingenuity and elegance *. He died July 1761, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, having for ſome years ceaſed to enjoy himſelf with comfort, or to interfere at all with the affairs of the world. He was interred in the church-yard at Fulham, in a vault made for the purpoſe, with a monument and inſcription to his memory [*K*]. Beſides what has been already mentioned in reſpect of his character, the ſame author has given a farther account of it: Whilſt he was attending his charge at the Temple, and ſupporting it with a dignity and ability that were far beyond his years, he was taking the proper meaſures for appearing with like advantage in characters of another kind: He was by his ſituation connected with the gentlemen of the long robe, and had by that means opportunities of contracting intimacies with the moſt eminent of that profeſſion. By theſe connections he was led inſenſibly into the ſtudy of the Engliſh law, both civil and eccleſiaſtical; and though the technical and mechanical part of law was not ſo much worthy of his attention, yet he was as well acquainted with the hiſtory of the law of England, with the origin and foundation of it, and with its general rules and principles, in ſhort, as much a maſter of both branches of juriſprudence as a ſcience, as the moſt learned of either profeſſion. All ſcience is founded in general maxims or propoſitions, from whence particular rules may be deduced, or truth in particular caſes may be ſought and determined; a man may carry in his memory an accurate regiſter of philoſophical experiments, or natural phænomena, without being a philoſopher; and he may be maſter of a voluminous common place of adjudged caſes, without being a lawyer. It is a knowledge of the principle or cauſe that produces the effect in any experiment or phænomenon that conſtitutes the philoſopher; and for the ſame reaſon it is a knowledge of the general maxim or principle on which the judgment in particular caſes is founded, that properly makes the lawyer. It is in this ſenſe, that the great prelate we are ſpeaking of was a maſter of Engliſh juriſprudence, for though his knowledge of particular decrees and judged caſes could not be ſuppoſed as extenſive as that of the learned gentlemen of that profeſſion, yet he was poſſeſſed of thoſe general maxims of law and equity by which ſuch caſes are governed, and he was very happy in the application of them to any new caſe that came before him †.

It ſometimes happens that ſhining abilities ſerve rather to retard than accelerate a man's advancement in the road of promotion, and ſomething of this kind happened in the caſe of Dr Sherlock. The envy and the jealouſy of ſome who were concerned in directing the counſels of the government with-held him for many years from thoſe honours in his profeſſion, for which his great talents had deſigned him. He was paſt the middle of life when he was promoted to the higheſt order of the church, and in conſequence of that to a ſeat in the upper Houſe of Parliament, and the knowledge he had acquired of the laws and conſtitution of England, enabled him to appear with greater weight and dignity, both as a governor of the church, and a Lord of Parliament. When he aſſiſted at the deliberations of that great aſſembly, on the arduous buſineſs of the nation, he was not content to bear a ſilent teſtimony, but often-times took upon him an active part [*L*]. The

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* In July 1759, he publiſhed a moſt excellent charge to his clergy, wherein that maſterly knowledge in the law, both of church and ſtate, is applied with a paternal affection to their uſe and ſervice.

† Dr Moſs's charge, as before.

failed of placing it in the light that was moſt apt to ſtrike the imagination and convince the judgment. This happy art of methodizing his argument, this *lucidus ordo*, as Horace calls it, is that which makes every ſubject he undertakes ſo eaſy to the reader's memory, the ideas follow one another in a natural and regular train, and the connection is ſo clear and obvious, that if you once get into his plan of thought, your memory carries you through without difficulty or trouble.

[*K*] *A monument and inſcription.*] The inſcription, which was drawn up by Dr Nicholls, runs thus:

In this vault is depoſited the body of
The right Rev. Father in God Dr Tho. Sherlock,
Late Bp of this dioceſe, formerly Maſter of the Temple,
Dean of Chicheſter, and Bp of Bangor and Saliſbury.
Whoſe beneficent and worthy conduct
In the ſeveral high ſtations which he filled, intitled him to the
Gratitude of multitudes, and the veneration of all.
His ſuperior genius, his extenſive
And well applied learning, his admirable faculty, and
Unequal power of reaſoning, as exerted in the explanation
Of ſcripture, in exhortations to that piety and virtue of which
He was himſelf a great example, and in defence eſpecially of
Revealed religion, need no encomium; here they do honour
To the age wherein he lived, and will be known to poſterity
Without the help of this periſhable monument of ſtone.

Underneath on another tablet is,

He died on the 18th day of July, in the year
Of our Lord 1761, and the 84th of his age.
The powers of his mind continuing unimpaired
Throughout a tedious courſe of bodily infirmities,
Which he ſuſtained to the laſt with a moſt chearful
And edifying reſignation to the will of God.

On the ſide of a monument to the memory of his lady, placed on the top of this, are theſe words:

Judith Fountaine
Was married to Dr Thomas Sherlock,
Maſter of the Temple, Auguſt 8, 1707.
Died July 23, 1764,
Aged 77.

[*L*] *He often took upon him an active part.*] He gave a remarkable inſtance of his acuteneſs and courage not long after he was intitled to a ſeat in the Houſe of Lords. While he was yet Biſhop of Bangor, he oppoſed the bill againſt penſioners, brought from the Houſe of Commons, Feb. 20, 1730-1, and upon the ſecond reading in March 1, the Biſhop of Bangor ſpoke againſt it, and alledged, 'That though the bill 'at firſt ſight ſeemed to be a ſelf denying bill, and to 'ſome particular members might perhaps prove ſo, 'yet he ſuſpected the Commons, conſidered as a 'Houſe of Parliament, would find in it a very great 'enlargement of power: That whatever tends to 'break the balance between the powers eſſential to 'this art of public and extemporaneous ſpeaking is uſually acquired by uſe and practice, and his profeſſion and manner of life had afforded him no opportunity of exerciſing his talents in this way; yet when a fit occaſion offered, he entered freely into a ſhare of public buſineſs, and debated on ſuch points as became his ſtation, with thoſe who had the greateſt experience and the beſt abilities in public ſpeaking. His firſt attempts in this way were the performances of a maſter; he delivered himſelf before the moſt auguſt aſſembly in the nation, with the ſame eaſe, elegance, and force, as if oratory had been the ſtudy and practice of his life, or as if it had been a gift of nature, and not an art to be attained by time and exerciſe. But he was ſenſible of the reſerve that became his order and profeſſion in that place, and ſeldom roſe up to declare his opinion, except on points in which the eccleſiaſtical or civil conſtitution was eſſentially concerned, or by which the authority of the crown, or the liberties of the ſubject, were materially affected; and in what cauſe ſoever he appeared he laid down a rule to himſelf, from which he never departed, and that is not to introduce foreign matter, to waſte the time and confound the judgment of his audience, but to adhere cloſely to the point in queſtion, and confine himſelf to ſuch topics only, as tended directly to illuſtrate and confirm it. Were every ſenator bound to obſerve the ſame rule, the public, I apprehend, would be no loſers by it; it would at leaſt ſhorten the time, and leſſen the burthen of parliamentary attendance, and afford no ſmall relief to thoſe who are appointed to conduct the buſineſs of government.

If he was ever prevailed on to engage on party ſubjects, or to co-operate with miniſters in ſupport of ſome conteſted meaſure of government, it was never without the fulleſt conviction of the rectitude of the cauſe, and on theſe as on other occaſions, when he entered the liſt in good earneſt, he ſpoke with that ſolidity of argument and maſterly eloquence, that it was no eaſy taſk for thoſe who were moſt practiſed in public debates, to make a ſpecious reſiſtance.

But though he did not decline engaging in any point of public and national concern, yet his attention was more eſpecially turned to ſuch as related to the church and clergy. It is not many years ſince an attempt was made in parliament to introduce a law (*b*), by which the rights of the parochial clergy would have been fundamentally affected; an attempt the more formidable, becauſe it was encouraged and ſupported by perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank in his Majeſty's government. This attempt was defeated, and the ancient rights of the clergy ſecured, by the ſpirited oppoſition which was raiſed againſt it chiefly by his influence and authority, both within doors and without. In caſes of eccleſiaſtical law, which have been brought before the upper Houſe of Parliament, as a court of juſtice, he has ſometimes had the honour of leading the judgment of that auguſt aſſembly, in oppoſition to ſome of the greateſt lights of the law, who had at firſt declared themſelves of a different opinion, particularly in the caſe of an appeal to the Houſe of Lords, upon an eccleſiaſtical caſe from Ireland. His learning, ſays one who had the beſt opportunities of knowing him well, was very extenſive; God had given him a great and underſtanding mind, a quick apprehenſion, and a ſolid judgment. Theſe advantages of nature he improved

(*b*) This was an attempt to ſettle a certain and unvaried annual ſtipend upon the clergy, in lieu of tithes.

'this conſtitution, muſt ſooner or later prove the ruin 'of the whole: That an independent Houſe of Commons, or an independent Houſe of Lords,' was as 'inconſiſtent with the conſtitution, as an independent, 'that is, an abſolute King: That whoever loves the 'liberty and laws of his country, would no more deſire to ſee one than the other. Let bribery be puniſhed, let corruption be puniſhed, but not by giving ſo much ſtrength to one power of the conſtitution, as will make it able to over-bear the reſt.' This ſpeech made ſuch a noiſe without doors, that immediately after the ſeſſions was up, a long letter was printed in the News-paper in juſtification of it, dated Cambridge, April 27, 1731, which begins thus (8): 'If a greater appearance of zeal againſt bribery and 'corruption were a certain ſign of integrity, I ſhould 'felicitate you upon the preſent ſituation of a ſound 'purity, but he who cries *ſtop thief* loudeſt, is not always the honeſteſt man in the crowd; knaves dare 'not, and honeſt men will not, defend corruption; and 'hence comes the general conſent in ſuch caſes.

'But the queſtion is not, Whether bribery is a bad 'thing or no? which neither the honeſt nor diſhoneſt 'part of the nation will diſpute with you; the ſingle 'point is, Whether this method propoſed to ſtop 'bribery be an effectual method, and conſiſtent with 'our conſtitution?

'To clear this to myſelf, and to know upon what 'grounds ſome of unſuſpected characters attacked 'a late bill commonly called *A bill againſt bribery* '*and corruption*, I got with ſome difficulty one of 'the printed bills, with the blanks filled up. As I 'heard that it related to places, penſions, and all rewards and gratuities whatſoever from the crown, 'I read it in full expectation of finding every member of the Houſe of Commons made incapable of 'taking or receiving in his own name, or in truſt, any 'place, penſion, reward, or gratuity whatſoever; but 'to my very great ſurprize, I found nothing like it: 'The bill creates no new incapacity, and had it paſſed 'into a law, any member might, notwithſtanding, 'have taken any reward, or any gratuity from the 'crown which he could obtain. How then are bribery and corruption ſhut out?' The author then proceeds to recite the declaration * in the words of the bill, and having enlarged upon the artful drift and deſign of it, concludes in the following terms: 'Upon this view, which I have given you of this 'bill, and the conſequences thereof, it will not be 'hard for you to apply properly the words of a learned prelate (one too long and too well known in 'this univerſity to be ſuſpected here to be a pleader 'for bribery and corruption) and to ſee upon what 'foundation therein expreſſed of an independency to 'proceed from this bill to the Houſe of Commons was 'grounded.'

There are ſeveral other ſpeeches of our prelate printed in the collection of the debates in parliament. He ſpoke againſt Lord Bathurſt's motion in May 1733, for an account of the produce of the South Sea Directors forfeited eſtates in 1720. He ſpoke to have a clauſe in the mortmain bill in 1736, affecting the benefit of Queen Anne's bounty for the augmentation of ſmall livings, but it was not carried: Alſo the ſame year againſt the bill for the more eaſy recovery of tithes from Quakers: Likewiſe againſt the motion for declaring the ſentence of the high court of juſticiary in Scotland, againſt Capt Porteous, in 1737. He alſo made a long ſpeech in favour of the convention with Spain in 1738, and another againſt the bill for retailing ſpirituous liquors in 1740.

(8) It was manifeſtly written by ſome particular friend of the Bp, if not dictated at leaſt by himſelf.

* This is, that he will not take any reward or gratuity from the crown, while he is a member, without declaring it to the houſe within fourteen days: The neglect or refuſal of which to be deemed perjury, The ſame profeſſion extends to places and penſions. Hiſtory and proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, vol. iv. p. 41, & ſeq.

by induſtry and application, and in the early part of his life he had read and digeſted well the ancient authors, both Greek and Latin, the philoſophers, poets, and orators, from whence he acquired that correct and elegant ſtile which appears in all his compoſitions. His knowledge in divinity was obtained from the ſtudy of the moſt rational writers of the church, both ancient and modern, and he was particularly fond of comparing ſcripture with ſcripture, and eſpecially of illuſtrating the epiſtles and writings of the apoſtles, which he thought wanted to be more ſtudied, and of which we have ſome ſpecimens in his own diſcourſes. The ſame writer proceeds to mention his conſtant and exemplary piety, his warm and fervent zeal in preaching the duties and maintaining the doctrines of Chriſtianity, and his large and diffuſive munificence and charity. The inſtances of his public charity, ſays he (*i*), are great and like himſelf, he has given large ſums of money to the corporation of clergymens ſons, to ſeveral of the hoſpitals, and to the ſociety for propagating the goſpel in foreign parts, and at the inſtance of the ſaid ſociety, he conſented to print, at his own charge, an impreſſion of two thouſand ſets of his valuable diſcourſes, at a very conſiderable expence, and they have been actually ſent to all our iſlands and colonies in America, and by the care of the governors and clergy it is hoped by this time they are all properly diſtributed among the people of thoſe reſpective colonies, to their great improvement in the knowledge of rational and practical Chriſtianity: And to mention one inſtance more of his great charity for the education of youth, he hath given to Catharine-hall in Cambridge, the place of his education, his valuable library of books; and in his life-time, and at his death, donations for founding a librarian's place, and a ſcholarſhip, to the amount of ſeveral thouſand pounds. It has been already obſerved, that a few years after he was made Maſter of the Temple, on Auguſt 8, 1707, he entered into a marriage with Mrs Judith Fountaine (*k*), a gentlewoman of a good family in Yorkſhire, in whom he was very happy: She was a woman of excellent ſenſe, and a moſt amiable ſweetneſs of temper [*M*]. She ſurvived his Lordſhip two or three years, and dying on the twenty-third of July 1764, aged ſeventy-ſeven years, ſhe was interred in the ſame vault with him. He leaving no iſſue by her, his whole fortune, which was very large (except a few legacies) devolved upon Sir Thomas Gooch, his ſiſter's ſon, by Dr Thomas Gooch, late Biſhop of Ely [*l*].

(*i*) Nicholl's ſermon at the Temple, on occaſion of the Biſhop's death.

(*l*) It was much enlarged in his life-time, by the acceſſion of that of his elder brother, who dying unmarried, left him upwards of 30000*l*. ſo that upon the whole, he is reputed to die worth more than 100,000*l*.

(*k*) See her monument.

[*M*] *A lady of a ſweet temper.*] So much good ſenſe and ſweetneſs of temper intirely engaged the Biſhop's affection, which he likewiſe carried to her relations; of this we have the following inſtance: She had a nephew of her own name, Fountaine, who being bred to the church, not long after his having attained a competent age, Dr Sherlock took the liberty of recommending him as a clergyman of merit to the Duke of Newcaſtle for a Biſhopric, but the miniſter objecting his age as too young for that dignity, our Biſhop made this reply, *Your Grace, my Lord, was pleaſed to obtain a Biſhopric for Mr Stone before he had attained to the preſent years of Mr Fountaine* (9).

(9) Communicated by a friend to the family.

T.

THURLOE [JOHN] an excellent ſtateſman, and ſecretary of ſtate to Oliver Cromwell when Protector, was the ſon of the reverend Mr Thomas Thurloe, rector of Abbots Roding in Eſſex (*a*), where the ſecretary was born and baptized June 1, 1616. He was educated to the law, and afterwards recommended to Oliver St. John, a perſon of great eminence in that profeſſion, and ſucceſſively ſollicitor general to King Charles I. and chief juſtice of the common pleas; by whoſe intereſt Thurloe was, in the latter end of January 1644-5, appointed one of the ſecretaries to the parliament commiſſioners at the treaty of Uxbridge. In 1647 he was admitted of Lincoln's Inn; and in March the ſame year made receiver or clerk of the curſitor's fines, worth at leaſt 350*l.* per ann. under the earl of *Kent*, lord *Grey of Werk*, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, and *Bulſtrode Whitelocke*, Eſq; commiſſioners of the great ſeal. With regard to the death of King Charles I, he declares that he was altogether a ſtranger to that fact, and to all the counſels about it, having not had the leaſt communications with any perſons thereon (*b*). February 11, 1650, he was choſen one of the keepers of the treaſury of the company of undertakers for draining Bedford Level, in the Iſle of Ely; and in March following, he attended the lord chief juſtice *St John*, and *Walter Strickland*, Eſq; ambaſſadors to the States of the United Provinces, as their ſecretary, with whom he returned in June 1651. About the beginning of April 1652 he was appointed ſecretary to the council of ſtate, and in June and September following, there were delivered to him a very conſiderable parcel of ſtate papers [*A*]. Upon Oliver Cromwell's aſſuming the protectorſhip in 1653, Thurloe became ſecretary of ſtate under him. February 10, 1653-4, he was made one of the maſters of the upper bench of the ſociety of Lincoln's Inn [*B*]. Auguſt 21, 1655, he had the care and charge of the poſtage both foreign and inland committed to him by the Protector. In September 1656, he was choſen member of parliament for the Iſle of Ely. In the beginning of January 1657 was diſcovered the plot of *Miles Sydercomb*, againſt the

(*a*) He was collated to that rectory Sept. 10, 1612, and died there in the latter end of 1633 Newcourt's Repertorium, p. 499.

(*b*) His letter to Sir Harbottle Grimſton in State Papers, Vol. vii. p. 914.

[*A*] *A great number of ſtate papers.*] In the late biſhop Tanner's MSS. in the Bodleian library at Oxford, are the following account of them. Delivered out of the library of papers of ſtate to Mr Thurloe by Mr Randall, 17th of June, 1652, and at other times: 1. One great book of treaties with diverſe nations. 2. One book of negotiations with the kings of Denmark and Poland (returned). One treaty between his late ſacred majeſty and the king of Denmark, by the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Holland, 1625. 3. A treaty with the king of Denmark, with a ſeal of ſilver and gilt (returned). 5. A treaty between Henry VIII and the king of Denmark (returned). 6. A copy of the treaty between the king of Sweden and of Denmark. 7. Propoſitions of the king of Denmark's ambaſſadors. 8. A treaty with Spain. 9. Inſtructions for Sir Henry Vane ambaſſador to the kings of Denmark and Sweden, with his commiſſion to the king of Sweden, and other negotiations. 10. Sir Robert Anſtruther's negotiations with the king of Denmark. 11. Thirty packets of Sir Henry Vane's, Sir Robert Anſtruther's, with Mr Overly's negotiations in Germany. 12. One great book of letters from diverſe nations, with Sir James Spence's negotiations with the Swediſh ambaſſador. 13. The duke of Buckingham's inſtructions to the Swediſh ambaſſador. 14. Two packets of the king of Sweden's letters. 15. Two treaties between king James and the States in 1608. 16. One treaty between king James and the States in 1621. 17. One treaty with the States at Southampton in 1625. 18. All the papers that he received from ſerjeant Bradſhaw when he was preſident, delivered out of the library of ſerjeant Bradſhaw, and by him to Mr Thurloe, being very many. 19. All Sir Oliver Fleming's negotiations in Switzerland. 20. Five books of letters to and from diverſe nations, delivered by Mr Scobell. 21. One treaty with Spain, and twelve papers of inſtructions for the ſame place. Upon Thurloe's letter of the twenty-third of October, 1652, to Mr Randall, there were delivered to Mr Thurloe on the 25th day following, theſe packets and papers. 22. Two great books of Sir Charles Cornwallis from Spain. 23. Four great books of Mr Trumball's. 24. One book of Spain with the lord Cobham entire, 1558 to 1590. 25. One book of Sir John Digby's letters from 1612 to 1613. 26. One book of Mr Cottington's and Sir John Digby's, from 1609 to 1612. 27. Two books of Sir Thomas Edmonds, 1617 to 1619. 28. One book of Sir Lewis Lewknor, 1605 to 1606. 29. Letters from Sir Charles Cornwallis, 1605. 30. Twelve great packets of Sir Balthazar Gerbier's letters from 1636, 1637, 1638, 1639. In all, twelve books and twelve packets of Sir Balthazar Gerbier's. [This is a true copy examined by me Tho. Raymond.]

[*B*] *One of the maſters of the upper bench of Lincoln's Inn.*] The order for his promotion runs in theſe terms.

Lincoln's Inn.
Ad concilium ibid. tent.
die Februarii anno Domini
53.

It is ordered, that John Thurloe, Eſq; one of the utter barriſters of this ſociety, and now ſecretary of ſtate to his highneſs the lord Protector, be called, and is hereby admitted to be one of the maſters of the bench of this ſociety, and to enjoy ſuch privileges therein as other maſters of the bench do or ſhall enjoy.

Ed. Seys, C.N.D. *pro hac vice.*

Protector's life [C]. It was about the beginning of the ſame year 1656-7 that he is ſaid, in conjunction with the Protector and Sir *Richard Willis*, to have been bribed to betray the King's party, and to have formed a deſign to their ruin at one blow, and in a manner extirpated the royal family [D]. However that be, it is certain, that April 9, 1657, Thurloe detected

[C] *Sydercomb's plot to kill the Protector.*] Biſhop Burnet relating ſome remarkable paſſages concerning Oliver Cromwell, gives the following account of Sydercomb's plot. " One *Stoupe*, ſays he, told me of a great deſign Cromwell had intended to begin his kingſhip with, if he had aſſumed it. He reſolved to ſet up a council for the Proteſtant religion, in oppoſition to that *De propaganda fide* at Rome. He intended it to conſiſt of ſeven counſellors, and four ſecretaries for different provinces, of which Stoupe was to have the firſt. Stoupe had deſired all that were under the prince of Conde to let him know ſome news, in return of that he wrote to them. So he had a letter from one of them, giving an account of an Iriſhman newly gone over, who had ſaid he would kill Cromwell, and that he was to lodge in King-ſtreet, Weſtminſter. With this Stoupe went to Whitehall; Cromwell being then at Council, he ſent him in a note letting him know that he had a buſineſs of great conſequence to lay before him. Cromwell was then upon a matter that did ſo entirely poſſeſs him, that he fancying it was only ſome piece of foreign intelligence, ſent Thurloe to know what it might be. Stoupe was troubled at this, but could not refuſe to ſhew him his letter. Thurloe made no great matter of it; ſaid they had many ſuch ſort of minutes ſent them, which ſignified nothing, but to make the world think the Protector was in danger of his life; and to look too much after theſe things had an appearance of fear, which did not become ſo great a man. Stoupe told him, King-ſtreet might be ſoon ſearched. Thurloe anſwered, If we find no ſuch perſon, we ſhall be laught at. So he ordered him to write again to *Bruxelles*, and promiſe any reward if a more particular diſcovery could be made. Stoupe was much caſt down when he ſaw, that a piece of intelligence, which he hoped would have made his fortune, was ſo little conſidered. He wrote to Bruxelles; but had no more from thence, but a confirmation of what had been wrote formerly to him; and Thurloe did not think fit to make any ſearch, or any further inquiry into it, nor did he ſo much as acquaint Cromwell with it. Stoupe being uneaſy at this, told lord Liſle of it; and a few weeks after Sydercomb's deſign to aſſaſſinate Cromwell near Brentford, as he was going to Hampton Court, was diſcovered. When he was examined, it appeared that he was the perſon ſet out in the letters from Bruxelles. So Liſle ſaid to Cromwell, this is the very man of whom Stoupe had the notice given him. Cromwell ſeemed amazed at this, and ſent for Stoupe, and in great wrath reproached him for his neglect in concealing a matter of ſuch conſequence to him. Stoupe upon this ſhewed him the letters he had received, and put him in mind of the note he had ſent in to him, which was immediately after he had the firſt letter, and that he had ſent out Thurloe to him; at that Cromwell ſeemed yet more amazed, and ſent for Thurloe, to whoſe face Stoupe affirmed the matter; nor did he deny any part of it, but only ſaid, that he had many ſuch advertiſements ſent him, in none of which till this time he had ever found any truth. Cromwell replied ſternly, that he ought to have acquainted him with it, and left him to judge of the importance of it. Thurloe deſired to ſpeak in private with Cromwell. So then Stoupe was diſmiſſed and went away, not doubting but Thurloe would be diſcharged: but, as he underſtood from Liſle afterwards, Thurloe ſhewed Cromwell ſuch inſtances of his diligence and fidelity on all ſuch occaſions, and humbly acknowleged his error in this matter, but imputed it wholly to his care both for his honour and quiet, that he pacified him intirely. And indeed he was ſo much in all Cromwell's ſecrets, that it was not ſafe to diſgrace him, without deſtroying him, and that it ſeems Cromwell could not reſolve on. Thurloe having maſtered this point, that he might further juſtify his not being ſo attentive as he ought to have been, did ſo much ſearch into Stoupe's whole deportment, that he poſſeſſed Cromwell with ſuch an ill opinion of him, that after that he never treated him with any confidence. So he found how dangerous it was even to preſerve a prince (as he called him) when a miniſter was wounded in doing it; and that the miniſter would be too hard for the prince, even though his own ſafety was concerned in it" (1).

[D] *A plot to extirpate the whole royal family.*] The deſign was to ſend a meſſenger to Flanders, with plauſible letters to his majeſty to come over in a ſingle ſhip, with only the two dukes of York and Glouceſter his brothers, and a very few more, to a certain port in Suſſex, upon an appointed fixed day, where they were promiſed to be received and ſupported with 500 foot at landing, and 2000 horſe within one day after. It was determined by this cabinet council, that Sir Richard Willis himſelf ſhould contrive and manage thoſe letters of invitation, in which the matter was to be urged to his majeſty, as the moſt hopeful, if not certain project for his reſtoration; though, at the ſame time, the real deſign and reſolution was to ſhoot all the three brothers dead at their firſt landing. The whole matter being thus formed by the triumvirate in Mr Secretary Thurloe's own office, was unexpectedly overheard by Mr *Samuel Morland*, the preſent under ſecretary to Thurloe, who all the while counterfeited himſelf to be faſt aſleep upon a deſk in that office. This ingenious gentleman, who for his parts had been choſen into that ſervice, had formerly married a French woman, who having been her ſelf induced by the particular intereſt and acquaintance of the earl of Arundel, by degrees had engaged her huſband to come in ſecretly with the King's party, and now being fully confirmed and rivetted in it by the horror of this contrivance, he reſolved at any hazard to defeat it: in order to which he immediately repaired to the Tower to one major *Henſhaw*, a loyal perſon, who was impriſoned there by Cromwell more for his being a known friend to the King, than for any particular practices againſt the preſent government. Morland being in a public ſtation, and altogether unſuſpected by the keeper of the Tower, and likewiſe pretending to perform ſome ſecret ſervice for his maſter Cromwell, found an eaſy opportunity to procure Henſhaw, in company with the warder himſelf, to go over and give the King an account of the matter as might ſecure him from future danger, and to defray thoſe expences, to give to each of them a hundred broad pieces of gold. All this was managed with the utmoſt privacy by Henſhaw, without any ſuſpicion of the warder, and at ſuch a nice conjuncture of time, that the King and his brothers had a very narrow eſcape. The King ſufficiently informed and cautioned, ordered a particular anſwer to be ſent to the letters of invitation, intimating, that he could not be ready ſo ſoon as the appointed day, which gave the three projectors ſome apprehenſion and ſuſpicion of the diſcovery; but not being ſatisfied with that anſwer, Willis was appointed to contrive other letters to the King, urging his majeſty to uſe expedition, and not to loſe ſo fair an opportunity for his happy reſtoration; but now the King's anſwer was, that he was not very well, or ſomething that appeared ſo frivolous, that they all juſtly concluded their project was diſcovered and loſt. This unexpected defeat gave them infinite uneaſineſs, not only for the greatneſs of the preſent diſappointment, but for the infidelity of ſome one of their cabinet council, which they had all reaſon to believe conſiſted but of three perſons: Willis having been formerly ſo eminent a cavalier, was moſt ſtrongly ſuſpected by the other two, which made it the more difficult for him to clear himſelf; and being now very reſtleſs, and juſtly conſidering and believing that Morland might, or rather muſt be the diſcoverer, he preſently took private lodgings, and ſent a ſecret meſſage to Morland, to come and meet him concerning a matter of great importance. Morland thought it by no means proper, or perhaps ſafe to decline the meeting, but imagining ſomething extraordinary in the affair, he cautiouſly took pocket piſtols with him, and went to the appointed place. There, inſtead of Sir Richard, he was met by another perſon, who privately carried him to another houſe, from whence he was conducted by a ſecond unknown meſſenger

(1) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time, p. 78, 79. Vol. i. Edit. 1724.

detected the plot of major-general Harriſon, and many others of the Fifth Monarchy men, for an intended inſurrection; and two days after a report was made by him in parliament, that he was, by the Protector's command, to give the houſe an account of that deſign, which he accordingly did; and produced a printed book, called *A Standard*, and likewiſe a *painted ſtandard* which was taken, it being a red lion couchant, with this motto, *We will rouſe him up:* and he had the thanks of the houſe given him by the ſpeaker, for his great ſervices to the commonwealth and parliament, in this and many other particulars. July 13, the ſame year, he was ſworn of the privy council to the Protector, according to *the humble petition and advice*; and November 2 following, he was elected one of the governors of the Charter-houſe, in the room of Dr Lawrence Wright deceaſed. February 4, 1657-8, he was made chancellor of the univerſity of Glaſgow in Scotland; June 1658, he concurred with Mr Whitelocke in adviſing the Protector to let the perſons who had been detected in a plot, be proceeded againſt in the ordinary courſe of trials at common law, and not by an high court of juſtice (*c*). Upon the death of Oliver the ſame year, Thurloe, as privy counſellor, ſigned the proclamation in September of Richard Cromwell to be Protector (*d*). On the 31ſt of December following, he was choſen member of parliament for the univerſity of Cambridge by 120 ſuffrages, a greater number than was ever known upon the like occaſion; a compliment which he repaid by declaring in the houſe of Commons Feb. 23, 1658-9, that though he was returned for the town and borough of Wiſbich, and likewiſe for the borough of Huntingdon, yet he made his election for the univerſity. April 21 following, the Protector Richard adviſed with him, lord Broghill, lord Fiennes, Sir Charles Wolſeley, Bulſtrode Whitelocke, and ſome others, about diſſolving the parliament; moſt of whom were for it except Mr Whitelocke, who was of a contrary opinion, in which he agreed with Thurloe [*E*]. Upon Richard's quitting the protectorſhip, our ſtateſman continued

(*c*) Whitelocke's Memorials.

(*d*) Idem ibid.

with the like privacy to a third houſe. Here with the utmoſt caution he was carried up three or four pair of ſtairs, and then down as many into another houſe, and at laſt into a dark deep cellar, where by the light of a candle he ſaw Sir Richard by himſelf, with a bible upon a table before him. Sir Richard told him plainly, that he had ſent for him on account of the diſcovery of a ſecret of the higheſt importance, which could not poſſibly be known to more than three perſons beſides himſelf. Then naming the particulars, he laid his hand upon the bible, and with a form of an oath and execration purged himſelf from being the diſcoverer of that ſecret, and told him he expected he ſhould make the ſame ſolemn purgation. Morland laying his hand upon one of his piſtols, with a ſingular preſence of mind and an air of innocence told him, he was ready to do the ſame upon this one condition, that he would give the leaſt inſtance or ſhew of reaſon, why he could ſuſpect him guilty of ſo foul a treachery: all this he did with ſuch an unaffected and undaunted courage as really damped and defeated the deep management and ſubtlety of the other, and ſo eſcaped an imminent danger; but Morland afterwards declared, that if matters had then come to extremity, he would certainly have ſhot Sir Richard dead upon the ſpot, rather than have hazarded the probable conſequences of that meeting. For this and other ſervices this gentleman was afterwards rewarded with a knighthood, a penſion, &c. and complimented with further promiſes from the King and court.

This account, which never yet appeared in print, came from his own mouth, and from Sir John Talbot, confirmed by a third perſon of undoubted worth and honour. This remarkable ſtory, which, ſays the hiſtorian, was told me with great ſolemnity and exactneſs by Sir John Talbot and others, is wholly inconſiſtent with a letter which I think myſelf obliged to ſubjoin; unleſs we can ſuppoſe that the names Morland and Willis ſignified ſome other perſons. The letter is from Morland to Sir Richard in theſe words:

‘Whereas I have heard how much you have ſuffered by a libel, bearing date the 3d of June, 1659, charging you with a private correſpondence with Mr Secretary Thurloe, and his creatures; and that particularly ſince he was in Flanders in perſon, to inform the King of the particulars, by ſhewing him letters of yours, and receipts for money. I think myſelf obliged, though a ſtranger to you, to be ſo far aſſiſting to your vindication as to declare and profeſs, that I was never in any part of Flanders in all my life, nor with the King beyond ſea, upon that or any other account, nor did ever ſhew him (as is affirmed) any ſuch letters or bills of receipt for any moneys whatſoever. And ſo far was I from being in any cap-city of informing againſt you, *that I do profeſs I knew* not ſo much as your name, neither was *I ever preſent in a private conference* between you and *Mr Secretary* Thurloe; which, upon all occaſions, ſhall be conſtantly teſtified by,

‘Sir,

‘*Your moſt humble ſervant,*

‘S. *Morland*.’

If this letter acquit Sir Richard in this caſe, yet it will not clear him from what has been related in p. 727. of this hiſtory. How far it conſiſts with what the earl of Clarendon ſays in his laſt folio volume, p. 522. to 525. of the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, I leave to the judicious and impartial reader (2). His lordſhip in thoſe places gives a general account of ſeveral informations, received by the King from Mr Morland againſt Sir Richard, which his majeſty was loth to believe, till at length his good opinion of Sir Richard's integrity was ſhaken, by having ſome of his original letters diſcovering his treachery put into his majeſty's hands (3).

(2) Eachard's Hiſt. of England, book iii. c. 11. p. 728, 729. 3d Edit. 1720. Fol.

(3) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, laſt volume in Fol.

[*E*] *Whitelocke agreed with Thurloe.*] Dr Edmund Calamy, in his Life of Mr Howe, ſpeaking of this affair, has theſe words. I was told by a friend, that when he ſignified in a way of diſcourſe to Mr Howe, that he had heard *Richard* reflected on as a weak man, he with ſome warmth made this return; How could he be a weak man, when upon the remonſtrance that was brought from the army by his brother Fleetwood, he ſtood it out againſt the whole council, and continued the debate till *four* o'clock in the morning, *having none but Thurloe to abet him*, maintaining, that the diſſolution of that parliament would be both his ruin and theirs? Mr Howe ſaid, that Fleetwood undertook with great ſolemnity, that if Richord would but comply with the propoſal that was made him, the army would not do him the leaſt damage; and he added, that when Fleetwood was afterwards put in mind of this, all the anſwer he returned was, that he thought he had had more intereſt in the army than he found he had (4).

(4) Calamy's Life of Howe prefixed to his Works, p. 9. Edit. 1724. Fol.

This Mr John Howe was an eminent nonconformiſt divine, born in the year 1630 at Loughborough in Leiceſterſhire, of which town his father was then miniſter, but he was ejected by archbiſhop Laud, on account of his adherence to the puritans. Whereupon he went to Ireland, where he continued till the Iriſh rebellion, when he returned to England, and ſettled in Lancaſhire, where our author was educated in grammar and claſſical learning; after which he was ſent to Chriſt's college Cambridge, whence removing tinued in his office of ſecretary till January 14, 1659-60, when it was conferred upon Thomas Scot; but on the 27th of February following, upon a report from the council of ſtate, the parliament reſolved, that Thurloe ſhould be one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, and John Thompſon, Eſq; the other. In April 1660, he made an offer of his ſervice for the reſtoration of King Charles II [*F*]. In May 1660, the following votes paſſed in the houſe of commons in relation to him.

May 15, 1660, ‘ Reſolved, That ſecretary Thurloe, being accuſed of high treaſon, be ſecured; and that the ſerjeant at arms attending this houſe do forthwith put this order in execution. The queſtion being put that the doors be locked, it paſſed in the negative.

‘ Reſolved, That the firſt four, and three laſt, whoſe names are taken, to be the committee for taking the examination of Mr ſecretary Thurloe, viz. colonel King, lord preſident Anneſley, Mr Prynne, Mr Exley, colonel Bowyer, Mr Ireton, Mr Weſton, or any three of them, be a committee to take the examination of Mr Thurloe to the accuſation given againſt him; with power to ſend for perſons, papers, and witneſſes: who are to meet to-morrow, at three o'clock in the afternoon, in the Inner Court of Wards.’

June 29. ‘ Reſolved, That Mr John Thurloe have free liberty to attend the ſecretary of ſtate, at ſuch times as they ſhall appoint, and for ſo long time as they ſhall own his attendance for the ſervice of the ſtate, without any trouble or moleſtation during ſuch his attendance, and in his going and returning to and from the ſecretary of ſtate; any former order of the houſe notwithſtanding.’

After he was ſet at liberty, he retired to Great Milton in Oxfordſhire, where he generally reſided except in term time, when he came up to his chambers in Linconl's Inn. He was often invited by King Charles II. to engage again in the adminiſtration of public, or at leaſt foreign affairs, to which he ſeemed greatly averſe, being doubtful whether, as he ſhould be complicated with many other perſons of different characters, he ſhould be able to ſerve his majeſty as well as he had done his maſter Cromwell, whoſe conſtant aim, as Thurloe obſerved to the King, was to *ſeek out men for places, and not places for men.* He

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to Oxford he became bible clerk of Brazen-noſe college in 1648, and took his firſt degree in June 18, 1649 *, He was made a demy of Magdalen college by the parliament viſitors and afterwards a fellow, and in 1652 he took the degree of A. M. †. Soon after this he commenced preacher, and became miniſter of Great Torrington in Devonſhire, and in 1654 he married the daughter of Mr George Hughes, miniſter of Plymouth. He was afterwards houſhold chaplain to Oliver Cromwell when Protector, and became lecturer of St Margaret's Weſtminſter, but ſeems to have been in a good meaſure free from the fanaticiſm in faſhion, and offended Cromwell greatly by preaching againſt the notion of a particular faith, which the miniſters of his court mightily encouraged. It was a common opinion among them, that ſuch as were in an eſpecial manner favoured of God, when they prayed for themſelves or others, often had ſuch impreſſions made upon their minds and ſpirits by a divine hand, as ſignified to them not only that their prayers were heard in general, but that the particular mercies ſought for were certainly beſtowed: this, which they called a particular faith, Mr Howe ventured to preach againſt, though it was eſpouſed even by his maſter. Upon the death of Oliver he continued chaplain to Richard, and when the army had laid Richard aſide, he returned to his people at Torrington, where he continued till the act of uniformity took place in Auguſt 1662, after which he preached for ſome time in private houſes in Devonſhire. In 1671 he went to Ireland, where he lived as chaplain to lord Maſſarene, in the pariſh of Antrim. But in 1675 returning to England, he ſettled in London, where he was highly reſpected not only by his brethren among the diſſenters, but by many eminent divines of the church of England, as Whichcot, Kidder, Fowler, Lucas, and others; eſpecially by Tillotſon, who uſually made him a preſent of every ſermon which he printed ‡. In 1685 he travelled beyond ſea with lord Wharton, and the following year ſettled at Utrecht; about the year after that, on King James's publiſhing his declaration for liberty of conſcience, he returned to London, where he died April 2, 1705. He publiſhed ſeveral ſermons, beſides many other pieces, a liſt of which may be ſeen in *Athen. Oxon.* by Mr Wood, who gives him the following character while he was living: ‘ He is a perſon, ſays the antiquary, of neat and polite parts, and not of that ſour and unpleaſant converſe as moſt of his perſuaſion are; ſo moderate alſo and calm, in thoſe ſmaller matters under debate between the church and his party, that he has not ſo much as once in writing, as I know of, intereſted himſelf in any fruitleſs and too buſy quarrels of this kind, but hath applied himſelf wholly to more beneficial and uſeful diſcourſes on practical ſubjects; in which undertaking he hath acquitted himſelf ſo well (his books being penned in a fine, ſmooth, and natural ſtile) that they are much commended, and read by very many conformiſts, who generally have him in good eſteem. But what is more remarkable in his ſentiments of preſbytery is, that he is a great and ſtrict Arminian, and has been oppoſed in that point by ſome of his own way ‖.

[*F*] *He offered his ſervice for the reſtoration of King Charles II.*] This appears from the following paſſage of a letter of Sir *Edward Hyde* to Sir *John Greenville,* dated from Breda the 23d of that month.

‘ I have, ſince I ſaw you, received very frank overtures from Secretary Thurloe, with many great profeſſions of reſolving to ſerve the King; and not only in his own endeavours, but by the ſervice of his friends, who are eaſily enough gueſſed at. This comes through the hands of a perſon who will not deceive us, nor is eaſily to be deceived himſelf, except by ſuch bold diſſimulation of the other, which cannot at firſt be diſcovered: yet it is enough ſuſpected by the King. There is ſomewhat of curioſity accompanies Thurloe's profeſſions, for he is very inquiſitive to know, whether the King hath any confidence in the gentleman *, or hath approached him the right way; which he deſires to know, only that he may finiſh what is left undone, or be able further to adviſe his majeſty what he is to do therein. The King returned ſuch anſwers as were fit, and deſires to ſee ſome effects of his good affections, and then he ſhall find his ſervices more acceptable; both theſe particulars the King thinks fit the gentleman ſhould know, that his majeſty may receive his advice, and to know alſo his opinion of Thurloe, and whether he be able, if he were willing, to contribute much to his majeſty's ſervice. But this being of ſuch a nature, as being communicated may be turned to the prejudice of perſons, to whom his majeſty wiſheth no hurt, and may draw reproach upon himſelf and his counſels; the King would not have you impart either of them to any perſon whatever, except the gentleman himſelf, or Mr Morrice, becauſe poſſibly you may not at preſent be admitted to the gentleman, and then no inconvenience can ariſe from it (5.

* Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 69.

† Ibid. col. 99. See an account of this nonconformiſt miniſter in Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 399. He died in 1667, and was buried in the church of Kingſbridge in Devonſhire, where there is a monument to his memory, with a Latin inſcription written by Mr Howe.

‡ Among others, he ſent him a copy of his ſermon on Joſhua xxiv. 15. upon ſome paſſages of which Mr Howe expoſtulated with the dean, who thereupon made ſome alterations in the ſubſequent editions of that ſermon. Life of Tillotſon by Dr Birch, p. 63, Edit. 1753. 8vo.

‖ Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 1014.

*General Monk.

(5) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. vii. p. 897.

died ſuddenly at his chambers in Lincoln's Inn February 21, 1667-8, and lies interred under the chapel there, with this inſcription.

Here lies the body of John Thurloe, *Eſq; ſecretary of ſtate to the Protector Oliver Cromwell, and maſter of the bench to this honourable ſociety. He died February* 21, 1667. And underneath,

Here lieth the body of Francis Brace, Eſq; a member of this ſociety. He was ſon of Francis Brace, Eſq; of the town of Bedford, by Anne, one of the daughters and coheirs of the late John Thurloe. He died on the 6th day of April 1721, in the 34th year of his age.

Mr. Thurloe was poſſeſſed of the manors of *Whittleſey St Mary* and *Whittleſey St Andrew*, and of the rectory of *Whittleſey St Mary*, in iſle of Ely and county of Cambridge. He rebuilt Wiſbich Caſtle, which he furniſhed juſt before the reſtoration, when the eſtate returned to the biſhop of Ely. He had likewiſe an eſtate of above 400 *l.* a year at *Aſtwood* in Bucks. He was twice married; firſt to a lady of the family of *Boyton*, who lived with him about three or four years, and had two ſons by him who died before her. His ſecond wife was *Anne*, third daughter of Sir *John Lylcott*, of Eaſt Moulſey in Surrey, by Mary, heir of Nicholas Overbury, of Boſton on the Hill in Glouceſterſhire, and ſiſter to the famous Sir *Thomas Overbury*. By this lady he had four ſons and two daughters. *John* died at Ameſbury in Wiltſhire, where he was interred. *Oliver* was married, but had no iſſue. *Thomas*, born in March 1659-60, was governor of James Iſland in the river Gambia about January 1678, where he died. *Nicholas* was bred to the ſea, and was living in 1678. *Mary*, the eldeſt daughter, married to Thomas Ligoe, of Burſell in Bucks; by whom he had *Thomas Ligoe*, Eſq; married to a ſiſter of John Hamilton, Eſq: and *Eleanor* married to the ſaid Mr Hamilton. *Anne*, the ſecond daughter, married *Francis Brace* of Bedford, by whom ſhe had John Thurloe Brace, Eſq; member of parliament for Bedford, and Francis Brace, Eſq. John Thurloe Brace married a lady of the name of Harris, by whom he had one ſon Harris-Thurloe Brace, and a daughter Anna Maria, married to Godfrey Copley of Yorkſhire (*e*).

(*e*) Life of Thurloe, prefixed to his State Papers by Dr Birch, whence this article is extracted.

TRIMNELL [CHARLES] biſhop of Wincheſter, a learned and worthy divine, was born December 27, 1693, at *Ripton-Abbots*, in the county of Huntingdon, of which place his father was rector [*A*]. In the 12th year of his age he was ſent to Wincheſter ſchool, and admitted upon that foundation July 20, 1765. He ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his application and morals; and exact obſervance of his duty to his ſuperiors, and a gentleneſs of behaviour, which procured the eſteem and affection of all that knew him through every part of his life. In 1681 he was removed from Wincheſter to New college Oxford, agreeable to the ſtatutes of both thoſe foundations, and brought more meekneſs and patience to the ſtudy of philoſophy than the generality of philoſophers carry from it (*a*).

(*a*) Stephens's Sermon at his funeral.

[*A*] *His father was rector.*] His father, Mr Charles Trimnell, was bred at Wincheſter ſchool, from whence he ſucceeded to New college Oxford. In 1648 he was ejected by the viſitors appointed by parliament, and ſome time after admitted a member of Queen's college Cambridge, where he was choſen fellow, and admitted A. M. in 1655 (1). A gentleman entirely unknown to him preſented him to the living of *Ripton-Abbots*, worth more than 200 *l. per ann.* He reſided conſtantly at it above 45 years, and died there in 1702, in the 77th year of his age and was interred in the chancel of the church, where is a monument erected to his memory with the following inſcription, ſaid to be written by his ſon-in-law Dr Downes, biſhop of Derry in Ireland.

(1) Carter's Hiſtory of Cambridge.

M. S.

Reverendi admodum viri CAROLI TRIMNELL
Et Mariæ uxoris,
Hæc per XXVI *annos feliciſſimo conjugio*
Septem filiis totidemq; filiabus maritum beans
E vita exceſſit
Anno Domini 1684, *ætatis* 48.
Suis, vicinis, egenis, deſideratiſſima.
Ille, utriuſq; academiæ alumnus,
Utriuſq; ornamentum.
Ex altera per iniquitatem temporis ejectus,
In alteram, rebus aliquantulum pacatis, receptus eſt,
Utrobiq; et regi exulanti et eccleſiæ afflictæ fidelis,
Annos amplius XLV *hujus eccleſiæ rector,*
Divini cultus et honoris vindex conſtantiſſimus;
Charitatis & beneficentiæ opera promovit aſſiduus,
Et hortatu ſuo et exemplo.
Eo magis Chriſti pauperumq; memor
Quo minus numeroſæ ſuæ ſobolis immemor,
Optimâ orbatus conjuge conjux optimus
Per annos XVII *unus utrumq; egit parentem;*
Liberos habens pios, invicem amantes, modeſtos, probos;
Optima pietatis ſuæ indicia et præmia:
E quibus ſex in ipſo juventutis flore extinctis,
Quatuor mares totidemq; fœminas ſuperſtites reliquit,
Tres illorum ad preſbyteratum erectos,
Tres harum preſbyteris dicatas
Omnes parentem ad tumulum eodem animo,
Vultu alio ac olim, ad templum
Longo ordine ſequebantur
Obiit anno Domini 1702, *ætatis* 77.

Though he never had any other preferment, and his patrimony was ſmall, he brought up fourteen children, who lived to be men and women, in the moſt reputable manner; and there are few inſtances of a family which has ſpread itſelf in the world with more good fortune and credit. Five of his ſons were educated on the public foundations at Wincheſter and Eton. The ſons and daughters who ſurvived were: 1. *Charles*, biſhop of Wincheſter. 2. *William*, dean of Wincheſter. 3. *Hugh*, apothecary to the King's houſhold. 4. *David*, archdeacon of Leiceſter and chantor of Lincoln. 5. *Mary*, married to Mr. John Sturges, archdeacon of Huntingdon. 6. *Anne*, married to Mr Alured Clarke of Godmancheſter, in the county of Huntingdon. 7. *Elizabeth*, married to Dr Henry Downes, biſhop of Derry in Ireland. 8. *Catharine*, married to Dr Thomas Greeen, biſhop of Ely. And it is worthy of remark, that all the ſurviving children of theſe have been hitherto favoured with equal ſucceſs *.

* General Dictionary, in the Append. p. 563.

He

He took his degrees in arts at the regular period, and entering into holy orders, he was appointed preacher at the *Rolls Chapel*, *London*, in the year of the revolution, by Sir *John Trevor*, maſter of the rolls. In Auguſt, the following year, he attended the earl of Sunderland and his lady in their journey to Holland; and after their return home, continued with them at *Althorp* as their domeſtic chaplain. December 4, 1691, he was inſtalled a *prebendary* of *Norwich*. In 1694, his patron the earl of Sunderland preſented him to the rectory of *Bodington* in *Northamptonſhire*, which he reſigned in 1696, upon his inſtitution to *Brington*, the pariſh in which Althorp ſtands, in the ſame county, a living of no greater value than Bodington, and though he was deſired to hold them both. Auguſt the 5th, 1698, he was inſtalled archdeacon of Norfolk; whereupon he procured leave of his noble patron to reſign the rectory of *Brington* (notwithſtanding the remainder of his income did not exceed two hundred pounds *per ann.*) in favour of Mr Downes, who had married one of his ſiſters (*b*). July 4, 1699, he accumulated both his degrees in divinity (*c*). During the controverſy that was carried on in the lower houſe of convocation in 1701, and the following year, he wrote ſome pieces in defence of the rights of the crown and the archbiſhop [*B*], and about this time he was made chaplain in ordinary to Queen Anne. In 1703 he was invited to appear as a candidate for the wardenſhip of New college by a great number of the fellows, who looked upon him as the fitteſt perſon to keep up that ſpirit of diſcipline and learning, which had been exerted with the greateſt credit and advantage to the college under their late excellent warden Dr Trattles: but, contrary to the hopes and expectations of his friends, the election was determined in favour of Mr *Brathwayte* [*C*]. In 1705, having had no parochial duty for ſome years, he undertook the charge of St *Giles*'s pariſh, in the city of *Norwich*; and on the 4th of October, 1706, was inſtituted to the rectory of St James's Weſtminſter, on the promotion of Dr *William Wake* to the biſhopric of *Lincoln*. Nor did he long continue without a ſeat upon the ſame bench, for January the 23d, 1707, he was elected biſhop of Norwich, in the room of Dr John Moore [*D*], tranſlated to Ely, and held the rectory of St James's by *commendam* for one year. In 1709, he publiſhed a charge to the clergy at his primary viſitation; wherein he ſpoke with great freedom and judgment againſt ſome prevailing opinions and practices [*E*], which he thought prejudicial

to

(*b*) He became afterwards biſhop of Derry in Ireland.

(*c*) Catalogue of Oxford degrees, &c where he is marked as a grand compounder.

[*B*] *He wrote ſome pieces in defence of the rights of the crown and the archbiſhop of Canterbury.*] Theſe were 1. *A vindication of the proceedings of ſome members of the lower houſe of convocation*, 4to, 1701. 2. *The pretence to enter the parliament-writ conſidered*, 4to, 1701. 3. *An anſwer to a third letter to a clergyman in defence of the entry of the parliament-writ*, 4to, 1702. 4. *Partiality detected*, &c. a large pamphlet; and perhaps ſome others.

[*C*] *The election was determined in favour of Mr Brathwayte.*] There was ſomething particular in the circumſtances of this election, which will not be amiſs to give an account of. Thirty-one voted for Mr Brathwayte and twenty-nine for Dr Trimnel, whereupon the ſcrutators declared Mr Brathwayte duly elected: but, according to the canon law, none can vote for himſelf in an election *per ſcrutinium*; and it being found that Mr Brathwayte's own vote had been given for himſelf, it was inſiſted upon that Mr Brathwayte could not be duly elected, becauſe he had thirty good votes, which was not the *major pars præſentium* required by the ſtatutes, there being ſixty electors preſent. Upon this bottom an appeal was made to the viſitor Dr *Mews*, biſhop of *Wincheſter*, againſt the validity of the election. One of the biſhop's aſſeſſors gave no opinion; and the other, Sir *John Cooke* (dean of the arches) was clearly of opinion that the election was void, and thereby a devolution made to the biſhop, who, in conſequence of ſuch devolution, might nominate whom he pleaſed; but he choſe rather to pronounce the election valid, and Mr Brathwayte duly elected (2).

[*D*] *In the room of Dr John Moore.*] This excellent biſhop made a diſtinguiſhed figure in his time, and printed ſeveral occaſional ſermons, which were collected and publiſhed, with others never before printed, in two volumes 8vo, with an epiſtle to the reader by the famous Dr Samuel Clarke (3); who aſſures us they were written by a perſon of ſuch exemplary piety and virtue, ſo deſervedly famed through all parts of the world for his extenſive knowledge and accurate judgment, ſo ſteady in his adherence to the real intereſt of his country through all changes of times; and eminent in his zeal for promoting on all occaſions the true ſpirit of the proteſtant religion; ſo judicious, laborious, and conſtant a preacher, both before and after his advancement to the epiſcopal dignity, and particularly ſo exact and ſkilful a determiner of practical caſes and queſtions in divinity, that the world had reaſon to expect from him many excellent and uſeful works; had not the continual application to the duties of his epiſcopal office; his perpetual readineſs to collect with much time and care, out of his immenſe library, materials for learned men, who were writing upon all ſorts of uſeful ſubjects, and his unwearied pains in relieving both the temporal and ſpiritual wants of the poor, who perpetually applied to him from all parts; left him little, very little time, for his own private ſtudies.' King George I. at the inſtance of lord viſcount Townſhend, purchaſed the biſhop's library, which contained twenty thouſand volumes, for ſix thouſand pounds, and gave it to the univerſity of Cambridge, where it now makes the beſt part of the public library.

[*E*] *He publiſhed a charge againſt ſome prevailing opinions and practices*] This will be beſt explained by the following extracts out of it. ‘ 1. The *three* principal opinions that have been revived of late with ‘ ſome zeal in behalf of the clergy, are, *The independence of the church upon the ſtate*; *The power of* ‘ *offering ſacrifices*, properly ſo called; and *The power* ‘ *of forgiving ſins*: All of them, I am perſuaded, erroneous, in *the manner* they have been urged, and ‘ no way agreeable to the doctrine of the church of ‘ England about them. 2. The making more things ‘ follow our ſacred function than can fairly and ‘ plainly be grounded upon it, will never advance our ‘ character with wiſe and conſidering men, ſuch as ‘ we ſhould deſire all men to be; but muſt be a real ‘ prejudice to us. Our pretending to an independent ‘ power in things within the compaſs of human authority; and a right to offer ſacrifice properly ſpeaking; and a commiſſion to forgive ſins directly and ‘ immediately, may and will weaken the grounds ‘ and occaſions of the reformation; and give our adverſaries of the church of Rome, as well as others, ‘ great advantage againſt us; but can never, I am ‘ perſuaded, advance the intereſt of the chriſtian religion in general, or of our church in particular. ‘ He added an appendix to the Charge, in anſwer to ‘ ſome authorities that had been produced from ancient writers, in favour of the independence of the ‘ church upon the ſtate; which, he ſays, he did the ‘ rather, becauſe he thought the peace both of church ‘ and ſtate more immediately concerned in it, and ‘ could not but apprehend miſchief coming to both, ‘ from a pretenſion ſo new among thoſe who call ‘ themſelves members of the church of England; a ‘ church, that has hitherto been as much diſtinguiſhed,

as

(2) College Regiſter.

(3) He had been his domeſtic chaplain ſeveral years, and Mr Wm. Whiſton was another. See their articles in this work.

to the true intereſts of the church of England in particular, and of religion in general. In 1710 he printed a ſpeech made in the houſe of lords, in ſupport of the ſecond article of the impeachment againſt Dr Sacheverell, for ſuggeſting and maintaining, that *the toleration granted by law is unreaſonable and unwarrantable*, &c (d). In 1710-11 he preached a ſermon before the houſe of lords, which gave ſo much diſtaſte that no motion was made in the houſe for paying him the uſual compliment of thanks. This occaſioned many miſrepreſentations of the ſermon, which made it neceſſary for him to publiſh it [*F*]; when it appeared to be a very temperate, wiſe, and reaſonable diſcourſe. He publiſhed ſeveral other occaſional ſermons [*G*]. Soon after the acceſſion of George I. (which he always eſpouſed) he was appointed clerk of the cloſet to his majeſty, in which office he continued to his death. In Auguſt 1721 he was tranſlated to the biſhopric of Wincheſter, and in the ſame year elected preſident of the corporation of the ſons of the clergy. Both theſe honours he enjoyed but a ſhort time. Having been in a weak and languiſhing ſtate of body for many years, he died at Farnham Caſtle, Auguſt 15, 1723, leaving no iſſue [*H*].

Mr

'as *it has been ſupported*, by rejecting that claim.'—In a ſermon preached in 1707, before the ſons of the clergy, he had expreſſed himſelf in as ſtrong a manner upon this ſubject: 'Let us take care, ſays he, 'that while we maintain the diſtinction and dignity 'of our order, we do not ſuffer ourſelves to be carried into a *ſeparate* intereſt from that of thoſe who 'are not of our order, or from that of the ſtate.—'For we cannot pretend to be a *ſeparate body* without 'making the *worſt kind of ſchiſm*, and the neareſt to 'that which is condemned in ſcripture that can be 'imagined: nor can any thing give greater advantage to thoſe other ſchiſms, that diſturb the peace 'of the church, than our dividing ourſelves, in any 'degree, from the true intereſt of that government 'to which we belong.'—In his Charge he cenſured a paſſage in favour of a proper ſacrifice, from Mr *John Johnſon*'s ſecond part of *The clergyman's vade mecum* (4), (in the note upon the ſecond apoſtolical canon) which Mr Johnſon defended in a poſtſcript to a pamphlet called, *The propitiatory oblation*. The biſhop replied in vindication of what he had ſaid on that ſubject; and afterwards inſerted the ſubſtance of his *reply* in the body of the ſecond edition of his Charge.

Beſides the opinions already mentioned, he declared himſelf againſt the modern practice of uſing the *bidding prayer* before ſermon, as not ſo agreeable to the nature of the ſervice; the long and general practice of the church; or the deſign of the 55th canon. And 'he obſerved from authority, that the '*biſhops* RAVIS *and* FLETCHER, *who drew up the* '*55th canon, always uſed a form of their own*; and 'that among the biſhop of Lincoln's [Williams] articles of enquiry at his viſitation in 1641 are theſe. '. . . . *Do you know of any parſon, vicar, or curate,* '——*that never pray before their ſermons, but* bid *the* '*people pray, or uſe* any other *new or extraordinary rite* '*or ceremony not warranted by law? You are to preſent* '*them.*'

At another viſitation in 1716, he delivered a circular letter to his clergy, the principal deſign of which was to remind them of the evident ſeaſonableneſs of the cautions he had before given them againſt particular opinions, newly revived; becauſe it appeared by the event, that they had in fact paved the way for ſuch an indifference to the grounds of the reformation, as to give life and ſpirit to the cauſe of a popiſh pretender, in whoſe favour a rebellion had been raiſed, which was juſt happily ſuppreſſed.

[*F*] *Made it neceſſary for him to publiſh it*] In the preface he declares, that the reader has it exactly as it was delivered, without any alteration, 'and I believe he will find, continues he, that there is no 'ground for thoſe characters, which have with ſo 'much liberty been fixed upon it.—I dare appeal to 'all that know me, that my whole conduct has been 'hitherto peaceable in itſelf, and reſpectful to my ſuperiors. The deſign of the diſcourſe is, to guard 'againſt the abuſe of power on one hand, or liberty 'on the other, and to ſhew that there is a common 'duty, which extends itſelf equally to thoſe who are 'in any kind of authority, and thoſe whoſe *lot* it is 'to be in ſubjection.' But though he ſpoke with the utmoſt abhorrence of the *baſeneſs and blackneſs* of the King's *murder*, and the confuſions that followed upon it, and of *the tyranny of a crafty and diſſembling uſurper*, this did not make ſufficient amends for what he ſaid in favour of the rights of the people, which was a topic very unſuitable to the politicks of thoſe who were *then* at the head of the public affairs. However, the reader will judge for himſelf, from the following extracts of ſuch paſſages in the ſermon as were thought the moſt exceptionable: 'The adviſers 'of ſupplying his majeſty's wants by ſome very extraordinary methods are generally condemned; becauſe, as they made liberty and property precarious, ſo they broke that confidence between prince 'and people, which ſhould always be moſt nicely 'preſerved, and opened a gap to all thoſe miſerable 'confuſions that afterwards followed. I ſpeak this 'the more freely, becauſe I have no notion of doing 'juſtice on one ſide, at the expence of injuſtice to 'the other; and becauſe the known, and beſt advocates for the royal cauſe have thought it incumbent 'on them to acknowledge, that theſe new ways were 'very wrong ſteps, and did naturally tend to create 'a public diſturbance.—As rulers ſhould not of themſelves ſtrain any points (viz. of authority) to the 'prejudice of the *whole*, ſo ſhould no one who pretends to regard them, put them upon it. For this 'is not only to the hurt of that conſtitution, to which 'they belong, but of the rulers themſelves, whoſe 'power they oftener deſtroy than advance, by taking it off from its proper foundation, the *love* by 'which they command the ſubject's obedience. I am 'ſure the perſons that have with great iniquity, *eſpecially of late*, been treated as the favourers of rebellion, have not ſo learned the chriſtian doctrine of 'obedience and patience. They have hitherto practiſed it with as great deference to her moſt excellent 'majeſty, and to all in authority under her, with as 'tender a regard to the whole conſtitution, and with 'as true a love to their country, as thoſe who are 'the forwardeſt to reproach them with any want of 'this kind. We ſhould think of the things that 'make for our true peace . . . and theſe, by the grace 'of God, we ſhould find, if . . . . we endeavoured 'truly to anſwer the humiliation enjoined on this 'black and ſorrowful day; a day to be had in ſad 'and laſting remembrance of *all*, and to be obſerved 'by a general repentance, with a particular amendment of thoſe, who are conſcious to themſelves of 'the want of any due regard to the authority of the 'prince, or the rights of the people, from a love of 'arbitrary power in the one, or faction in the other.'

[*G*] *He publiſhed ſeveral other ſermons.*] Namely, 1. *On the Huntingdonſhire feaſt*, 1697. 2. *On the thankſgiving for the peace of* Ryſwick. 3. *On the thankſgiving for the victory of* Blenheim, 1704. 4. *Before the ſons of the clergy*, 1707. 5. *Faſt ſermon before the houſe of commons*, 1707. 6. *Charity ſermon at Norwich*, 1708. 7. *Farewell ſermon at St James's Weſtminſter*, 1708. 8. *On the thankſgiving for our ſucceſſes, before the houſe of lords*, 1708. 9. *Before the ſociety for the propagation of the goſpel*, &c. 1709. 10. *A ſpital ſermon, before my lord mayor*, &c. 1710. 11. *A collection ſermon, at Tunbridge Wells*, 1711. 12. *Before the ſociety for reformation of manners*, 1711. 13. *A ſpital ſermon*, 1715. 14. *A collection ſermon, at Tunbridge Wells*, 1715.

[*H*] *Leaving no iſſue.*] His lordſhip was twice married. By his firſt wife *Henrietta Maria*, daughter of Dr William Talbot, then biſhop of Oxford, and afterwards of Durham, he had two ſons, who died in their infancy. She died in 1716; and in 1718-19 he

married

(d) See the trial of Sacheverell in the State Trials.

(4) See his article in the Supplement.

Mr archdeacon Stephens, rector of Drokinford in Hampſhire, preached his funeral ſermon [*I*] in the cathedral church of Wincheſter, where he lies buried under a plain ſtone of black marble, with an inſcription [*K*]. By the particular direction of his will, he was interred near the tomb of *William of Wykeham*, the munificent founder of the two colleges from which his father and brothers, as well as himſelf, had received their education; on which account he took all occaſions of expreſſing the moſt grateful and affectionate concern for the proſperity of thoſe noble foundations. He was indeed, what biſhop Burnet ſays of him, a worthy perſon in all reſpects (*e*). He had a very ſerious and devout turn of mind, and performed the duty of every ſtation with the greateſt exactneſs, notwithſtanding the weakneſs of a conſtitution broken in the early part of life by long and frequent faſtings, and too diligent an application to his ſtudies; but this had no effect upon his mind, which was calm and compoſed at all times; the uneaſineſs he ſuffered from an ill habit of body never made him uneaſy to others. He was of a very affectionate, meek, and gentle nature; and though he had a good deal of warmth in his temper, he ſubdued it ſo effectually by reflection and habit, that he was hardly ever ſeen in a paſſion, but behaved in all the private as well as public circumſtances of life, with great moderation and firmneſs of ſpirit. He was a lover of peace and order both from judgment and inclination; and being a moſt ſincere friend to the church of England, he conſtantly avowed thoſe principles of toleration and indulgence, which make that church the glory of the reformation. There are letters extant, by which it appears that he was very diligent in examining the arguments on both ſides before he took the oaths to King William and Queen Mary, which he religiouſly obſerved by a ſteady and uniform attachment to the *revolution intereſt* as long as he lived. No man ever ſupported the character of a biſhop with greater dignity and authority, and yet no one was ever more beloved by the clergy of both his dioceſes; for he was very courteous and obliging, and eaſy of acceſs to all, and had a ſtrict regard to thoſe parts of behaviour which are moſt ſuitable to a profeſſor of a miniſter of the goſpel. His rebukes were conveyed in few words, and thoſe delivered with a ſort of uneaſineſs for the neceſſity of them; but although they were few, and *ſmoother than oil*, yet were they *very ſwords*; for to an underſtanding heart, they ſeemed to receive an aggravation of anger from that very meekneſs which endeavoured to ſoften them. He was of a temper incapable of ſolliciting favours for himſelf, or his *neareſt* friends, though he had the tendereſt affection for them. He was very much diſpleaſed at the appearance of an importunate application in others, and always avoided it in his own conduct: and notwithſtanding all his relations have proſpered very much in the world *by his means*, their ſucceſs has been owing rather to the credit and influence of his character, than any direct applications made by him. The nobleneſs of his mind appeared, as by many other inſtances, ſo eſpecially in his candour and generoſity of ſpirit, and contempt of money; of which he left ſo many marks in every place where he lived, that he had neither ability nor occaſion to perpetuate his memory by any poſthumous charities. He did not conſider his revenue as deſigned for the private advantage of a family; but as a truſt

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(*e*) Hiſtory of his Own Times. Vol. I. p. 488.

married Mrs *Eliz. Taylor*, widow of Joſeph Taylor of the Temple, Eſq; and ſiſter of Sir Rowland Wynne, of Noſtell in Yorkſhire, Bart. who ſurvived him.

[*I*] *Archdeacon Stephens preached his funeral ſermon.*] This gentleman, from whoſe ſermon I have borrowed two or three paſſages, ſays further of him, that, 'he had a certain elegance and delicacy of taſte, which paſſed into every part of his life;' that, 'he had a quick inſight into men, and preſently diſcovered the reigning paſſion; yet no man ever beheld the follies of others with more candour and with leſs pride;'—that 'he was eaſy in his carriage, ſoft in his addreſs, and calm in his authority;—wiſe without the affectation of cunning; complaiſant without the baſeneſs of flattery; reſerved without moroſeneſs of temper; cloſe without ambiguity of ſpeech; and great without the noiſe of greatneſs.'

[*K*] *Buried under a plain ſtone with an inſcription upon it.*] The inſcription runs thus:

M. S.
CAROLI TRIMNELL, S. T. P.
Primum Norvicenſis,
Dein Wintonienſis epiſcopi,
Utriuſque dioceſeos clero
Deſideratiſſimi.
Fuit enim
Epiſcopus (ſi quis alius) ad apoſtoli normam rite compoſitus
Ore, habitu, geſtu, ac ſermone κοσμιος
In excipiendis omnibus φιλόξενος
In moderando clero επιεικὴς
Et quam fuit αφιλάργυρος
Teſtantur
Ædes utriuſq; ſedis epiſcopales,
Sumptibus ipſius haud exiguis reparatæ,
Et elegantiores redditæ.
Is denique fuit
Quem eccleſia habuit integerrimum antiſtitem,
Qui clerum et populum ſibi commiſſum
Exemplo duxit.
Eruditione edocuit,
Dignitate rexit,
Et humanitate conciliavit:
Quem reſ-publica ſimul experta eſt fidiſſimum optimatem,
In diſſimilibus rerum ac temporum vicibus
Eundem, et ſui ſimilem,
Libertatis patriæ, et ſalutis publicæ.
Animo, conſilio, opere,
Indefeſſum fautorem:
Quem in vicina Wiccami ſchola inſtitutum
Wiccamici ſui læti exceperunt,
Ut quæ collegia ornaverat alumnus
Ea patrocinio ſuo foveret epiſcopus:
Sub nudo denique hoc marmore
Poſthabita ſolennioris ſepulchri pompa
Hic juxta fundatorem ſuum tumulari
Teſtamento curavit.
Obiit XV *die Auguſti*
Anno *Æræ chriſtianæ* MDCCXXIII
Ætatis ſexageſimo
Epiſcopatus decimo ſexto
Tranſlationis ſecundo.

or ſtewardſhip that was to be employed for the honour of his ſtation, the maintenance of hoſpitality, the relief of the poor, the promoting a good example amongſt his clergy, and the general encouragement of religion and learning. He was not leſs qualified for his high ſtation by his abilities than his conduct; for he had an excellent turn for buſineſs, and a quick apprehenſion. He was very well verſed in the divinity controverſies, and immediately diſcerned the point on which the diſpute turned, and pared off all the luxuriances of writing. He had read the ancients with great exactneſs, and, without quoting, often mingled their fineſt notions with his own diſcourſe, and had a particular eaſineſs and beauty in his manner of converſing, and expreſſing his ſentiments upon every occaſion. With his other excellencies, he had acquired a thorough knowledge of mankind; which being adorned by an affable and polite behaviour, gained him the general eſteem of the nobility and gentry. His known penetration and judgment recommended him ſo ſtrongly to the favour and confidence of thoſe who were at the head of affairs in the latter part of his life, that he was chiefly, if not ſolely adviſed with, and entruſted by them in matters which related to the filling up the principal offices in the church: and though he enjoyed as much of this power as any clergyman has had ſince the reformation, he raiſed no public odium or enmity againſt himſelf on that account, becauſe his ſilence, moderation, and prudence made it impoſſible for any one to diſcover the influence he had, from his converſation or conduct; a circumſtance almoſt peculiar to him. He was too wiſe a man to increaſe the envy, which naturally attends power, by an inſolent and haughty behaviour, and too good a man to encourage any one with falſe hopes; for he was as cautious in making promiſes, as he was juſt in performing them; and always endeavoured to ſoften the diſapppintments of thoſe he could not gratify, by the good nature and humanity with which he treated them. Theſe *ſeparate* characters (rarely blended together) of an excellent ſcholar, and a polite well-bred man; a wiſe and honeſt ſtateſman, and a devout exemplary chriſtian, were all happily reconciled in this moſt amiable perſon, and placed him ſo high in the opinion of the world, that no one ever paſſed through life with more eſteem and regard from men of all diſpoſitions, parties, and denominations (f).

(f) Stephens's Sermon.

V.

VERTUE [George], an eminent engraver on copper plates, and a diligent collector of antiquities relating to that art, deſerves to be recorded both for the diſtinguiſhed induſtry of his hand, as alſo for the amiable ſincerity and integrity of his heart, as appears from the enſuing account, drawn from his own memoirs, in which the higheſt praiſe he ventures to aſſume is founded in his induſtry. How many men, in a higher ſphere, have thought that ſingle quality conferred many ſhining others; the world too has been ſo complaiſant as to allow their pretenſions. *Vertue* thought the labour of his hands was but labour. The Scaligers, and ſuch book-wights, have miſtaken the drudgery of their eyes for parts and abilities; nay, have ſuppoſed it beſtowed wit, while it only ſwelled their arrogance and unchained their ill-nature. How contemptibly would ſuch men have ſmiled at a ploughman, who maintained himſelf authoriſed to abuſe others, becauſe he had turned up more acres of ground, and yet he would have toiled with more advantage to mankind.

George Vertue was born in the pariſh of St Martin's in the Fields, London, in 1684. His parents, he ſays, were more honeſt than opulent (*a*); if vanity had entered into his compoſition, he might have obſerved the antiquity of his race; two of his name were employed by Henry VIII. in the *board of works*; but I forget, a family is not antient, if none of the blood were above the rank of ingenious men two hundred years ago.

About the age of thirteen, he was placed with a maſter who engraved arms in plate, and had the chief buſineſs in London, but who being extravagant, broke, and returned to his country, France, after Vertue had ſerved him between three and four years: as the man miſcarried, though by his own fault, the good-nature of the ſcholar has concealed his name. As it is proper the republic of letters ſhould be acquainted with the minuteſt circumſtances of a renowned author, I queſtion if Scaliger would have been ſo tender.

Returned to his parents, Vertue gave himſelf intirely to the ſtudy of drawing for two years, and then entered into an agreement with Michael Vandergucht for three more, which term he protracted to ſeven, engraving copper plates for him, when having received inſtructions and advice from ſeveral printers, he quitted his maſter on handſome terms, and began to work for himſelf: this was in 1709. The firſt twelve-month was paſſed in drawing engravings for books. The art was then at the loweſt ebb in England, the beſt performers were worn out, and the war with France ſhut the door againſt recruits; not only acrimony, and the animoſity of faction, diverted public attention from the common arts of amuſement. At that period the young ſcholar was recommended to Sir *Godfrey Kneller*, whoſe reputation, riches, parts, and acquaintance with the firſt men in England, ſupported what little taſte was left for *virtù*, and could ſtamp a character wherever he deigned the preference: my author mentions with dutiful ſenſibility, what joy this important protection gave his father, who had his education warmly at heart, and who dying ſoon after left a widow and ſeveral children to be ſupported by our ſcarce fledged adventurer; his own words ſhall tell how he felt his ſituation, how little the falſe colours of vanity gave a ſhining appearance to the morning of his fortune: '*I was*, ſays he, the eldeſt, and the only one that could help them, which added circumſpection to my affairs then, as well as induſtry to the end of my life.'

In the intervals of leiſure he practiſed drawing and muſic, learned French, and a little Italian; it appears, that he afterwards acquired Dutch; he ever conſulted in the originals, all that had been written in thoſe three languages on the art to which he was devoted.

His works began to draw attention, and he found more illuſtrious patrons than Kneller. Lord *Somers* employed him to engrave a plate of archbiſhop Tillotſon, and rewarded him nobly: the print will ſpeak for itſelf. It was the ground-work of his reputation, and deſerved to be ſo; nothing like it had appeared for ſome years, nor at the hour of its production had he any competitors. *Edelinck* was dead in France, *White* in England, *Van Gunſt* in Holland. *It ſeems*, ſays he himſelf, *as if the ball of fortune was toſſed up to be a prize only for Vertue.* One cannot attribute ſucceſs to a lower art, than to aſcribe it to accident; the compariſon is at once modeſt and ingenious. Shade of Scaliger, which of your works owed its glory to a dearth of genius among your cotemporaries?

In 1711 an academy of painting was inſtituted by the chief performers in London; Sir Godfrey Kneller was placed at the head; Vertue was one of the firſt members, and

(*a*) His father was by trade a taylor, and on his firſt coming to England worked at that buſineſs with the king's taylor; communicated by our author's widow.

drew there for ſeveral years. To the end of that reign he continued to engrave portraits from Kneller, Dahl, Richardſon, Jervaſe, Gibſon, and others.

On the acceſſion of the preſent royal family, he publiſhed a large head of the King from a painting by Kneller: as it was the firſt portrait of his majeſty many thouſand were ſold, though by no means a laborious or valuable performance; however it was ſhewn at court, and was followed by thoſe of the prince and princeſs; all concurred to extend his buſineſs. In any receſs from that he practiſed in water colours, ſometimes attempting portraits; oftener copying from antient and curious pieces, which he purpoſed to engrave. As early as 1713 he commenced his reſearches after the lives of our artiſts, and began his collection; to which he added prints by the former maſters, and every thing that could tend to his great work, the hiſtory of the arts of England. Wherever he met with portraits of the performers, he ſpared no pains in taking copies. His journies over England were with the ſame view, which are noted in the courſe of his life. Theſe travels were aſſiduouſly employed in making actual *gueſſes*, obſervations, and memorandums of all he ſaw.

His thirſt after Britiſh antiquities ſoon led him to a *congenial Mecænas.* That munificent collector *Robert Harley*, ſecond *earl of Oxford*, early diſtinguiſhed the merit and application of *Vertue.* The univerſal gratitude of the latter, expreſſed on all occaſions, imply the bounty of the patron. *The earl's generous and unparalelled encouragement of my undertakings, by promoting my ſtudious endeavours*, ſays he, *gave me great reputation and advantage over all other profeſſors of the ſame art in England.* Another leſſon of humility: how ſeldom is fame aſcribed by the poſſeſſor to the countenance of others! the want of it is complained of. Here is an inſtance, perhaps a ſingular inſtance, where the influence is acknowledged after the death of the benefactor.

Another patron was *Heneage Finch, earl* of *Winchelſea* (who died in 1726) whoſe picture he painted and engraved, and who being preſident of the ſociety of antiquaries on their revival in 1717, appointed Vertue, who was a member, engraver to it. The prints publiſhed by that ſociety from curious remains, were moſt of them by his hand as long as he lived, are a valuable monument, and will be evidences that *that* body is not uſeleſs in the learned world. The univerſity of Oxford for many years employed him to engrave their almanacks; inſtead of inſipid emblems and devices, of no longer duration than what they adorned, he introduced views of public buildings and hiſtoric events: for he ſeldom reaped benefit from the public, without repaying it with information.

Henry Hare, the laſt *lord Coleraine*, an antiquary and collector as his grandfather had been, is numbered by Vertue among his protectors. His travels were dignified by copying for this lord, who bore the expence, which would have debarred him from viſiting many objects of his curioſity if at his own charge; and he made their journies more delightful by explaining, taking draughts, and keeping a regiſter of what he ſaw. This was the caſe in a journey he took with *lord Colerain* to *Saliſbury*, *Wilton*, and *Stonehenge*; of the latter he made ſeveral views. *Wilton* he probably ſaw with only Engliſh eyes: amid legions of warriors and emperors, he ſought *Vandyck* and *Rubens*, *Holben* and *Inigo Jones.* An antique and modern *virtuoſo*, might inhabit that palace of arts and never *interfere*; an antient indeed would be a little ſurpriſed, to find ſo many of his acquaintance new baptized. Earl Thomas did not, like the popes, convert pagan chiefs into chriſtians; but many an emperor acts the part at Wilton of ſcarcer Cæſars.

In 1726 Vertue, with *Stephens* the hiſtoriographer, viſited St Albans or Verulam, and Gorhambery; at the latter, he made a drawing from a picture of Sir *Francis Bacon.*

Great part of his time was employed for lord Oxford, for whom he engraved portraits of *Prior*, Sir *Hugh Middleton*, &c. for the *duke of Montague*, he did Sir *Ralph Winwood*; for Sir *Paul Methuen*, *Cortez*, archbiſhop *Warham* from Holben's original at Lambeth; and for lord *Burlington*, *Zucchero's Queen of Scots.*

His prints growing numerous, many perſons were deſirous of having a complete collection, he made up ſets for Sir *Thomas Frankland*, Mr *Weſt*, lord *Oxford*; for the laſt in three large volumes, carried down to 1741, and ſold after the late lord's death to the late earl of Aileſbury for fifty guineas.

In 1727 he went to Wimpole for a week, and thence made a tour with lord Oxford, for ſix weeks more, to *Stamford*, *Burleigh*, *Grantham*, *Lincoln*, and *Welbeck*, one of the ancient ſeats of the *counteſs* of Oxford; where, after the earl's death, ſhe aſſembled the portraits of her anceſtors to a prodigious number of years, of many an illuſtrious race. Thence they paſſed to Chatſworth and York, where Vertue had the pleaſure of converſing with *Francis Place*, who had been intimate with *Hollar*; trifling circumſtances to thoſe who did not feel what Vertue felt. Vertue drew up an account of his progreſs, and preſented it to his patron.

For ſome years his ſtages were marked by noble encouragement, and by opportunities of purſuing his favourite erudition; he was invited whither he would have wiſhed to make pilgrimages; for the love of antiquity is a kind of devotion, and Vertue had different ſets of ſaints. In 1728 the *duke of Dorſet* called him to Knowle. Humble before his ſuperiors, one conceives how his reſpect was heightened at the entering of ſo venerable a pile, realizing to his eyes the ſcenes of many a waking viſion. Here he drew ſeveral of the poets. But he was on fairy ground; Arcadia was on the confines; could he reſiſt an

excurſion

excurſion to Penſhurſt? One may judge how high his enthuſiaſm had been wrought, by the mortification he expreſſes at not finding there a portrait of Sir *Philip* Sydney.

In 1730 appeared his twelve heads of poets, one of his capital works. Though poetry was but a ſiſter art, he treated her with the affection of a relation; he had collected many notes touching the profeſſors, and here and there in his MSS. are ſome ſlight attempts of his own, but he was of too timid and correct a nature to ſoar where fancy only guides; truth was his province, and he had a felicity uncommon to antiquaries, he never ſuffered his imagination to lend him eyes; where he could not diſcover, he never ſupplied.

After his poets, of which he propoſed to enlarge the ſeries, it was his purpoſe to give ſets or claſſes of other eminent men. This was the firſt idea of illuſtrious heads, a hint afterwards adopted by others, and at laſt taken out of *his* hands, who was beſt furniſhed with materials for ſuch a work: ſome branches he executed himſelf with deſerved applauſe.

About this time he went again to *Oxford*, copied ſome original paintings, and took an account of what portraits they have of founders and benefactors, and where depoſited. Thence to *Glouceſter*, to draw the monument of Edward II, having for ſome years been collecting and making drawings of our Kings from images, miniatures, or oil paintings; a work ſoon after unexpectedly called forth. In his return, he ſtopt at *Burford* to view the family of Sir *Thomas More*, and viſited *Ditchley* and *Blenheim*. His next tour was to *Cambridge*, where he had been privately engaged to draw by ſtealth the portrait of old Mr Thomas Baker, of St John's college, then an eminent antiquary, earlier in his life the modeſt author of that ingenious and poliſhed little book, *Reflections upon learning*.

Vertue's next conſiderable production was the heads of Charles I, and the loyal ſufferers in his cauſe, with their characters ſubjoined from *Clarendon*: but this ſcarce was finiſhed, before appeared *Rapin's Hiſtory of England*; *a work*, ſays he, *that had a prodigious run, eſpecially after tranſlating, inſomuch that it became all the converſation of the town and country.* The noiſe being heightened by oppoſition and party, it was propoſed to publiſh it in folio by numbers. Thouſands were ſold every week. The two brothers, *Knaptons*, engaged Vertue to accompany it with figures of Kings, and ſuitable decorations: this undertaking employed him for three years. A fair copy, richly bound, he preſented to Frederick prince of Wales at Kenſington. A volume of his beſt works he gave to the Bodleian library.

In 1734 he renewed his journies about England with *Roger Gale*, the antiquary; they went to *St Albans*, *Northampton*, and *Warwick*. In 1737 the earl of Leiceſter carried him to *Penſhurſt*; and at the end of the ſame year, lord Oxford took him again to *Oxford*, to *Compton Verney*, the ſeat of the maſter of the rolls, to *Warwick*, *Coventry*, and *Birmingham*, and to lord *Digby*'s at *Coleſhill*, to view the curious picture of Queen Elizabeth's proceſſion, ſince removed by the late lord to Sherborn Caſtle in Dorſetſhire. They returned by *Stratford* (Vertue did not want for devotion to Shakeſpear) by Mr *Sheldon*'s at *Weſton*, where there are a few curious pictures; they ſaw *Blenheim* and Mr *Waller*'s at *Beconsfield*. Next year he went into Hertfordſhire, to verify his ideas about *Hunſdon*, the ſubject, as he thought, of Queen Elizabeth's progreſs; the old lord Digby, who, from tradition, believed it the Queen's proceſſion to St Paul's, after the deſtruction of the armada, was diſpleaſed with Vertue's new hypotheſis. The ſame year he ſaw Windſor, and Topham's collection of drawings at Eton.

He next engaged with the Knaptons to engrave ſome of the illuſtrious heads, the greater part of which were executed by *Houbraken*, and undoubtedly ſurpaſſed thoſe of Vertue, yet his performances deſerve not to be contemned, as they were by the undertakers, and the performer laid aſide. Some of Houbraken's were careleſsly done, eſpecially of the moderns; but Vertue had a fault to dealers, which was a merit to the public, his ſcrupulous veracity could not digeſt imaginary portraits, as are ſome of thoſe engraved by Houbraken; who living in Holland, ignorant of our hiſtory, and uninquiſitive into the truth of what was tranſmitted to him, engraved whatever was ſent. I ſhall mention two inſtances; the heads of Carr earl of Somerſet and ſecretary Thurloe are not only not genuine, but have not the leaſt reſemblance to the perſons they pretend to repreſent. Vertue was incommode, he loved truth.

Towards the end of 1738 he made another tour with lord Oxford through *Kent* and *Suſſex*; viſited *Rocheſter*, *Canterbury*, *Chicheſter*, *Portſmouth*, *Southampton*, and *Wincheſter*; and the principal ſeats, as *Petworth*, *Goodwood*, *Stanſted*, and *Cowdray*; this laſt alone worth an antiquary's journey. Of all he made various ſketches and notes, always preſenting a duplicate of his obſervations to lord Oxford.

He had yet another purſuit which I have not mentioned; no man had ſtudied Engliſh coins more; and part of his reſearches have appeared in his account of the two *Simons*.

He ſtill wanted to viſit the Eaſt of England. In 1739 his wiſh was gratified, lord Coleraine, who had an eſtate at Walpole, on the borders of Norfolk, in Lincolnſhire, carried him by Wanſted, Mouſham, Goſfield, Edmondſbury, Sir Andrew Fountain's, and Houghton, to Lynn, and thence to Walpole; in which circuit they ſaw many churches, and other ſeats.

In 1740 he publiſhed propoſals for the commencement of a very valuable work, his *hiſtoric prints*, drawn with *extreme* labour and fidelity, and executed in a moſt ſatiſfactory manner. Queen Elizabeth's progreſs he copied exactly in water colours for lord Oxford, who was ſo pleaſed with it, that he ſent Vertue and his wife a preſent of ſixty ounces of plate. But thus arrived at the ſummit of his modeſt wiſhes, that is rewarded for illuſtrating Engliſh hiſtory, his happineſs was ſuddenly daſhed, he loſt his noble friend the earl, who died June 1741. *Death*, ſays he emphatically, *removed one that had been the ſupport, cheriſher, and comfort of many others, who are left to lament, but none more heartily than Vertue!* So ſtruck was the poor man with this ſignal misfortune, that for two years there is an *hiatus* in his ſtory, he had not ſpirits even to be minute.

In 1743 he was a little revived, by acquiring the honour of the *duke of Norfolk*'s notice, for whom he engraved the large plate of the *earl of Arundel* and his family. For his grace too he collected two volumes of the works of *Hollar*, chiefly of thoſe engraved from the Arundel collection; and having formed another curious volume of drawings, from portraits, monuments, pedigrees, *&c.* of the houſe of Howard, the duke made him a preſent of a bank note of 100 *l.*

His merit and modeſty ſtill raiſed him friends. The *counteſs dowager of Oxford* alleviated his loſs of her lord; their daughter, the *dutcheſs of Portland*, he mentions with equal gratitude; the late *duke of Richmond* and *lord Burlington* did not forget him, among the artiſts they patronized. But in 1749 he found yet a more exalted protector; the late prince of Wales ſent for him, and finding him maſter of whatever related to Engliſh antiquities, and particularly converſant in the hiſtory of King Charles the Firſt's collection, which his royal highneſs wiſhed as far as poſſible to reaſſemble, he often had the honour of attending the prince, was ſhewn his pictures by himſelf, and accompanied him to the royal palaces, and was much employed in collecting prints for him, and taking catalogues, and ſold him many of his own miniatures and prints.

He had now reaſon to flatter himſelf with permanent fortune; he ſaw his fate linked with the revival of the arts he loved; he was uſeful to a prince who trod in the ſteps of the accompliſhed Charles; no Hugh Peters threatened a havock to the growing collection, but a ſilent and unexpected foe drew a veil over this ſcene of comfort, as it had over the former. *Touched yet ſubmiſſive*, he ſays, after painting the prince's qualifications, and the hopes that his country had received of him, *but alas!* mors ultima rerum! *O God, thy will be done. Unhappy day*, Wedneſday March 20, 1751. His trembling hand inſerted a few more memorandums of prints he engraved, and then he concludes his memoirs in melancholy and disjointed ſentences: thus—obſervations on my indifferent health, and weakneſs of ſight increaſing, and loſs of noble friends, and the encouragement from them leſs and leſs daily this year,—and worſe in appearance begins with 1752.

He loſt his friends, but his piety, mildneſs, and ingenuity never forſook him; he laboured almoſt to the laſt, ſollicitous to leave a decent competency to his wife, with whom he had lived many years in tender harmony. His volumes of the works of Hollar, I have mentioned here and elſewhere, and the reſt of his works, will appear in the enſuing liſt [*A*].

He died July 24, 1756, and was buried in the Cloiſters of Weſtminſter Abbey, on the 30th following, with this epitaph.

Here lies the body of GEORGE VERTUE,
Late engraver,
And fellow of the ſociety of antiquaries.
He was born in London, 1684,
And departed this life on the 24th of July, 1756.

With manners gentle, and a grateful heart,
And all the genius of the graphic art;
His fame will each ſucceeding artiſt own,
Longer by far than monuments of ſtone.

[*A*] *The liſt of his works.*] This liſt is much too long to find room here. It conſiſts of above 500 articles diſtributed into claſſes; containing, 1. Royal portraits. 2. Noblemen. 3. Noble women. 4. Biſhops. 5. Clergymen. 6. Chancellors, judges, and lawyers. 7. Miniſters and gentlemen. 8. Phyſicians, &c. 9. Founders, benefactors, &c. 10. Antiquaries, authors, mathematicians. 11. Poets and muſicians. 12. Foreigners. 13. Hiſtoric prints with two or more portraits. 14. Tombs. 15. Plans, views, churches, buildings, &c. 16. Coins, medals, buſts, ſeals, charters, gems, and ſhells. 17. Frontiſpieces, head and tail pieces. 18. Miſcellaneous. Beſides many plates for the ſociety of antiquaries, publiſhed in their two volumes; and a ſeries of Oxford almanacks for ſeveral years; and perhaps ſome plates which have not, ſays my author, come to my knowledge. His collection of books, prints, miniatures, and drawings being ſet to ſale May 17, 1757, lord Beſborough bought there his copies in water colours of England, as I did, continues Mr Walpole, a large piece of Philip and Mary, from the original at Woburn, which he intended for his ſeries of his hiſtoric prints. There too I purchaſed his drawings taken from Holbein, and ſince his death, the beſt piece he ever painted, a ſmall whole length of the Queen of Scots in water colours. The firſt print he publiſhed was a ſmall head of the ducheſs of Marlborough, the rat-catcher's head from *Veſche* his ſecond. Theſe were followed by Zephyrus in the clouds, with two Engliſh verſes; William prince of Orange from *Vandyke*, ſmall half length mezzotinto; a ſleeping Venus with three Cupids and a Satyr, from *Coypel.* His beſt pieces were Mary Queen of Scots, from Dr Mead's original; archbiſhop Parker with books before him; archbiſhop Tillotſon ſitting in a velvet chair; William Lloyd biſhop of Worceſter ſitting in a chair in his library, one of his moſt capital works (1).

(1) Alſo Sir Joſ. Jekyl ſitting in a chair, and John Verney, maſter of the rolls.

Two

Two other friends, not better poets indeed, inſerted the following lines in the news papers.

Proud artiſt, ceaſe thoſe deeds to paint in ſtone,
Which far above the praiſe of men have ſhone;
Why ſhould your ſkill ſo vainly thus be ſpent,
For Vertue ne'er can need a monument.

Another.

Troubled in mind, and preſs'd with grievous ſmart,
Her happy manſions left the graphic art
And thus to ſcience ſpoke: What can it be?
Is famous Vertue dead? Then ſo are we.

Theſe are well meant hyperboles on a man who never uſed any. He was ſimple, modeſt, and ſcrupulous; ſo ſcrupulous that it gave a particular ſlowneſs to his delivery; he never uttered his opinion haſtily, nor haſtily conſented to that of others; he grudged no time, no induſtry to inform himſelf; he thought they might beſtow a litle too of what he wiſhed to know; ambitious to diſtinguiſh himſelf, he took but one method, application; acquainted with all the arts practiſed by his profeſſion, to uſher their productions to the public, he made uſe of none; he only lamented he did not deſerve ſucceſs, or if he miſſed it, when deſerved, it was ſome merit that carried ſuch baſhful integrity as far as it did go.

He was a ſtrict Roman Catholic; yet even thoſe principles could not warp his attachment to his art, nor prevent his making it ſubſervient to the glory of his county. His partiality to Charles I. did not indeed claſh much with his religion; but he has preſerved more monuments of Queen Elizabeth. Whatever related to her ſtory he treated with a patriot fondneſs; her heroes was his. His were the firſt thought of engraving the tapeſtry in the houſe of lords; his the project of giving a ſeries of proteſtant biſhops; for his candour could reconcile toleration and popery. He had a brother John Vertue, from whoſe drawing George engraved the inſide of the abbey church at Bath.

The length of this account, I flatter myſelf, concludes Mr Walpole, will be excuſed, as it contains a few particulars which are not foreign to the ſubject (*b*), and which concomitantly illuſtrate the hiſtory of arts.

(*b*) The account is ſubjoined to a catalogue of engravers, edit. 1763. quarto. Chiefly taken from Mr Vertue's MSS. purchaſed by Mr Walpole.

W.

WAGSTAFFE [Thomas], an eminent divine and writer among the Nonjurors, was deſcended of a gentleman's family in Warwickſhire, and born Feb. 15, 1645. He received the firſt part of his education under Mr Wood, at the Charter-houſe ſchool, from whence he was ſent to Oxford, and admitted commoner of New-Inn hall in 1660 (*a*). Proſecuting the academical ſtudies with a commendable diligence, he took the degree of A. B. October 15, 1664, and commenced A. M. June 20, 1667 (*b*). As ſoon as he arrived at the canonical age, he entered into holy orders, being ordained Deacon by Dr John Hacket, Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, June 6, 1669, and prieſt by Dr Joſeph Henſhaw, Biſhop of Peterborough, on the 19th of November following, and was inſtituted by his Lordſhip the ſame day to the rectory of Martins-thorp, in the county of Rutland. Afterwards he lived as chaplain in the family of Sir Richard Stow, in Buckinghamſhire, and April 12, 1676, entered upon the curacy of that church. On December 6, 1684, King Charles II. collated him to the Chancellorſhip of the church of Litchfield, together with the Prebend of Alderwas, in the ſame church, into which he was inſtituted by Archbiſhop Sancroft; and on the fourth of March following, he was preſented by Henry Compton, Biſhop of London, to the rectory of St Margaret Pattens, in that city (*c*). He held theſe benefices till the revolution in 1688 [*A*], when he was deprived of all his preferments for not taking the new oaths. After which he practiſed phyſic many years in London with good ſucceſs, wearing his clergyman's gown all the while, and February 23, 1693, he was conſecrated Biſhop, by Lloyd, Turner, and White, the deprived Biſhops of Norwich, Ely, and Peterborough (*d*). He profeſſed this title to his death, which happened October 17, 1712, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, after having given many proofs of good parts and learning. He publiſhed many pieces in defence of the conſtitution, both in church and ſtate, according to the Nonjuring ſyſtem [*B*]. He was qualified to detect and expoſe the ſophiſtry of his adverſaries. With great zeal, and

(*a*) Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 1126, and Gen. Dict. from the information of Nicholas Salmon, LL. B.

(*b*) Faſti Oxon. vol. ii col. 158. and 169.

(*c*) Ant. Wood ſays he was rector of the united pariſhes of St Margaret Pattens and St Gabriel, Fenchurch-ſtreet. Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*d*) The ceremony was performed at the Biſhop of Peterborough's lodgings, at the Rev. Mr Giffard's houſe in Southgate, where Henry Earl of Clarendon was preſent. Mr Wagſtaffe was conſecrated ſuffragan of Ipſwich, and Dr Hickes at the ſame time ſuffragan of Thetford.

[*A*] *He held theſe preferments till the revolution.*] During which time he printed the following ſermons, 1. A ſermon preached at Stow in Bucks, Sept. 9, 1683, on Prov. i. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15, Lond. 1683. 2. A ſermon preached at Guildhall, Nov. 23, 1684, 1 Cor. viii. 12. Lond. 1685. 3. A ſermon preached at St Margaret Pattens, July 26, 1685, on 1 Kings, i. 5. 4. A ſermon preached at St Mary Le Bow, Nov. 24, 1687, on 1 Pet. iii. 8. Lond. 1688.

[*B*] *According to the Nonjuring ſyſtem.*] Theſe are, 1. *A letter to the author of the late letter from the country, occaſioned by a former letter to a member of the Houſe of Commons, concerning the Biſhops lately in the Tower, and now under ſuſpenſion.* 2. *An anſwer to the late pamphlet intituled* Obedience and ſubmiſſion to the preſent government, demonſtrated from Bp Overal's convocation book. *With a poſtſcript in anſwer to Dr Sherlock's caſe of allegiance,* &c. Lond. 1690. 3. *An anſwer to Dr Sherlock's Vindication of the caſe of allegiance due to ſovereign powers, which he made in reply to an anſwer to a late pamphlet, intituled,* Obedience and ſubmiſſion to the preſent government, demonſtrated from Biſhop Overall's convocation book, with a poſtſcript in anſwer to Dr Sherlock's caſe of allegiance, &c. Lond. 1692. 4. *An anſwer to a letter to Dr Sherlock, written in vindication of that part of Joſephus's hiſtory, which gives an account of Juddas's ſubmiſſion to Alexander againſt the anſwer to the piece, intituled,* Obedience and ſubmiſſion to the preſent government, Lond. 1692. 5. *A letter out of Suffolk to a friend in London, giving ſome account of the late ſickneſs and death of Dr William Sancroft, late Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury,* 1694. 6. *A letter out of Lancaſhire to a friend in London, giving ſome account of the trials there; together with ſome ſeaſonable and proper remarks upon it; recommended to the wiſdom of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in parliament,* Lond. 1694. 7. *A letter to a gentleman elected Knt. of the ſhire in the preſent parliament,* Lond. 1694. 8. *Remarks on ſome late ſermons, and in particular on Dr Sherlock's ſermon at the Temple, Dec.* 30, 1694, *in a letter to a friend,* the ſecond edition, with additions; *Together with a letter to the author of a pamphlet, intituled,* A defence of the Archbiſhop's ſermon, &c. *and ſeveral other ſermons, &c.* Lond. 1695. 9. *An account of the proceedings in the Houſe of Commons, in relation to the retaining the clipt money, and falling the price of guineas; together with a particular liſt of the names of thoſe members conſenting and diſſenting, in anſwer to a letter out of the country,* Lond. 1696. 10. *The preſent ſtate of jacobitiſm in England,* Lond. 1702; *the ſecond part, in anſwer to the firſt.* The firſt was written by the Biſhop of Saliſbury. 11. *The caſe of moderation and occaſional communion, repreſented by way of caution to the true ſons of the church of England,* Lond. 1705. He wrote alſo theſe two ſmall pieces, 1. *His Majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech to both Houſes of Parliament, with additions and explications, directed to the Houſe of Commons by the Free-born people of England.* 2. *A ſupplement to his Majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech, directed to the honourable Houſe of Commons by the commons of England.* Mr Wagſtaffe alſo wrote prefaces before, 1. *Simmons's Reſtitutis, containing two epiſtles, four whole ſections or chapters, together with a poſtſcript, and ſome marginal obſervations, which were perfectly omitted in the late edition of Mr Simmons's book, intituled,* A Vindication of King Charles I. *and republiſhed by Dr Hollingworth,* Lond. 1769. 2. *The devout Chriſtian's manuel, by Mr Jones,* Lond. 1703. 3. *A Treatiſe of God's government, and of the juſtice of his preſent diſpenſations in the world; by the pious, learned, and moſt eloquent Salvian, a prieſt of Marſeilles, who lived in the fifth century. Tranſlated from the Latin by R. T. Preſbyter of the church of England,* Lond. 1700.

as great ſucceſs, he undertook to defend the title of King Charles I. to the celebrated book called Ἐικων βασιλικὴ. Many attempts had been made to deprive the King of the honour of that compoſition, becauſe the treatment he met with from his rebel ſubjects would appear the more inhuman, if he were really ſo good a man as this portraiture repreſents him. In order to evince that truth, our author publiſhed *A vindication of King Charles the martyr, proving that his Majeſty was the author of* Ἐικων βασιλικὴ, *againſt a memorandum ſaid to be written by the Earl of Angleſey, and againſt the exceptions of Dr Walker and others; to which is added a preface, wherein the bold and inſolent aſſertions, publiſhed in a paſſage of Mr Bayle's Dictionary, relating to the preſent controverſy, are examined and confuted. The third edition, with large additions, together with ſome original letters of King Charles* I. *&c.* London 1711, 4to. The two former editions were in octavo, the firſt printed in 1693, and the ſecond in 1697. To this he added, *A defence of the vindication of King Charles the martyr, juſtifying his Majeſty's title to* Ἐικων βασιλικὴ, *in anſwer to a late pamphlet, intituled,* Amyntor (*e*), Lond. 1699. This was Mr Wagſtaffe's maſterpiece, and intitles him to a place in this work, as he has collected and ſummed up the evidence which eſtabliſhes the King for the undoubted author of that book, has entirely confuted the aſſertors of Dr Gauden's writing it [*C*]. Yet after any man would have thought this cauſe over, and Mr Wagſtaffe to have made a conqueſt, there ſtept forth after his death another champion in Mr Oldmixon, the diſcoverer and corrector of late hiſtories, as has pleaſed to ſtyle himſelf, who has determined that *Icon baſilike* was Dr Gauden's, and not the King's. Of this contemptible performance it is ſufficient to obſerve, that to bring in a ſtory that has not the tenth part of proof which another hath in contradiction to which this ſtory is brought, ſmells ſtrongly of ambition to be knowing in every thing, to be conſulted in every thing, to be like the fly upon the coach-wheel, deſirous of the character of making a duſt, though that very duſt invalidates his credit when he is found impertinently to have claimed it. In a word, Mr Oldmixon is the laſt that has appeared in this baffled cauſe, and the laſt that, in all probability, will appear in it. It may be ſaid of him, that ſince *Lucian's true hiſtory, a falſer hiſtory has not been written.*

Cælum licet et mare terris
Confundas, homo ſum.

There is ſome merit in ſtarting a forgery, but more in ſupporting it: The pleaſure which has been obſerved in being deceived, is therefore a pleaſure, as it helps to deceive others, whilſt we appear to be deceived ourſelves.

(*e*) Written by J. Toland. See his article.

[*C*] *And confuted the aſſertors of Dr Gauden's writing, &c.*] It muſt be obſerved that the attempt to fix the performance upon Dr Gauden, has two inſuperable difficulties to ſtruggle with, Firſt, That they who were intimately acquainted with that prelate, have declared themſelves thoroughly convinced, that he was never capable of writing it: Secondly, That if he did write it for the King, he muſt be guilty of moſt apparent forgery, in perſonating the King in the acts of piety, devotion, and high points of conſcience, inventing a falſehood, and impoſing it both on the King and on the world; counterfeiting repentance, charity, &c. This Mr Wagſtaffe obſerves is giving the world a book for the King which was not his, and if he did own himſelf the author, it was abuſing the King by taking pains to aſſume it to himſelf. The whole ſtrength of the cauſe depends upon Biſhop Gauden's teſtimony, as Mr Wagſtaffe has abundantly made appear: For what the Doctor [Walker] and Mrs Gauden produce, falls ſhort of what the Biſhop is reported to have ſaid. The Doctor and Mrs Gauden contradict one another, and the Doctor contradicts himſelf. On the other ſide we have the witneſſes all agreeing, not only in the main fact, but in ſeveral circumſtances, and in all the material branches of their reſpective teſtimony.

Y

A great part of the materials for this article is taken from the memoirs of his life, printed at the end of Dodſley's Annual Regiſter for 1764, the truth of which was confirmed to me by Dr Tho. Birch.

YORKE (Philip) lord high chancellor of England, and earl of Hardwicke, was the ſon of a reputable attorney at law at Dover in Kent, where he was born December 1, 1690. After a well-grounded education at ſchool under Mr Samuel Morland, one of the moſt ingenious ſcholars of his time, being deſigned for the law, he was put clerk to the famous ſerjeant Salkeld, for proper inſtructions in the principles and practice of that profeſſion. And entering a member of the Middle Temple, he was called to the bar within a few months after the acceſſion of King George I. in 1714. Here he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his parts and induſtry, frequently arguing cauſes of difficulty and conſequence, and was engaged in an extenſive courſe of practice. His merit being obſerved by the miniſtry, he was recommended by the duke of Newcaſtle to the corporation of Lewes in Suſſex, and choſen a repreſentative in parliament for that borough in 1718. By the ſame intereſt, he repreſented Seaford in the two ſucceeding parliaments. Theſe favours were never forgotten by him [*A*].

In the mean time, before he attained the age of thirty years, when he was the youngeſt counſel on the Weſtern Circuit, he was promoted for his extraordinary merit to the office of ſollicitor general, March 23, 1719-20, by the intereſt of lord chancellor Macclesfied, and knighted [*B*]. The trial of Chriſtopher Layer for high treaſon in November 1722, gave our ſollicitor an opportunity of ſhewing how completely qualified he was for that office; his reply, which laſted above two hours in the delivery, and in which he ſummed up late at night the evidence againſt the priſoner, and very ably confuted all the topics of defence, being greatly admired as one of the beſt performances extant of that kind. About the ſame time, he gained much reputation in parliament by his opening of the bill againſt Kelly, who had been principally concerned in Atterbury's plot as his lordſhip's ſecretary. In February 1723-4, he ſucceeded to the office of attorney general; in the execution of which he was diſtinguiſhed for his candour and lenity as well as ſkill; and in debates for the crown, he ſpoke with the veracity of a witneſs and a judge: and though his zeal for juſtice and the due courſe of law was ſtrong, yet his regard for the ſubject in the court of exchequer was ſo diſtinguiſhed, that it happened once, when he touched upon his own conduct in that point in ſome of the parliamentary debates upon the exciſe bill in 1733, the whole houſe of commons aſſented to it with univerſal applauſe. In October 1733 he was made lord chief juſtice of the King's Bench [*C*], raiſed to the peerage with the title of lord Hardwicke, baron of Hardwicke in Glouceſterſhire, and called into the cabinet council. Upon the deceaſe of lord Talbot he ſucceeded him in the office of lord high chancellor of England, the great ſeal being delivered to him February 21, 1736-7.

The integrity and abilities with which his lordſhip preſided in this high court during the ſpace of almoſt twenty years, a period longer than any of his predeceſſors except Egerton, appears from this remarkable circumſtance, that only three of his decrees were appealed from, and even thoſe were afterwards affirmed by the houſe of lords.

Upon the promotion of the duke of Newcaſtle to be chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge in 1749, lord Hardwicke was elected their high ſteward.

[*A*] *Theſe favours were never forgotten by him.*] As this was a ſingular advantage and honour to him at that early time of life, ſo he retained a grateful remembrance of it ever afterwards, and maintained an inviolable friendſhip and correſponding confidence with his patron during the reſt of his life.

[*B*] *By lord chancellor Macclesfield.*] This obligation he never forgot, returning it by all poſſible marks of preſent regard and affection; and he defended that lord with great honour and ſpirit in the houſe of commons, againſt the rough but deſerved attacks of ſerjeant Pengelly in 1725, as to the manner of his lordſhip's anſwering the articles of impeachment, and the act of grace.

[*C*] *Lord chief juſtice of the King's Bench.*] The writer of his eloge tells us, that 'upon the reſignation of the great ſeal by lord King in October 1733, 'Sir Philip York waved his own juſt pretenſions to it, 'in order to accommodate the public ſervice.' The truth is, that it was, as has been already obſerved, given to the ſolicitor general Mr Talbot, who had both more learning and ſuperior talents; and upon thoſe accounts, beſides being deſcended of a noble family (1), had better intereſt than our attorney, who found it neceſſary to ſubmit to this rebuff. His too warm ſpeech in the defence of his friend and patron lord Macclesfield in the houſe of commons, who was indeed not fairly defenſible, might probably be objected to him on this occaſion.

(1) See his article in Vol. VI. Part i.

After he had executed the high office of lord high chancellor of England about ſeventeen years, in times and circumſtances of accumulated difficulty and danger from a long, expenſive, and, upon the whole, unſucceſsful war, violent conteſts of parties and factions at home, and a formidable rebellion, countenanced by a moſt powerful enemy, and had been twice even called to exerciſe the office of lord high ſteward in the trial of peers concerned in the rebellion, he was in April 1754 made an earl, with the title of earl of Hardwicke and viſcount Royſton: a favour which was beſtowed unaſked by a Sovereign rather reſerved in beſtowing honours, but who had the trueſt ſenſe of lord Hardwicke's real knowledge and integrity, who treated him through a long and glorious reign with particular eſteem and confidence, and always ſpoke of him in a manner which ſhewed that he ſet as high a value on the man as on the miniſter. This teſtimony from a prince remarkable for truth and ſincerity, does equal honour to the ſovereign and to the ſubject.

Yet it happened, through ſome diſagreement with the other miniſters, that he thought himſelf obliged to throw up the great ſeal in November 1756, yet he ſtill continued to ſerve the public in a more private ſtation, reſolving not to accept any other place, which he had in his choice to have filled, and thoſe too of high dignity both in the laſt and preſent reign. His attendance at council when his preſence was neceſſary, at more private meetings whenever his opinion was deſired, at the houſe of lords upon every occaſion where the courſe of public buſineſs required it, were the ſame whether in or out of place: he had a pleaſure in giving the full exertion of his abilities to the ſtate, without expecting or receiving any penſion of any kind whatever, and he ſeemed only to have reſigned the laborious duties of the chancellor to be more at leiſure to attend to ſuch parts of the public ſervice as were of more general uſe to the community [*D*].

His conſtitution in the earlier part of his life did not ſeem to promiſe ſo much health and vigour as he afterwards enjoyed, for a longer period than uſually falls to the ſhare of men of a more robuſt habit of body, and leſs oppreſſed by an uninterrupted application to affairs of the moſt delicate and complicated nature; but his great care to guard againſt any exceſs ſecured him an almoſt uninterrupted tenor of health, and his habitual maſtery of his paſſions gave him a firmneſs and tranquillity of mind unabated by the fatigues and anxieties of buſineſs, from the daily circle of which he aroſe to the enjoyment of the converſation of his family and friends with the ſpirit of a perſon entirely vacant and diſengaged. Till the latter end of his 73d year he preſerved the appearance and face of youth in his countenance, in which the character of dignity and amiableneſs were remarkably united; the ſtrength of his underſtanding remained unimpaired to the laſt hours of his life; and he ſupported the diſorder which proved fatal to him, of many months continuance, and of the moſt depreſſive kind, with uncommon patience, reſignation, and even chearfulneſs. He died the 6th of March, 1764, in the 74th year of his age, at his houſe in Groſvenor Square, and was buried at Wimple in Cambridgeſhire (*), near his wife Margaret, one of the daughters of Charles Cox

(*) A noble eſtate which belonged to Robert Harley, the 2d earl of Oxford of that name, after whoſe death in 1741, it was purchaſed by lord Hardwicke.

[*D*] *General uſe to the community.*] His reſpect to the laws and juſtice of his country was equal to his extenſive learning in them; this rendered him attached to the love of the laws and juſtice of his country in every part: he was as tender of the juſt prerogatives inveſted in the crown for the benefit of the whole, as watchful to prevent the leaſt encroachment on the liberties of the ſubject. The part which he acted in planning, introducing, and ſupporting the bill *for aboliſhing the heretable juriſdictions in Scotland*, and the ſhare which he took beyond what his department required of him, in framing and promoting the other bills relating to that country, aroſe from his zeal to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, his concern for the general happineſs and improvement of the kingdom, and for the preſervation of that equal and limited monarchy, which were the governing principles of his public conduct through life; and theſe, and other bills which might be mentioned, were ſtrong proofs of his talents as a legiſlator.

In the character of a ſtateſman, his knowledge of mankind, his acquaintance with hiſtory and treaties both antient and modern, added to his learning, experience, penetration, and ſuperior underſtanding, enabled him to decide with force and exactneſs in all the caſes in which he was conſulted by his colleagues in other branches of the adminiſtration; and he had a peculiar talent of analyſing ſuch caſes, by ſtating the arguments on both ſides in a comprehenſive and pointed view.

He was wonderfully happy in debating cauſes upon the bench, which he did copiouſly and elaborately, nor was it neceſſary to repeat facts and reaſonings which had been once ſtated to him a ſecond time; his attention to arguments from the bar was ſo cloſe, and ſo undiſturbed by moroſeneſs, or any paſſion or affection of his mind, that he condeſcended to learn from the meaneſt, whilſt he every day inſtructed and ſurprized the ableſt. He gave the utmoſt ſcope to the objections which preſt ſtrongeſt againſt his opinion, and often improved them, but his judgment was ſo correct and excellent, that even his unpremeditated opinions were generally acknowledged to be profound, and to turn upon the beſt points which the caſe afforded, would bear examination when reduced into written reports, and gave the higheſt ſatisfaction to the parties for their juſtice, and to the lawyers for the ſkill and diſcernment with which he formed them. *Etiam quos contra ſtatuit, æquos et placidos dimiſit.*

His manner was agreeable and affecting, modeſt yet commanding. His voice peculiarly clear and harmonious, and even loud and ſtrong for the greater part of his time; and it were to be wiſhed that his ſpeeches in a variety of important points of law, equity, and policy were preſerved.

Convinced of the great principles of religion, and ſteady in the practice of the duties of it, he maintained a reputation of virtue, which added dignity to the ſtation which he filled, and authority to the laws which he adminiſtered. His attachment to the eſtabliſhed church was accompanied with a full conviction and a tender regard to the rights of conſcience, and a temper of lenity and moderation, which are not only right in themſelves, but moſt conducive to the honour and intereſt of the church; and the clergy owes him and his predeceſſor lord Talbot a particular obligation for the oppoſition which they gave to the act *for the more eaſy recovery of tythes, &c.* which might have proved of dangerous conſequence to the rights and properties of the clergy, though it paſſed the other houſe, and was known to be powerfully ſupported.

of Worceſter, Eſq; and niece of lord chancellor Somers, to whom he had been married many years. The union between them had been moſt affectionate and conſtant. She was a lady of ſuch virtues and endowments of mind as will render her memory for ever dear and reſpected by all who had the honour of knowing her. She brought her huſband ſix ſons and two daughters, of whom we have the following account. The ſons were all educated under Dr Newcome at Hackney ſchool, and from thence ſent to Bennet college, Cambridge, where the eldeſt, Philip, was entered as a nobleman under the tuition of Dr Salter [*E*], May 26, 1737, and the year following was appointed one of the tellers of the exchequer in the room of Sir Charles Turner, Bart. deceaſed. Upon his leaving the college in 1740 he preſented to it a very elegant piece of plate, and ſoon after married lady Jemima Campbell, only daughter of John lord viſcount Glenorchy by the lady Amabel Grey, eldeſt daughter of the late duke of Kent; at whoſe deceaſe, on the 5th of June following, ſhe became

[*E*] *Under the tuition of Dr Salter.*] A divine of diſtinguiſhed merit who deſerves particular notice. He was the eldeſt ſon of Samuel Salter, D. D. prebendary of Norwich and archdeacon of Norfolk, by Anne Penelope, the daughter of Dr John Jeffery, archdeacon of Norwich, was educated for ſome time in the free ſchool of that city, from whence he removed to that of the Charter-houſe. After having laid a good foundation in the learned languages was removed to Bennet college, where he was admitted June 30, 1730, and ſoon after taking the degree of A. B. was choſen into a fellowſhip. His natural and acquired abilities recommended him to Sir Philip York, then lord chief juſtice of the King's Bench, for the inſtruction of his eldeſt ſon; who, as ſoon as he was made lord chancellor, appointed him his domeſtic chaplain, and gave him a prebend in the church of Glouceſter, which he afterwards exchanged for one in that of Norwich. To this he added the rectory of Burton Coggles, in the county of Lincoln in 1740; where he went to reſide ſoon after, and marrying Miſs Secker, a relation of the then biſhop of Oxford, continued there till 1750, when he was nominated miniſter of Great Yarmouth by the dean and chapter of Norwich; where he performed the duties of that large pariſh with great diligence till his promotion to the preacherſhip in the Charter-houſe in January 1754, ſome time before which Dr Secker, being raiſed to the ſee of Canterbury, had honoured him with the degree of D. D. at Lambeth.

While he was a member of Bennet college, he printed Greek Pindarick odes upon the Princeſs of Orange and Wales, and a copy of Latin verſes upon the death of Queen Caroline. Beſides the ſermon preached before the lord mayor September 2, 1740, on the anniverſary of the fire of London, he hath publiſhed likewiſe, *A complete Collection of Sermons and Tracts* of his grandfather Dr Jeffery, in 2 vol. 8vo. 1751, with his life prefixed. His edition of Dr Whichcote's *Moral and Religious Aphoriſms* has been already mentioned (2). To theſe may be added, *Some Queries relative to the Jews*, occaſioned by a late ſermon, with ſome other papers occaſioned by the *Queries*, publiſhed the ſame year (3).

(2) Under Dr Whichcote's article in the Supplement.

(3) Hiſtory of Bennet college by Maſters, p. 366, 367. edit. 1753. 4to.

The great merit of Mr Jeffery demands a further notice than the bare mentioning of his name. The following account of him is extracted from the Memoirs of his Life by Mr Salter, who informs us that he was born December 20, 1647, at Ipſwich in Suffolk, of honeſt, induſtrious, and pious parents. His father obſerving a ſtrong diſpoſition in this his eldeſt ſon to learning and piety, reſolved to give him an univerſity education, and fit him for the miniſtry, notwithſtanding the narrowneſs of his circumſtances; accordingly, after a good foundation at the free ſchool of Ipſwich, he ſent him to Cambridge in 1664, where he was admitted of Katharine Hall under Dr John Eachard, but ſtaid only till he took the degree of A. B. and about 1669 or 1670, going into holy orders, he accepted the curacy of Dennington in Suffolk, and applied himſelf there ſo cloſely to the ſtudy of divinity that he was not known or heard of in the world for ſome years; but though he never once aſked for any preferment, yet he was preferred, upon the recommendation of a ſtranger to him, to be upper miniſter of St Peter's of Mancroft at Norwich in 1678. Being now ſettled, and having what he thought a ſufficient competency to live on, he married the ſame year Sarah Ireland, ſiſter of Mr John Ireland an apothecary of Great Yarmouth in Norfolk, and an alderman of that corporation. By her, who lived near thirty years with him, he had four daughters and a ſon. Here he became known to Sir Thomas Browne (4) the phyſician, whoſe *Chriſtian Morals* he publiſhed in 1716, as he had done many years before Dr Whichcot's *Moral and Religious Aphoriſms*, of whoſe writings he gives the following character (*). 'This reverend and learned author, through the advantage of 'a juſt freedom, a ſtrong judgment, and an unfeigned piety, has eſtabliſhed ſuch a notion of chriſtianity from the Holy Scriptures, according to the 'moral perfections of God, as cannot poſſibly be 'falſe; and has laid the foundation of his religion 'ſo deep in the nature, reaſon, and neceſſity of things, 'that it cannot poſſibly be ſubverted.' In the mean time Sir Edward Atkins, baron of the Exchequer, who then ſpent the long vacations at Norwich, ſtruck with his modeſty and merit, took him up to London, and brought him acquainted, among others, with Dr Tillotſon, then preacher (5) at Lincoln's Inn. In 1687 Dr Sharp obtained of lord chancellor Jefferies the two ſmall livings of Kirton and Falkenham in Suffolk; and in 1694, upon the death of Dr John Conant, archbiſhop Tillotſon promoted him to the archdeaconry of Norwich, his Grace's option on biſhop Moore's promotion to that ſee. In 1700 he publiſhed *Propoſals to his Clergy*, on occaſion of the letters tranſmitted from the archbiſhop and biſhops of the province to their archdeacons and clergy. Being now a dignitary in the church he went to Katherine Hall, and after performing all his exerciſes, was admitted D. D. in 1696 (*a*). Three years after this, in 1699, he publiſhed two ſhort letters againſt Quakeriſm. He declared his diſlike of the bitter ſpirit of contention in the convocation about their rights and privileges, in the beginning of the preſent century. He had now been five years a widower, and three of his daughters being married, he entered in 1710 into a ſecond marriage with Mrs Suſan Gunning, one of his pariſhioners at Norwich, of an honeſt, worthy, and reputable family; and after his ſecond marriage in 1710 he diſcontinued his attendance on the convocation, alleging pleaſantly, that *when a man has taken a new wife he is not obliged to go out to war.* In the ſame year he printed a volume of Diſcourſes, as he had occaſionally printed divers ſermons and tracts ſeparately for twenty years before. In 1753 came out, *A compleat Collection of the Sermons and Tracts, written by John Jeffery, D. D. Archdeacon of Norwich, in two volumes.* After a gentle decay for three or four years he was taken ill about midnight, with his wife and youngeſt daughter only preſent, and died placidly and without a groan April 1, 1720, and was buried in the chancel of St Peter's church at Norwich, where there is a very proper inſcription on his tombſtone, compoſed by his nephew and executor the reverend Mr John Jeffery, ſome time fellow of Katherine hall, Cambridge, and afterwards near forty years rector of French and Giningham in Norfolk, who died in 1748. The inſcription is in theſe terms:

(4) See Sir Tho. Browne's article in the firſt volume of this work. See alſo that article in the Supplement.

(*) In the dedication of the doctor's ſermons, publiſhed by himſelf in 1701. See Whichcot's article in Suppl. p. 196.

(5) It appears from the minutes prefixed to ſeveral of our author's ſermons that he had preached them in Lincoln's Inn chapel for Dr Tillotſon.

(*a*) His ſermon before the univerſity on that occaſion affords a remarkble proof of his judgment and capacity. The text was Heb. i. 1.; and the ſubject, as ſtated by himſelf, is an anſwer to that queſtion, Why God thought fit to deliver the doctrine of our religion and happineſs in the form of a hiſtory; which might have been delivered in a body of laws, like that of Juſtinian; or in reaſonings about virtue and vice, happineſs and miſery, as the morals of Ariſtotle are written; or in a collection of ſhort and independent ſentences, ſuch as are the Proverbs of Solomon, or the diſcourſes of Marcus Antoninus; or according to modern cuſtom, in a ſyſtem of divinity? This he accounts for, explains, and juſtifies in a very maſterly way; with great learning and ſkill, and equal ſtrength and perſpicuity.

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became marchioneſs Grey and baroneſs Lucas of Crudwell. By this marriage he became poſſeſſed of a large part of the duke's eſtate, together with his ſeat of Wreſthouſe, at Silſoe in Bedfordſhire, but has by her at preſent only one daughter, lady Amabel Grey. He was firſt choſen member of parliament in 1741 for Rygate in Surrey, and ſo continued till he was elected in 1747 one of the repreſentatives for the county of Cambridge, as he was again in 1754. Being always a lover and encourager of literature, he was very early choſen a fellow of the royal ſociety, as afterwards of that of the antiquaries; and on his accompanying the duke of Newcaſtle, chancellor of Cambridge, to his inſtallation there in 1749, had the degree of L.L.D. conferred upon him. Dr Birch, one of the moſt learned enquirers and beſt biographers of the age, to whom I am indebted for ſome uſeful communications, hath inſcribed to him more than one of his works lately publiſhed; as hath his friend Soame Jenyns, Eſq; ſome ingenious epiſtles; and a ſpecimen of his own compoſitions may be ſeen among the Cambridge Verſes on the death of Queen Caroline, conſort to King George II. and elſewhere. He was honoured with the title of viſcount Royſton after his father's promotion to that of earl, to which he alſo ſucceeded at his father's death, and is ſtill living.

Charles the ſecond ſon was admitted of the ſame college, June 13, 1739, and after purſuing his ſtudies for ſome years with the cloſeſt application, applying himſelf to the law, he was removed to Lincoln's Inn, whence he was called to the bar in 1753, and ſo far diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that profeſſion as to be made one of the clerks of the crown in chancery, and one of his majeſty's learned council, as well as ſollicitor general to the princeſs of Wales. He publiſhed *Some Conſiderations on the Law of Forfeiture for High Treaſon, &c.* in 1743. 8vo. and again enlarged with an Appendix concerning *Eſtates Tail in Scotland*, 1746, and a third time farther corrected and enlarged in 1748. He took the degree of A. M. at the before-mentioned inſtallation of the duke of Newcaſtle in the chancellorſhip of Cambridge. He is alſo a fellow of the royal ſociety, and in 1747 ſucceeded his brother in his parliamentary ſeat for Ryegate; ſince which he was made firſt ſollicitor, and then attorney general; which laſt office he reſigned not long ago upon ſome diſcontent with the public meaſures, but has accepted it again this year 1765.

John, the fourth ſon, was admitted at the ſame college October 10, 1746, and after taking the degree of A. M. applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the law in Lincoln's Inn, where he became a barriſter, a joint clerk of the crown in chancery with his brother Charles, and member of parliament for Higham Ferrers in Northamptonſhire.

James, the fifth ſon, was admitted of the ſame college October 10, 1748, and after taking the degree of A. M. entered into holy orders; in March 1754 was preſented by his elder brother to the living of Horkeſley in Eſſex, and by his father to a prebend in the church of Rocheſter, into which he was inſtalled on the 30th of April following; ſince which he was preſented to the vicarage of St Martin in the Fields, Weſtminſter, which he immediately exchanged for a prebend of Windſor, and he is now dean of Lincoln.

Theſe four ſons had an academical education; but the chancellor's third ſon Joſeph choſe a different ſcheme of life, wherein he has ſucceeded equally at leaſt with the reſt, being a colonel in the foot guards, and one of his majeſty's aides de camps in 1753. He was formerly ſecretary to the embaſſy in France, and afterwards reſident there, and created a knight; but in 1753 was miniſter plenipotentiary to the States General, and member of parliament for Eaſt Grinſtead in Suſſex. He ſtill continues to hold the firſt of theſe employments, which he executes with diſtinguiſhed abilities, and has been raiſed to the rank of a general in the army.

Of the chancellor's two daughters, lady Elizabeth married George lord Anſon, who by his extraordinary abilities in naval affairs, and a moſt ſucceſsful voyage round the world in the laſt war but one, both enriched and ennobled his family, being created a peer June 13, 1747, and afterwards advanced to preſide at the right honourable board of Admiralty; but died in 1762 without iſſue, having buried his lady the preceding year.

The youngeſt daughter lady Margaret, married June 2[illegible], 1749, to Gilbert Heathcote, Eſq; the eldeſt ſon of Sir John Heathcote, Bart. one of the wealthieſt commoners of Great Britain.

This is the whole of the lord chancellor's family; upon which I cannot forbear remarking, that his own ſuperior talents, as well as eminent qualifications in his profeſſion, together with their merits and improvements, have, by God's bleſſing, raiſed it to ſuch a height in the world as can ſcarce be parallelled in Hiſtory (*a*).

M. S.
JOHANNIS JEFFERY, S. T. P.
Archidiaconi Norvicenſis,
Hujus eccleſiæ per XLII *annos miniſtri:*
Qui Chriſtianum religionem
Abſque partium
Abſque ſui ſtudio
Ab anili ſuperſtitione feliciter vindicavit;
Simplicem et abſolutum prædicavit,
Studiis coluit,
Ornavit moribus.

Kalendis Aprilis,
Anno æræ Chriſtianæ
MDCCXX.
Ætatis ſuæ
LXXIII.
Ad ſui ſimiles demigravit:
Apud quos
Vita quam amavit,
Gloria quam quæſivit,
Fruitur.

(*a*) Hiſtory of Corpus Chriſti college Cambridge, by Maſters, p. 424 to 426, edit. 1753, 4to.

YOUNG (Edward) an ingenious divine and poet, was the ſon of Dr Edward Young, dean of Sarum, fellow of Wincheſter college, and rector of Upham in Hampſhire [*A*], where this his only ſon was born in the year 1684, and being put at a proper age to Wincheſter ſchool he became a ſcholar upon that foundation, whence he was removed to Oxford, and according to the ſtatutes of each foundation admitted of New college, October 13, 1703, aged 19 years (*a*), but being ſuperannuated, and there being no vacancy of a fellowſhip (*b*), he removed before the expiration of the year to Corpus Chriſti, where he entered himſelf a gentleman commoner (*c*); but in 1708 was put into a law fellowſhip at All Souls by archbiſhop Tenniſon (*d*), into whoſe hands it came by a devolution; here he proceeded to take the degree of B. C. L. April 23, 1714, and commenced D. C. L. June 10, 1719 (*e*). In the mean time applying himſelf to the ſtudy of poetry, he publiſhed the ſame year, 1719, his tragedy of *Buſiris*, which was followed by another under the title of *The Revenge* in 1721, and a third, called *The Brothers*, came out in 1723. About this time he printed his poem of *The Laſt Day*, which, coming from a lay man, gave univerſal ſatisfaction; and this was ſoon after followed by his poem intituled, *The Force of Religion, or, Vanquiſh'd Love*, which was well received by the public, and was particularly pleaſing to the noble family for whoſe amuſement it was chiefly calculated. It cannot be denied, that in both the one and the other there is a laboured ſtiffneſs of verſification, which is the more remarkable as the author took very great pains to poliſh and correct the harſhneſs of his numbers; ſuch however was the ſucceſs of theſe two poems, that they brought him into the particular notice of ſeveral of the nobility, and he was taken into the patronage of the duke of Wharton, which was of good ſervice to his finances. Upon his grace's recommendation, our lawyer put up for member of parliament at Cirenceſter, but without ſucceſs. This noble patron alſo did him the honour to accompany him to All Souls, where, at his inſtance, his Grace engaged to be at the expence of erecting a conſiderable part of the new buildings then in hand at that college, which were accordingly executed by the help of this benefaction (*f*). The turn of his mind leading him to divinity, he quitted the law, which he had never practiſed, and taking holy orders, was appointed chaplain in ordinary to King George II. April 30, 1728. The ſame year he publiſhed *A Vindication of Providence* in 4to, and not long after came out, in the ſame form, his *Eſtimate of human Life*, a ſubject particularly proper in his preſent ſtation; it was evidently written *con amore*, and is in reality the beſt of his proſe performances (*g*). On the 30th of July, 1730, he was preſented by his college [*B*] to the rectory of Welwyn in Hertfordſhire, reputed to be worth

(*a*) From the Univerſity Regiſter.

(*b*) Communicated by Dr Eyre of Grays Inn, who was his ſchool-fellow at Wincheſter.

(*c*) This gown was put on out of regard to his birth, to ſay nothing of the leſs expence attending it at that college than at any other. Eyre.

(*d*) Evidently in reſpect to his father's memory.

(*e*) Catalogue of Oxford Degrees.

(*f*) Communicated by Dr Eyre.

(*g*) It has gone through ſeveral editions, and was republiſhed this year, 1765, in 12mo.

[*A*] *Dean of Sarum and rector of Upham in Hampſhire.*] We have the following account of the dean in *Athen. Oxon.* (1) that he was the ſon of Jo. Younge, of Woodhay in Berkſhire, Gent. was born at Brampton in Yorkſhire, educated at Wykeham ſchool near Wincheſter, elected probationer fellow of New college (2) in 1661, aged nineteen years or more, took one degree in the civil law in 1668 (3), entered into holy orders, became chaplain to Thomas earl of Oſſory, fellow of Wincheſter college, prebendary of Gillingham-Minor in the church of Saliſbury in Sept. 1682, and chaplain in ordinary to their majeſties King William and Queen Mary. The antiquary proceeds to give the titles of ten ſermons, which he preached between 1678 and 1695 incluſive, where the *Athenæ* ends. To this liſt I ſhall add, that the dean printed a collection of his ſermons in two volumes 8vo. a little before his death (4), which happened Aug. 9, 1705, at Saliſbury, in which cathedral he was buried (5).

[*B*] *Preſented by his college.*] Mr *William Blackiſtone* was ſome time fellow of the ſame college, and while there took both his degrees in law (6), and afterwards became principal of New Inn Hall, member of parliament for Hindon, and King's council, and was elected the firſt Vinerian profeſſor of common law at Oxford by the convocation, on Friday, October 20, 1758 (*). The lectures which he read upon this occaſion made him very popular, and gained him much applauſe; beſides which he has publiſhed, *An Analyſis of the Laws of England*, and *The Law of Deſcents, &c.* *Charles Viner*, of Alderſhot, Eſq; was the laborious author of the *Abridgment of the Law* in 23 volumes folio, which he was thirty years in, collecting and compiling, and was at the pains of printing it off himſelf at his own houſe. He died May 5, 1756, at Alderſhot in Hants, having left by his will to the univerſity of Oxford three thouſand pounds, and his large collection of law books, as alſo the profits ariſing from the ſaid abridgement of the laws, the copies being eſteemed worth nine or ten thouſand pounds, all which he left them to endow a profeſſorſhip in the common law, to the amount of two hundred pounds per ann. and the ſurplus money for ſo many fellows as the univerſity ſhould judge the benefaction would admit of; at preſent there is one fellow, —— Chambers, Eſq; of Univerſity college, counſellor at law, of the Middle Temple, London, and two ſcholars; and another fellowſhip will take place as ſoon as the whole benefaction drops in. Mr Viner's reaſon for leaving this donation to the univerſity was, on account of his miſpending his time while a member there (7), to make a proper atonement for it. Upon his firſt ſetting out in life he turned farmer, and rented 500 l. a year at Alderſhot, but afterwards applied himſelf to the law, and thinking an abridgement of it would be of general uſe to the public, he reſolved to purſue the plan. He left his widow about 50 l. a year only, but the univerſity generouſly made an addition to it for her life (†).

I ſhall take this opportunity of recording another conſiderable benefactor to the ſame univerſity of Oxford, Dr Richard Rawlinſon, whom we have already mentioned (8). He was the third ſon of Sir Thomas Rawlinſon, Knt. lord mayor of London in 1706, and preſident of Bridewell and Bethlem hoſpitals. Dr Rawlinſon was a fellow commoner of St John's college, Oxford, where he took the degree of D. C. L (‖). By his will he left the bulk of his eſtate to that college, amounting to the value of ſix or ſeven hundred pounds per ann. at the direction of the preſident and ſix ſenior fellows. To the ſame college he likewiſe bequeathed his plate of archbiſhop Laud, his collection of printed *Journals of the Houſe of Commons*, *Parliamentary Debates*, *Rymer's Fœdera* in ſeventeen volumes, beſides a number of printed books, all his collection of antient Greek and Roman coins and medals, and part of his collection of Engliſh medals, alſo his ſeries of medals of the French Kings Louis XIV. and XV. Beſides a donation to Hertford college, he gave to the univerſity all his MSS. whether bound or unbound, to be placed in the Bodleian library, together with ſeveral antique veſſels, matrices, foreign ſeals and impreſſions for ſeals, alſo ſuch part of his collection of Engliſh coins and medals as were not already in their collection, as likewiſe all his copper plates relating to the counties of Oxford,

(1) Vol. ii. col. 991, 992.

(2) One Edward Younge, a fellow of the ſame college, was proctor of the univerſity in 1642. Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 5.

(3) He took the degree of B.C.L. April 1, that year. Ibid. col. 171.

(4) The 2d edit. came out in 1706.

(5) Hiſtorical Regiſter for that year.

(6) That of B.C.L. June 1, 1745 and D.C.L. April 26, 1750. Catalogue of Oxford Degrees, laſt edit.

(*) Regiſter of the Univerſity.

(7) He was ſome time of Lincoln college.

(†) From the information of a friend at Oxford.

(8) Vol. VI. Part i. 3759 [*E*]

(‖) By diploma, June 13, 1719, having commenced A. M. July 5, 1713. Catalogue of Oxford Degrees.

worth three hundred pounds a year, beſides the lordſhip of the manor annexed to it. Thus ſettled he quitted his fellowſhip, and entered, May 27, 1731, into a marriage with the lady Betty Lee, widow of colonel Lee, and daughter to the earl of Litchfield [C]; a lady of excellent

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Oxford, Middleſex, and Surrey; and ſeveral eſtates, after the term of forty years, for founding and eſtabliſhing an Anglo-Saxon lecture or profeſſorſhip; and the rents ariſing from thoſe eſtates during that term, to be laid out in freehold lands of inheritance for eſtabliſhing a ſalary for the keeper of the *Muſeum Aſhmoleanum* (9). He died at Iſlington April 6, 1755, in the 65th year of his age. He was a fellow of the Royal Society, and one of the firſt promoters of the Society of Antiquaries. He directed his heart to be depoſited, as a mark of his affection, in the chapel of St John's college; and his body embalmed was interred in a new vault lately made by his own direction, in the North iſle of St Giles's church, Oxford, in the gift of St John's college, where there is a monument with an inſcription of his own compoſing, as alſo another upon the urn in the college chapel (α).

(9) He bequeathed 200 l. per ann. for life to his ſurviving brother Conſtantine, who reſides at Venice, and has been abroad ever ſince the year 1721.

(α) Chriſtopher Rawlinſon, of Clark Hall in Lancaſhire, Eſq; was related to our doctor, and was a gentleman particularly eſteemed for his knowledge in the Northern languages, and publiſhed a beautiful edition of King's Alfred's tranſlation of Boethius *De Conſolatione Philoſophiæ*, in the Saxon tongue. He died June 8, 1733, leaving behind him the largeſt collection of books then in Great Britain, which were ſold by auction.

As one extraordinary diſcovery of Mr Bradley has been related in the courſe of this work (10), the following account of that ingenious aſtronomer cannot fail of being acceptable. Dr James Bradley was the third ſon of William Bradley by his wife Jane, and was born at Sherborne in Dorſetſhire in 1692. He had the firſt part of his education at North Leach, under Meſſ. Egles and Brice, who kept a boarding ſchool there. From North Leach he was ſent to Oxford. Being intended for the church, his ſtudies were regulated with that view, and going into holy orders as ſoon as he was of ſufficient age, the biſhop of Hereford, who had conceived a great eſteem for him, gave him the living of Bridſtow, and he was ſoon inducted to that of Weſrie in Pembrokeſhire. But notwithſtanding theſe advantages, from which he might promiſe himſelf ſtill further advancement in the church, he at length reſigned both his livings, that he might be wholly at liberty to purſue his favourite ſtudy the mathematics, and particularly aſtronomy. He was nephew to Dr *Pound*, a gentleman well known in the learned world by many excellent aſtronomical obſervations, with whom Mr Bradley paſſed all the time he could ſpare from the duties of his function, and perhaps ſometimes treſpaſſed upon them. He was then ſufficiently acquainted with the mathematics to improve by Dr Pound's converſation; which, it may be eaſily imagined, did not render the nephew more fond of his profeſſion than he was before, the duties of which he ſtill continued to fulfil, though at this time he had made ſuch teleſcopical obſervations as laid the foundation of thoſe diſcoveries, which afterwards diſtinguiſhed him for one of the greateſt aſtronomers of his age. Theſe obſervations gained him firſt the notice, and then the friendſhip of lord chancellor Macclesfield, and afterwards of Sir Iſaac Newton, Dr Halley, and many other members of the royal ſociety, into which he was himſelf ſoon elected. About the ſame time he was choſen Savilian profeſſor of aſtronomy at Oxford, in the room of Dr John Kiell, deceaſed, October 21, 1721, being then juſt twenty-nine years old. This promotion obliged him to quit his livings, as he did without any reluctance, the duty of them being contrary to his inclination. From this time he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of his favourite ſcience, and in 1727 he publiſhed his *Theory of the Aberration of the fixed Stars*, one of the moſt uſeful and ingenious diſcoveries of modern aſtronomy. Three years after this he began to read public lectures in experimental philoſophy at the Aſhmolean Muſeum. However, he ſtill continued his teleſcopical obſervations, in the courſe of which he diſcovered that the inclination of the earth's axis to the plane of the ecliptic was not always the ſame, but varied backwards and forwards ſome ſeconds, and that the period of theſe obſervations was nine years; he publiſhed this diſcovery in 1737 (11). Upon the death of Dr Halley in 1741, Mr Bradley ſucceeded him in the royal profeſſorſhip of aſtronomy at Greenwich: whereupon the univerſity of Oxford ſent him a diploma creating him D. D. At Greenwich, obſerving that the inſtruments of the obſervatory wanted repairing, he applied to the royal ſociety, who obtained of King George II. 1000 l. for that purpoſe, which was laid out under the direction of Dr Bradley (12), and his majeſty likewiſe increaſed his ſalary by a grant of 250 l. per ann. In 1748 he was admitted a member of the royal academy of ſciences and the *belles lettres* of Berlin; in 1752, a member of the imperial academy at Peterſburgh, and in 1757, of that of Bologna. In 1760 he grew extremely weak and infirm, and towards the end of June 1762 he was attacked with a total ſuppreſſion of urine, cauſed by an inflammation of the reins (13), which on the 12th of July following put an end to his life, in the 70th year of his age. He was buried at *Minchin Hampton* in *Glouceſterſhire*, in the ſame grave with his mother and his wife. In 1744 he married *Suſannah Peach*, the daughter of a gentleman of that name in Glouceſterſhire, by whom he had only one daughter, now living. As to his character, no man had a better claim to be ranked among the greateſt aſtronomers of his age (14).

(10) Vol. V. 3133 [*B*].

(11) This is called the nutation of the terreſtrial axis.

(12) So Mr Graham and Mr Bird furniſhed as compleat a ſet of aſtronomical inſtruments as could be deſired.

(13) See an account of his caſe in Phil. Tranſ. Vol. xxxiii. p. 495.

(14) Gentleman's Magazine for Auguſt 1765.

[*C*] *He married lady Betty Lee.*] His connection with this family aroſe from his father's acquaintance with lady Anne Wharton, the firſt wife of Thomas Wharton, Eſq; afterwards marquis of Wharton, and ſecond daughter and coheireſs of Sir Henry Lee, of Ditchley in Oxfordſhire (15). She was a lady eminent for her excellent genius and poetical talents in the reign of King Charles II. Her father having no ſon, left his eſtate to be divided between her and her ſiſter, the counteſs of Abington, whoſe memory Mr Dryden has celebrated in a funeral panegyric intituled, *Eleonora* (16). She had no iſſue by Mr Wharton. The match, it ſeems, proved a little unhappy, inſomuch that ſhe once entertained ſome thoughts of ſeparating herſelf from him (17). In 1681 ſhe went to France on account of her health, as appears from ſeveral letters to her huſband (18). But returning home the next year, ſhe held a correſpondence among others with Dr Burnet, whoſe letters ſtrongly intimate her leading a gay life, and ſo thoughtleſs of religious duties, as to give the doctor a ſuſpicion of her giving way even to atheiſtical notions. However, he admired her poetical talents, and in return to ſome poems ſhe made him a preſent of, he ſent her ſeveral compoſed by himſelf, namely, *The ſecrets of friendſhip*; *Upon the creation*; *Pure love*; *Love's magnetiſm*; *Friendſhip's myſteries*; *A congratulation upon his return to a retired courſe of life*; and *A paraphraſe on the 53d of Iſaiah, in imitation of one by Mrs Anne Wharton.* It was the ſight of this poem of her's that occaſioned him to write his two cantos of *Divine poeſy* (19). It appears by theſe letters that Mr Waller admired her poetical talents, and living in great intimacy and friendſhip with the family, his neighbours at Winchendon (20), he wrote *On the paraphraſe on the Lord's Prayer written alſo by Mrs Wharton*: and it was this excellent paraphraſe that induced him to write *Some reflections on the ſeveral petitions on the ſame prayer.* This lady, among other poems, wrote a paraphraſe on the Lamentations of Jeremiah, verſes to Mr Waller, and an elegy on the death of the earl of Rocheſter; upon which Mr Waller wrote that copy of verſes which is inſerted in his works, as follows:

‘ Thus mourn the Muſes; on the herſe
‘ Not ſtrewing tears but laſting verſe,
‘ Which ſo preſerve the hero's name,
‘ They make him live again in fame.

(15) Wood's Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(16) Fenton's notes upon Waller, p. cxii.

(17) See Dr Gilbert Burnet's letter to her, dated Dec. 8, in Gen. Diction. Vol. x. p. 125. under [*B*].

(18) Two of theſe are inſerted in Gen. Diction. Vol. x. p. 122, 123.

(19) Dr Burnet's letters, ubi ſupra.

(20) Waller's life prefixed to his Works, p. 1111. edit. 1711. A note in the original MS. ſhews it was begun at Paris, March 21, and ended April 2, following.

excellent endowments and great ſweetneſs of temper (*b*), who brought him a ſon and heir not long after her marriage.

But though ever in the full blaze of favour, he never had the fortune to riſe to any greater preferment. For ſome years before the death of the late Prince of Wales, our poet, who was in favour with that potentate, attended the court pretty conſtantly; but upon his deceaſe in 1751, all his hopes of church advancement vaniſhed (*i*), and towards the latter end of his life, his very deſires of fortune ſeemed to forſake him. Notwithſtanding, upon the death of Dr Stephen Hales, January 4, 1761 (†), he was taken into the ſervice of the Princeſs Dowager of Wales, and ſucceeded him as clerk of the cloſet to her Royal Highneſs. In the mean time, about 1741, he had the misfortune to loſe his wife and both her children, a ſon and a daughter in law, both extremely meritorious; they died all within a ſhort time of each other: what he felt for their loſs, as well as for that of his lady, we may eaſily perceive by his fine poem of the *Night Thoughts*, occaſioned by it [*D*]. Thus having vented his grief for more than ten years he grew more eaſy, nor did it ſhorten his days, for he lived many years after, and continued to employ the preſs both in proſe and poetical performances. His *Conjectures on Original Compoſition*, when conſidered as the work of a man turned of eighty, we are not ſurprized ſo much that it has faults, as how it ſhould come to have beauties. It is indeed ſtrange that the load of fourſcore years was not able to ſink that vigorous fancy, which here burſts the bounds of judgment, and breaks the ſlaviſh ſhackles of age and experience. This work ſeemed a brightning before death, and it had been well if the author had ſtopt here, but that taper which blazed as it declined, was at laſt ſhamefully exhibited to the public as burning in the ſocket,

(*b*) Hiſtorical Regiſter for this year.

(†) See his article in the Supplement.

(*i*) In his Night Thoughts, mentioning himſelf, he obſerves, that there was *one in Britain born, with courtiers bred, who thought even wealth might come a day too late.*

‘ *Chloris*, in lines ſo like his own,
‘ Gives him ſo juſt and high renown;
‘ That ſhe th’ afflicted world relieves,
‘ And ſhews that ſtill in her he lives:
‘ Her wit as graceful, great, and good,
‘ *Ally’d in genius as in blood* (21),
‘ His loſs ſupply’d: now all our fears
‘ Are, that the nymph ſhould melt in tears.
‘ Then, faireſt *Chloris*, comfort take,
‘ For his, your own, and for our ſake,
‘ Leſt his fair ſoul, that lives in you,
‘ Should from the world for ever go.’

So much was thought due to the memory of Mrs Wharton, who died at Aderbury in Oxfordſhire, October 24, 1685, and was buried at Winchendon, November the 10th following (22). To return to the circumſtance which gave occaſion to it. The dean of Saliſbury then publiſhed a Latin ſermon, intituled, *Amoris Chriſtianæ* MNEMONTTIKON: *ſive concio ad clerum habita in viſitatione metropolitica eccl. cath. Sariſburienſis*, 12 July, 1686, on John xiii. 34, 35. Lond. 1686. 12mo (23). This ſermon was tranſlated into Engliſh, at the inſtance of Waller the poet, by W. Atwood, Eſq; under this title, *The Idea of Criſtian Love*; to which are added, *Some Copies of Verſes by that excellent Poeteſs Mrs* Anne Wharton.

[*D*] *The Night Thoughts, occaſioned by it.*] As this was a ſpecies of poetry peculiarly his own, ſo he has been unrivalled by all who attempted to copy him in it. The applauſe which he received for theſe was unbounded. The unhappy bard, whoſe *griefs in melting numbers flow, and melancholy joys diffuſe around*, has been ſung by the profane as well as the pious. They were written, as is obſerved, under the recent preſſure of his ſorrow for the loſs of his wife, daughter, and ſon in law; they are addreſſed to Lorenzo, a man of pleaſure, and the world, and who, it is inſinuated by ſome, was his own ſon, but then labouring under his father’s diſpleaſure; the ſon in law is ſaid to be characteriſed by *Philander*. It is certain that his daughter is figured under the poetical name of *Narciſſa*, in her laſt illneſs he carried her to Montpellier in France, where ſhe died; whom he thus laments

‘ Soon as the luſtre languiſh’d in her eye,
‘ Dawning a dimmer day on human ſight;
‘ And on her cheek, the reſidence of ſpring,
‘ Pale omen ſat; and ſcatter’d fears around
‘ On all that ſaw (and who could ceaſe to gaze,
‘ That once had ſeen?) with haſte, parental haſte,
‘ I flew, I ſnatch’d her from the rigid North,
‘ Her native bed, on which bleak Boreas blew,
‘ And bore her nearer to the ſun; the ſun
‘ (As if the ſun could envy) checkt his beam,
‘ Deny’d his wonted ſuccour, or with more
‘ Regret beheld her drooping, than the bells
‘ Of lilies; faireſt lilies not ſo fair.

After her death, it ſeems, ſhe was denied Chriſtian burial as a heretic, which inhumanity he reſents in the following ſtrong lines:

‘ Turn, hopeleſs thought! turn from her:—thought repell’d,
‘ Reſenting rallies, and wakes every woe.
‘ Snatch’d ere thy prime! and in thy bridal hour!
‘ And when kind fortune, with thy lover, ſmil’d!
‘ And when high flavour’d thy freſh-op’ning joys!
‘ And when blind man pronounc’d thy bliſs complete!
‘ And on a foreign ſhore; where ſtrangers wept!
‘ Strangers to thee; and, more ſurpriſing ſtill,
‘ Strangers to kindneſs wept: their eyes let fall
‘ Inhuman tears; ſtrange tears; that trickled down
‘ From marble hearts! obdurate tenderneſs!
‘ A tenderneſs that call’d them more ſevere;
‘ In ſpite of nature’s ſoft perſuaſion, ſteel’d;
‘ While nature melted, ſuperſtition rav’d;
‘ That mourn’d the dead; and this deny’d a grave.
‘ Their ſighs incenſt; ſighs foreign to the will!
‘ Their will the tyger ſuck’d, outrag’d the ſtorm.
‘ For Oh! the curſt ungodlineſs of zeal!
‘ While *ſinful fleſh* relented, *ſpirit* nurſt
‘ In blind infallibility’s embrace,
‘ The *ſainted ſpirit* petrify’d the breaſt;
‘ Deny’d the charity of duſt, to ſpread
‘ O’er duſt! a charity their dogs enjoy.
‘ What cou’d I do? What ſuccour? What reſource?
‘ With pious ſacrilege, a grave I ſtole;
‘ With impious piety, that grave I wrong’d;
‘ Short

(21) The mother of John Wilmot, earl of Rocheſter, was aunt to Mrs Wharton’s father. Gen. Diction. under her article.

(22) Hiſtorical Regiſter for that year.

(23) This viſitation was performed by biſhop Sprat of Rocheſter, who was ſo much pleaſed with the ſermon, that he could not forbear declaring to the chapter his concern that the preacher had one of the worſt prebends in their church. Dr Fyre.

ſocket, in a poem intituled, *The Reſignation*, the laſt and the worſt of all Dr Young's performances. This he publiſhed but a ſhort time before his death, which happened April 12, 1765. He died in his parſonage houſe at Welwyn, and was buried under the altar piece [*E*] of that church, by the ſide of his late wife. Towards the latter part of his life he was but little talked of; an inſtance that when any man reſolves to forſake the world, the world is willing enough to leave him; our celebrated poet therefore might with great truth ſay of himſelf *That he had been ſo long remembered that he was forgotten.* He fell unwept by the Muſes, and paſſed as ſilent to the grave as piety or modeſty could wiſh, even the common forms to the meaneſt perſon were not obſerved, the bell did not toll till the corpſe was brought out of his houſe; and though he was both founder and endower of a charity ſchool in his pariſh, neither the maſter nor the children attended his funeral. Previous to his deceaſe, he ordered all his MSS. to be committed to the flames. Thoſe who knew how much he expreſſed in a ſmall compaſs, and that he never wrote on trivial ſubjects, will perhaps lament both the modeſty and irreparable loſs to poſterity, eſpecially when it is conſidered that he was the intimate acquaintance of Addiſon, and was himſelf one of the writers of the Spectators, and except Dr Pearce, the preſent biſhop of Rocheſter, the laſt ſurviving genius of that incomparable groupe of authors. In his life time he had publiſhed two or three original ſermons, particularly one preached before the houſe of commons (*k*). He left an only ſon and heir, Mr Frederick Young, who had the firſt part of his education at Wincheſter ſchool, and becoming a ſcholar upon that foundation, he was ſent in conſequence thereof from thence to New college, Oxford, but there being no vacancy (though the ſociety waited for one no leſs than two years) he was admitted in the mean time of Baliol college, where he miſbehaved himſelf ſo much as to be forbidden the college (*l*). This miſconduct had ſo highly diſpleaſed his father, that the old gentleman would never ſuffer him to come into his ſight afterwards; however, by his will, he bequeathed to him, after a few legacies to ſome friends, his whole fortune, which was very conſiderable. As a chriſtian and divine, he was a fine example of primeval piety [*F*]. The turn of his mind was naturally ſolemn, and he uſually, when at home in the country, ſpent many hours in a day walking among the tombs in his own church yard; his converſation, his writings, had all a reference to the life after this, and this turn of diſpoſition mixed itſelf even with his improvements in gardening. He had, for inſtance, an alcove with a bench ſo painted that at a diſtance it ſeemed a real one, but upon a nearer approach the deception was perceived, and this motto appeared, "*Inviſibilia non decipiunt*, The things unſeen do not deceive us." Yet notwithſtanding this gloomineſs of temper, he was fond of innocent ſports and amuſements; he inſtituted an aſſembly and a bowling green in his pariſh, and often promoted the mirth of the company in perſon. His wit was generally poignant, and ever levelled at thoſe who teſtified any contempt for decency and religion. His epigram ſpoken extempore upon Voltaire is well known, who happening in his company to ridicule Milton's allegorical perſonages of Death and Sin, Young thus addreſſed him;

Thou art ſo witty, profligate, and thin,
Thou ſeem'ſt a Milton, with his Death and Sin.

As to his character as a poet, his compoſition was inſtinct in his youth, with as much vanity as was neceſſary to excel in that art (*m*). He publiſhed a collection of ſuch as he thought the beſt of his works (*n*) in 1762, in four volumes, 12mo. Among theſe his ſatires, intituled, *The Love of Fame, or the Univerſal Paſſion*, are by many conſidered as his principal performances. They were written early in his life. If terſeneſs of ſtyle, brilliancy of wit, or ſimplicity of ſubject, can enſure applauſe, our poet may demand it on

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'Short in my duty; coward in my grief!
'More like her murderer, than friend, I crept,
'With ſoft ſuſpended ſtep; and, muffled deep
'In midnight darkneſs, *whiſper'd* my laſt ſigh.
'I whiſper'd what ſhould echo thro' their realms;
'Nor writ her name, whoſe tomb ſhould pierce the ſkies.
'Preſumptuous fear! How durſt I dread her foes,
'While nature's loudeſt dictates I obey'd?
'Pardon neceſſity, bleſt ſhade! Of grief
'And indignation rival burſts I pour'd;
'Half execration mingled with my pray'r;
'Kindled at man, whilſt I his God ador'd;
'Sore-grudg'd the ſavage land her ſacred duſt;
'Stampt the curſt ſoil; and with humanity
'(Deny'd *Narciſſa*) wiſh'd them all a grave (24).

His wife, though nameleſs, is frequently mentioned: and he thus laments the loſs of all three in an apoſtrophe to Death:

'Inſatiate archer! could not one ſuffice?
'Thy ſhaft flew thrice; and thrice my peace was ſlain;
'And thrice, ere thrice yon moon had fill'd her horn.

[*E*] *The altar piece.*] This is one of the moſt curious in the kingdom, being adorned with an elegant piece of needle-work wrought by the lady Betty Young, his wife. In the middle is inſcribed in capital letters the following ſentence, *I am the bread of life.* On the North ſide of the chancel is this inſcription, as is ſuppoſed by the doctor's order, *VIRGINIBUS, Increaſe in underſtanding and wiſdom*; and on the South ſide, *PUERISQUE, And in favour with God and man* (25).

[*F*] *He was a fine example of primeval piety.*] One Sunday preaching in his turn at St James's, he found that though he ſtrove to make his audience attentive, yet

(*k*) He printed one ſermon before he preached it. Dr Eyre, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Dr Eyre of Gray's Inn, London, as before.

(*m*) Idem.

(*n*) See his advertiſement prefixed to it.

(24) Night III.

(25) London Chronicle from April 13—16, 1765. No. 1298.

on this occaſion [*G*]. After the death of his wife, as he had never given any attention to domeſtic affairs, ſo knowing his unfitneſs for it, he deferred the whole care and management thereof to his houſekeeper, to whom he left a handſome legacy (*o*).

(*o*) See his will.

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yet he could not prevail, upon which his pity for their folly got the better of all decorums, he ſat back in the pulpit, and burſt into a flood of tears (26).

[*G*] *Our poet may demand it on this occaſion.*] Yet we know not how theſe ſatires, once in great favour and eſteem, are wearing out of faſhion; and perhaps, as Dean Swift has juſtly ſaid of them, the ſatiriſt ſhould have been more merry or more ſevere; in fact, it has been obſerved (27), that they conſiſt of a ſtring of epigrams written upon one ſubject, and tire the reader before he gets near the end. Even in his *Night Thoughts*, though there are flights of thinking almoſt ſuper-human, ſuch as the *deſcription of death, from his ſecret ſtand, noting down the follies of a Bacchanalian ſociety*; *the epitaph upon the departed world*; *the iſſuing of Satan from his dungeon on the day of judgment*; yet all theſe noble flights are often allay'd by paltry witticiſms, and a vile jingle of words; many thoughts finely ſtarted are tired down, and, like *Ovid*, he plays with his metaphors till he has ſpoiled them (28).

In the laſt edition of his works, we find an ode addreſſed to the King [George II] which is below contempt; a paraphraſe on the book of Job, which is pious but dull; two epiſtles to Mr Pope, of pretty nearly the ſame merit with his ſatires; and two or three odes more, in which ſpecies of writing he is peculiarly unfortunate (29).

(26) A periodical paper called the Univerſal Muſeum for June 1765.

(27) The Univerſal Muſeum and Complete Magazine for May, 1765.

(28) Ibid.

(29) Idem.

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—— publiſhes his *Zodiacus Stellatus* improved in Phil. Tranſ. No. 369. for the uſe of finding the longitude at ſea by the moon's motion, and in 1731 he publiſhed a propoſal for finding that longitude further one degree, or 20 leagues, having conſtructed tables of his obſervations of the moon's motion for almoſt nine years, but he did not live to complete his obſervations for the whole ſarotic period of eighteen years. It is obſervable, that he was encouraged to undertake this work by Sir Iſaac Newton's theory, which came out in 1713, which he found for many months together rarely differed two minutes of motion from the obſervations. Since this, tables of the moon's motion have been conſtructed from Sir Iſaac's theory alone, which have been very lately ordered to be printed by the Commiſſioners of the Longitude, who have voted 1000l. for the purpoſe of making a trial how far they may be of uſe toward finding the longitude at ſea; which, however, Mr Harriſon, is confident cannot be performed by them with ſufficient exactneſs. And the truth is, all further proſecution of this method for finding the longitude at ſea was dropped, it being ſuperſeded by Mr Harriſon's clock, which was approved by Dr Halley himſelf, as well as others; and which has, upon two voyages to the Weſt Indies, with ſurpriſing exactneſs determined this grand *Quæſitum*

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—— he was the reputed author of a large dedication to the preſent pope (Clement XI.) giving him a particular account of the ſtate of religion amongſt Proteſtants, and of ſeveral other matters of importance relating to Great Britain, ſigned Richard Steele, being prefixed to his "Diſcourſe concerning the State of Religion in England," publiſhed in 1715, Vol. VI. Part i. 3830 [*U*]

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—— an omiſſion alſo in Vol. V. 2879 (Text) muſt be ſupplied, namely, that when he took the degree of B. D. he ſpoke a ſpeech againſt Melancthon, whom he treated with great ſeverity for impoſing innovations, as he called them in religion, *idem*, p. 3, 4

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—— N. B. In his article in p. 3288. l. 13. Text, after the word wife, inſert, He had alſo a daughter married to one Chriſtopher Brooke, who had been inſtructed in the mathematics by him, and becoming a mathematical inſtrument maker, publiſhed, 1. *Mr Oughtred's New Quadrant of more natural, eaſy, and manifold Performance than any one heretofore extant* in 1649, in two ſheets, 8vo. 2. *The*

Solution of all ſpherical Triangles both right and oblique by the Planiſphere, &c. Oxford 1651. 8vo. This Brooke had a ſervant's place in Wadham college, given him by Dr Wilkins, worth 30 l. a year, and dying in his houſe near that college was buried in a cloiſter thereunto belonging, ſituated between the chapel and the library, *anno* 1665. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. p. 220

Oxford, the queſtion whether the archbiſhop of Canterbury has any right to a viſitation of that univerſity diſcuſſed, Vol. I. 208 [*D*]

—— that right affirmed, *ibid.* 211 [*O*]

—— its exemption granted by pope Boniface revoked, which was voided by pope Sixtus IV. *idem ibid.*

—— an account of the muſæum there, Vol. I. 233 [*N*]

—— the Clementine conſtitutions concerning the univerſity, Vol. I. 340 [*H*]

—— a conſiderable benefaction to Magdalen college there in 1458. Vol. III. 1907 [*H*]

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—— the calumny of his conſecration at the Nag's Head, and the invention of it, chaſtiſed, Vol. V. 3297 [*H*]

—— John, an account of him, Vol. V. 3299 [*H*]

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—— two principles in his account of the Nature and Extent of the divine Dominion chaſtiſed, Vol. V. 3301 *ibid.* col. *b*

N. B. To the end of [*O*] 3305. add, this piece was publiſhed by his ſon Samuel Parker, with an apology for his father's conduct prefixed

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—— never wore a ſurplice at prayers while canon of Chriſt church in Oxford, *ibid.*

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—— he was the firſt of the Engliſh nobility that perſuaded the Prince of Orange to undertake his expedition into England, *ibid.*

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—— N. B. To his article under 3349 [*T*]. The King has been pleaſed to grant unto the right honourable

able John Petty earl of Shelburne, viſcount Fitzmaurice, and baron Dunkeron of Ireland, and to his heirs male, the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the name, ſtile, and title of lord Wiccomb, baron of Chipping Wiccomb, in the county of Bucks. Lond. Gazette, Nó. 10001. Whitehall, May 20, 1760. Who dying April 12, 1761. was ſucceeded in title and eſtate by his ſon viſcount Fitzmaurice, now earl of Shelburn. Lond. Mag. for May 1761

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—— a miſtake in his piece *De illuſtribus Anglorum Scriptoribus*, p. 866. chaſtiſed, Vol. IV. 2197 under [*F*] col. *b*

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Pococke, Dr Edward, a miſtake in his preface to *Abul Farajii Hiſtoria*, p. 253. corrected, Vol. V. 3382. under [*NN*] col. *b*

—— N. B. In his article 3881 [*NN*] after the words *Lameto'l Ajam*, l. 3, 4. inſert, that is a poem whoſe verſes end in the letter *l*. It is no unuſual thing with the Arabs to compoſe long poems, every verſe of which ends with the ſame ſyllable or letter, which is eaſy enough to do by reaſon of the richneſs of that language. There are two *Lamiats* particularly celebrated among them, viz. *Lamiato'l Arab*, or *Lamiat de l' Arabe*, wrote by Schaopari an Arab. 2. *Lamiato'l Aſcham*, or the *Lamiat of the Perſian*, writ in Arabic by Abu Iſmael Tograi, by birth a Perſian. See Moreri under *Lamiat*, edit. 1740. An Engliſh tranſlation of Tograi was publiſhed in 1659. 4to. with this title, *The Traveller, an Arabic Poem, intituled, Tograi, &c. now rendered into Engliſh in the ſame Iambic Meaſure as the Original*, by Leonard Chappelow, Arabic Profeſſor, and formerly Fellow of St John's college in Cambridge, 1759, 4to

Pococke, Mr Edward, ſon of the Dr, an account of him, Vol. V. 3384 [*SS*]

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—— N. B. To his article, l. 28. in Text, p. 3389. after *De Unitate Eccleſiaſtica*, inſert, Henry's uſurpation of the ſupremacy, as it was called at Rome, appeared ſo prodigious a crime to all good Catholics, that no ſeverities were thought enough to inflict upon him for it. Their orators proceeded to ſtrange lengths. Even our cardinal Pole ſo far forgot the greatneſs of his quality, and the natural mildneſs of his temper, as to exceed the bounds of decency in his invectives againſt him; and when afterwards, in right of this aſſumed headſhip, the crown went ſo far as to reject the authority of the church as well as court of Rome, all the thunders of the *Vatican* were employed againſt this invader of the church's prerogative. The pope in his extreme indignation threatened to depoſe Edward. He did put this threat in execution againſt Elizabeth; yet in ſpite of religious prejudices, this was deemed ſo monſtrous a ſtretch of power, and ſo odious to all Chriſtian princes, that the Jeſuits thought it expedient by all means to ſoften the appearance of it. One of their contrivances was, by ſearching into the origin of civil power, which they brought rightly, though for this wicked purpoſe, from the people; for they concluded, that if the original power could be ſhewn to have no divine right, but to be of human, and even popular inſtitution, the liberty which the pope took in depoſing would be leſs invidious: thus the Jeſuits reaſoned. The argument was puſhed with great vigour by *Harding* and his brethren in Elizabeth's reign, but afterwards with more learning and addreſs by *Bellarmine*, *Mariana*, and others. This deſign was ſtarted even ſo early as Henry's aſſumption

tion of the ſupremacy. Cardinal Pole inſiſted ſtrongly on this origin of kingſhip in his book *Pro Eccleſiaſticæ Unitatis Defenſione*, lib. i. p. 74. Dialogues Moral and Political by Mr Hurd, Dial. vi. p. 365, 366. edit. 1760. 8vo
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N. B. He carried his reſentment againſt the ſon ſo far as to throw an aſperſion upon the father, calling the two figures of melancholy and raving madneſs over the gate at Bedlam, the *brazen brainleſs brothers*; for which he has been lately chaſtiſed by an excellent pen in theſe terms: The ſon will be known as long as the Careleſs Huſband and the Memoirs of his own Life exiſt; and ſo long the injuſtice of calling the figures at Bedlam, *the brazen brainleſs brothers*, and the ſpitefulneſs of thruſting him into the *Dunciad* in the room of Theobald, the proper hero, will be notorious. Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, Vol. iii. p. 80 to 82. incluſive, edit. 1762. 4to
—— his treachery to lord Bolingbroke, *ibid.* 3416 [*KK*]
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N. B. A miſtake in his article, Vol. V. 3405 [*E*] in marg. note (9), muſt be corrected; inſtead of Mr Hawkins, read Mr Hawkins Browne
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School, the original of a charter working one in Ireland, and of the ſociety for promoting Engliſh Proteſtant ones there, Vol. II. 869 [*I*]
—— an account of the foundation of St Paul's, London, *ibid.* 1204 [*H*]
—— alſo of *Begh* in Cumberland, Vol. IV. 2439 [*FF*]
—— and of that at the end of Caſtle-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, Vol. VI. Part i. 3924 [*G*]
Sclater, an account of his *Original Draught of the Primitive Church*, &c. Vol. IV. 2859 [*D*]
Scotland, why called Albania, Vol. I. 86 [*C*]
—— the ſtate of its government in the 13th century, Vol. I. 442. *et ſeq.* (Text) and notes
—— the articles of an alliance between it and France in 1295, Vol. I. 453 [*O*]
Scots, their firſt covenant at Edinburgh, December 3, 1557, Vol. IV. 2874 [*T*]
—— whence came their cuſtom of preaching in the open air on commons, *ibid.* 2865 [*C*] and marg. note (8)
—— Ireland firſt peopled by them, no Scots in Britain before the year 300, Scotland when firſt ſo called, their firſt church government epiſcopal, Vol. V. 2988 [*D*]

Scottiſh poems, a large collection of them by Mr Carmichael, Vol. I. 461 [*C*]

Scripture, holy, reaſons why it ſhould not be tranſlated into Engliſh, Vol. VI. Part i. 3958 [*N*]

Scurvy, above 10,000 ſeamen died of it in 20 years under Queen Elizabeth's reign, and ſome uſeful directions for preſervation from it, Vol. IV. 2571 under [*D*]

Sea, a remarkable inſtance of want of proviſions upon it, Vol. II. 1367 [*F*]

—— and of the want of water, Vol. V. 3144 [*B*]

Seal, the great one delivered to Thomas lord Audley with the title of Keeper, during lord Audley's laſt illneſs, Vol. I. 285 [*D*]

Se-baptiſt, the meaning of it and by whom practiſed, *ibid.* 73 [*B*]

Secret Hiſtory of Europe, a miſtake in Part ii. p. 27. corrected, Vol. IV. 2815 [*G*]

—— another in *ibid.* from p. 46 to 48. corrected, *idem ibid.* [*H*]

Secretaries of State, three for Engliſh affairs under King Edward VI. Vol. II. 1251 [*E*]

—— Sir Edward Nicholas, on his diſmiſſion from that office preſented by King Charles II. with 1000 l. Vol. II. 702 [*E*]

Sector, a mathematical inſtrument, an improvement in it by S. Foſter, Vol. III. 2010 [*C*]

—— a new one invented by Gunter, Vol. IV. 2451 [*A*]

—— a ſcale or rule of proportion invented by Gunter, Vol. IV. 2453 [*E*]

Sects, the names of thoſe which appeared during the grand rebellion, Vol. III. 1834 [*G*]

Sedley, Sir Charles, a miſtake under his article, Vol. VI. Part i. 3604 [*B*]

—— is in the errata referred to the laſt volume

—— N. B. Line 9. in the Text, after the word Ayloff, inſert, His works had been publiſhed in a ſingle 8vo volume by the ſame gentleman, Captain Ayloffe, the author of ſome poems inſerted in Villiers, the ſecond duke of Buckingham's works, Vol. II. 1004. 8vo. 2d edit

—— *Item*, to the end of the Text, add, Sir Charles had a natural ſon, called alſo Sir Charles Sedley, being created a baronet by Queen Anne, July 10, 1702. Salmon's Chronological Hiſtory under that year

—— *Item*, at the end of 3605 [*G*] add. 7. *The happy Pair*, or a Poem on Matrimony, publiſhed in 1704

Selden, John, his remarks upon Bracton's book *De Legibus*, *&c.* relate to the firſt edition of that piece in 1659. Vol. II. 991 [*D*]

—— a miſtake in his Titles of Honour, p. 525. corrected, Vol. IV. 2222 [*D*]

—— another in *eodem*, *ibid.* 2226 [*G*]

—— a miſtake in his *Diis Syriis*, p. 269. chaſtiſed, Vol. V. 3187 [*D*]

—— probably procures Dr Pococke the chaplainſhip of the Engliſh factory at Aleppo, Vol. V. 3371 [*F*]

—— procures the profits of the Arabic lecture at Oxford, ſeized by the Parliament commiſſioners, to be reſtored to Dr Pococke, Vol. V. 3376 [*Z*]

—— the Latin diſtich over the door of the houſe where he was born, Vol. VI. Part i. 3606 [*B*]

—— anſwers the charge of plagiariſm imputed to him by Dr Richard Mountague, *ibid.* 3607 [*H*]

—— his interpretation of Deuteron. xx. 5. *idem ibid.*

Self-conceit, a remarkable inſtance of it, Vol. I. 507 [*B*]

Selling, William, an account of him, Vol. V. 2991 [*D*] and [*F*]

Seminaries, the motive and deſign in erecting the Popiſh ones at Doway, Valladolid, Sevil, and St Omers, Vol. V. 3335 [*S*], and 3338 [*Z*]

Senan, St, an account of him, Vol. I. 694 [*A*]

Sentence of death, a diſpute between the ſpiritual and temporal lords which ought to pronounce it, Vol. I. 634 [*Q*]

Serjeants at law, the ancient manner of creating them, Vol. III. 1766 [*D*]

—— an inſtance of one diſcharged from that degree on account of his being made ſollicitor general, *idem ibid.*

Sermons, their ſtile full of jingles, quibbles, and quaint expreſſions in the 16th century, Vol. I. 338 [*F*]

Seymour, William, his alliance to the royal family of England, Vol. I. 175 [*F*]

Shafteſbury, the firſt earl of, a pleaſant circumſtance in his manner of reſigning the great ſeal, Vol. III. 1466 [*L*]

—— a witty repartee of his, *ibid.* 1469 under [*N*]

—— the ſecond earl of, a deficiency in his *Enquiry after Virtue* chaſtiſed, Suppl. 22 under [*C*]

—— a miſrepreſentation in his *Characters*, Vol. i. p. 39. corrected, *idem ibid.*

Shakeſpeare, poet, his play of *The Life and Death of King John* united truth and poetry, Vol. I. 204 [*C*]

—— a paſſage in his Second Part of King Henry IV. Act v. where Prince Henry is ſaid to ſtrike Judge Gaſcoign upon the bench, vindicated, Vol. III. 2145 [*F*]

—— his introduction to Scene vii. Act iii. of *Hamlet*, a particular inſtance of his genius, Vol. V. 3544 [*D*]

—— an inconſiſtency in his tragedy of Macbeth marked, Vol. VI. Part i. 3629 under [*F*] col. *a*

—— the moſt original thinker ſince the time of Homer, *ibid.* 3631 under [*K*] marg. note (22)

—— his art in the poſition of known words and an eaſy deduction of new ones recommended, *ibid.* 3631 under [*F*]

—— N. B. His monument in Weſtminſter Abbey was executed not by Ryſbrack, as ſaid in l. 8. from the bottom of the page in Vol. II. 627 [*AA*], but by Schemaker

Sharp, Dr James, archbiſhop of St Andrews in Scotland, a miſtake in the account of his life, edit. 1723. p. 42. 8vo. corrected, Vol. VI. Part i. 3643 [*L*]

—— an account of his murder, *ibid.* 3646 [*U*]

—— Dr John, archbiſhop of York, an inſtance of his care in adminiſtring the ſacrament, Vol. V. 2916 [*Q*]

—— the origin of his acquaintance with archbiſhop Tillotſon, Vol. VI. Part i. 3648 [*G*]

—— in the prayer before ſome of his ſermons he prayed for King James II. after the vote had paſſed in parliament for that King's abdication, Vol. VI. Part i. 3650 [*P*]

—— N. B. To his article, after the word cabinet, l. 7. Text 3650. add, He alſo wrote *A Treatiſe in Four Parts.* 1. *Of the Silver Coins of England.* 2. *Obſervations on the Golden Coins of England.* 3. *Obſervations on the Scots Money.* 4. *Of the Iriſh Coins.* The MS. of this piece, preſented by his grace, was in the Muſeum Thoreſbeianum, N° 195. Ducat. Leod. p. 528

Sheep preſerved from the rot by tormentile, Vol. II. 1214 [*A*]

Sheffield duke of Bucks, his irony upon Sir Thomas More's witty expreſſion on the ſcaffold before his execution chaſtiſed, Vol. V. 3167 [*PP*]

—— his governor's drinking and diſſimulation, Vol. VI. Part i. 3653 [*A*]

—— his ſix love verſes in his letter from ſea, *ibid.* 3654 [*G*]

—— N. B. After the word character in his article, 3663. l. 11. Text, add, Of this ſee the Spectator, N° 153. and Lord Lanſdown's Eſſay on Unnatural Flights. Alſo Prior's Alma, Garth's Diſpenſary, Pope's Eſſay on Criticiſm: Roſcommon likewiſe on tranſlated Verſe, and Dryden's Abſalom and Achitophel. So that if ever *laudari a laudatis viris*, could ſtamp credit and laſting reputation, it muſt have done it here, for it is not eaſy to produce a character better ſupported with teſtimonies of its real worth and merit; yet how uncertain a thing is literary reputation. A critic in the preſent times obſerves, that the coldneſs and inequality with which the duke, formed only on the French critics, ſpeaks of Milton, muſt be conſidered as proofs of his want of critical diſcernment and critical courage. I can recollect no performance of his which ſtamps him a true genius. His reputation was owing to his rank. In reading his poems one is apt to exclaim with the author:

What woful ſtuff this madrigal would be
In ſome ſtarv'd Hackney ſenator, or me:
But let a lord once own the happy lines,
How the wit brightens, how the ſtile refines.

Warton's *Eſſay on the Writings and Genius of Pope*, p. 98. edit. 1756

—— It is certain, ſays another writer, that his grace's compoſitions in proſe have nothing extraordinary in them, his poetry is moſt indifferent, and the greateſt part of both is already fallen into total neglect.

neglect. Walpole's *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors* under this duke's article

—— To the ſame place, after l. 13. add, The duke had a ſiſter who married lord Walſh, of the county of Waterford in Ireland, and had iſſue by her Mrs Walſh of Highgate. Her grandaughter recovered a good part of the duke's eſtate as heir at law by a decree in chancery, about ſeven or eight years ago, viz. an eſtate in Suſſex, and a piece of land of three quarters of an acre in the pariſh of St Giles in the Fields, with the buildings upon it. Upon Mrs Walſh of Highgate's death theſe eſtates came to her couſins, two Mr Grace's of Ireland, great grandchildren of the duke's daughter Mrs Walſh. The eſtate in Suſſex was ſold for 16,000 l. and that of the pariſh of St Giles in the Fields, all the houſes upon it being gone to ruin, and the materials of them ſold, has been lately advertiſed in the news to be ſold by the two Graces before-mentined, who are now reſident in London. Collin's Peerage, p. 146 to 149. edit. 1735

—— To the end of the Text, in p. 3665. add, This houſe is now the Queen [Charlotte's] palace, having been lately purchaſed for that purpoſe with the furniture by King George III

—— *Item*, in remark [*PP*] col. *b*. l. 17. inſtead of Kent read Stanford in Berkſhire

—— *Item*, in Text, p. 3661. l. 18. inſtead of nine read five

—— the truth of a remark by the writer of his character, p. 325. queſtioned, Vol. VI. Part i. 3655 [*K*]

—— inſtances of his unmanly ſenſibility to danger, *ibid.* 3656 [*O*], and 3657 [*Q*]

—— proofs that he was inclined to theiſm, *ibid.* 3662 [*II*] and [*KK*]

—— as alſo to ſuperſtition, *ibid.* 3663 [*LL*]

Sheldon, archbiſhop of Canterbury, a remarkable inſtance of his genteel temper, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4742 [*R*]

Sherburn, Sir Edward, communicates ſeveral papers to Dr Rich. Bentley for his intended edition of *Manilius*, Vol. II. 744 [*S*]

—— his poem upon Chloe's eyes and breaſts, Vol. VI. Part i. 3673 under [*C*] col. *a*

Sherlock, Dr William, his doctrine of the Trinity, Vol. VI. Part i. 3683 [*O*], and 3685 [*R*]

—— his motive for oppoſing the eſtabliſhed account of that doctrine, *ibid.* 3686 [*X*]

—— his cenſure of that doctrine ridiculed by Locke and Molyneux, Vol. V. 2999 and 3000 under [*R*]

—— N. B. Add to his article, that he was lecturer of St Dunſtans in the Weſt before he became maſter of the Temple. Regiſter of that church

—— Thomas, biſhop, proofs of his being an original in writing, Append. 232 [*I*]

—— a remarkable ſpeech of his againſt a bill brought from the houſe of commons, intituled, A bill to prevent bribery, *ibid.* 233 [*L*]

Ships of war, the Engliſh ones not to ſtrike in the Daniſh ſeas, Vol. II. 1165 [*A*]

—— the deſcription of an extraordinary large Portugueſe one called *Madre de Dios*, built in 1592, Vol. V. 3424 [*M*]

Shirwood, William, chancellor of Lincoln, aſſiſts friar Bacon in his ſtudies, Vol. I. 341 [*A*]

Short hand, the firſt inventor of it in England, Vol. I. 431 [*E*]

Shovel, Sir Cloudeſly, admiral, his ſeamanſhip diſputed, Vol. V. 2907 [*M*]

—— a ſtratagem of his, Vol. VI. Part i. 3689 [*D*]

—— the figure of him upon his monument in Weſtminſter Abbey criticized, *ibid.* 3697 (Text) in marg. note (*xx*)

Shunamite's houſe in St Paul's Church Yard, London, why ſo called, Vol. IV. 2664 [*D*]

Sickneſs, the ſweating one in England, an hiſtorical account of it, Vol. IV. 2798 [*Q*]

Sidſerf, a Scotch biſhop, ordains prieſts without demanding any oaths or ſubſcriptions, Vol. VI. Part i. 3945 [*H*]

Simeon Dunelmenſis, a paſſage in his hiſtory chaſtiſed, Vol. IV. 2221 [*D*]

—— another in p. 187. chaſtiſed, *ibid.* 2227 [*H*]

Simſon, Robert, profeſſor of mathematics at Glaſgow in Scotland, a miſrepreſentation in his *Apollonii Pergæi locorum libri reſtituti* rebuked, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4132 under [*NN*]

Skeleton, an account of a human one nine feet three inches long, Vol. III. 1850 [*B*]

Skelton, poet, a diſtich of his, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4317 [*X*]

Skinner, Robert, biſhop of Oxford, ſome account of him, Suppl. 9 [*D*]

Sloane, Sir Hans, M. D. his receipt for diſtempers in the eyes, Vol. VI. Part i. 3703 [*M*]

—— a liſt of his collection of rarities, *ibid.* 3704 [*O*]

Smallbrook, biſhop, why called Biſhop Split-Devil, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4339 [*P*]

Smallridge, George, writes William Lilly the aſtrologer's epitaph, Vol. VI. Part i. 3652 [*S*]

Smith, William, a celebrated actor in the time of King Charles II. ſome account of him, Vol. II. 865 (Text) and 866 [*G*]

—— William, father of Dr John Smith, an account of him, Vol. VI. Part i. 3724 [*C*]

—— George, D. D. ſon of Dr John Smith, ſome account of him, *ibid.* 3725 [*D*]

—— and of Poſthumus, L. L. B. another ſon of Dr John Smith, *idem ibid.*

—— N. B. Add to the article of George Smith of Burnhal, Vol. VI. Part i. 3733 (Text), He alſo publiſhed *A Treatiſe of Comets*, 1746, 8vo. and, *A Diſſertation on the general Properties of Eclipſes*, 1754, 8vo. Gentleman's Magazine, and a General Index to the firſt 20 Volumes

—— add alſo to the article of Dr Joſeph Smith, Vol. VI. Part i. 3736 in marg. note (*b*), His lordſhip alſo left him 100 l. as a further mark of his friendſhip. Alſo to p. 3742. marg. note (*u*), The chancel of New-bold-pacey in Warwickſhire was built through his means, and he was a good benefactor to it himſelf. Alſo to p. 3741 marg. note (*s*), add, Dr Waugh, biſhop of Carliſle. Likewiſe to p. 3740 [*Q*], after the word Cumberland, add, Theſe five ſcholarſhips were filled up June 30, 1764. They are intitled to 20 l. per ann. the firſt four years, and to 60 l. the fifth year, provided they continue in college. Communicated by Dr Joſ. Smith of Oxford

—— Dr Thomas, a miſtake in his *Vita Grævii*, p. 7. edit. 1707, 4to. corrected, Vol. IV. 2268 under [*A*]

—— another in p. 10. *ibid.* 2269 under [*F*]

—— Dr Robert, attempts to improve the ſcale of muſic, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4130 [*II*]

—— but fails in the ſixths, which were found to be too ſharp, nor was he able to correct them, Append. 229 (Text)

Smithfield, a ſquare in London, why once called Ruffian's Hall, Vol. III. 1961 [*D*]

Smollet, a miſtake in his Hiſtory of England, Vol. iii. p. 346. chaſtiſed, Vol. IV. 2785 and 2786 [*Z*]

Snow, a method of preſerving it in Italy, Vol. III. 1851 under [*D*]

Sobieſki, John, King of Poland, an inſtance of his great learning, Vol. III. 1449 [*A*]

Society, philoſophical, at Oxford, its origin, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4271 [*L*]

—— at the Robin Hood behind St Clement's Church in the Strand, Weſtminſter, the original of it, *ibid.* Part ii. 4210 under [*U*]

Socrates, a ſmart repartee of his, Vol. VI. Part i. 3954 under [*PP*] col. *b*

Soldiers, the original of preſſing them, Vol. VI. Part i. 3612 under [*R*] col. *a*

Solemn league and covenant in Scotland, the authors of a piece againſt it, Vol. I. 524 [*E*]

—— the full extent and deſign of the oath to it, Vol. III. 1434 (Text)

Somers, John lord, obtains the nomination of the biſhopric of Briſtol for Dr Ralph Bathurſt, with licence to keep his deanery of Wells and headſhip of Trinity college, Oxford, in commendam, Suppl. 10 (Text)

—— gives 100 l. towards building the new chapel at Trinity college, Vol. VI. Part i. 3744 marg. note (*), caſtrated ſheet for Vol. V. at the end of Sir Tho. Hanmer's article in the Append. 9. From Warton's Life of Dean Bathurſt, p. 82. N. B. The article of this Dean in the Supplement is added to ſupply the defects of that in Vol. I. 556, 557

—— a patron to Geo. Vertue the engraver, *idem ibid.*

Somerville, an account of that family, Vol I. 179 [*C*]

Sophia, Princeſs Electreſs of Hanover, her letter to archbiſhop Teniſon, Vol. VI. Part i. 3928 [*S*]

—— another letter of her's, Suppl. 30 [*A*]

South, D. D. a ſpecimen of the coarſeneſs of his wit, Vol. VI. Part i. 3684 [*Q*]

South, D. D.—N. B. Add to his article, That he was domeſtic chaplain to lord chancellor Clarendon and the Duke of York. Life of Ralph Bathurſt, p. 175 and 178. where there is an excellent copy of Latin verſes of his upon the marriage of that Duke, *idem*, p. 176, 177
Southampton, the capital town of Hampſhire, why ſo called, Vol. I. 205 [*B*]
South Sea firſt diſcovered by Drake, Vol. III. 1731 [*C*]
—— an inſtance of the general madneſs occaſioned by the ſudden riſe of that ſtock in England in 1721, Vol. IV. 2185 [*M*]
Spanheim, Frederic, an account of him, Suppl. 164 [*B*]
Spectacles, a method of grinding glaſſes for them improved by Marſhal the optician, Vol. IV. 2654 [*H*]
Speech, a remarkable dying one, Vol. I. 617 [*Y*]
Speed, John, a miſtake in his hiſtory of Great Britain, p. 782. edit. 1623. fol. corrected, Vol. III. 2146 under [*F*]
Spelman, Sir Henry, writes in defence of archbiſhop Abbot's irregularity for killing Hawkins, Vol. I. 12 [*P*]
—— Sir John, writes a copy of verſes upon King Alfred, *ibid.* 56 [*U*]
Spenſe, poet, a miſtake in his preface to *Gorboduc*, p. iv. corrected, Vol. V. 3543 [*B*] in marginal note (3)
Spenſer, poet, the reaſon of his enmity to the clergy, Vol. VI. Part i. 3803 [*D*]
—— N. B. Add to his article the following anecdotes. In taking down lately the wainſcot of his chamber in the college, they found abundance of cards with ſtanzas of the *Fairy Queen* written on them. Life of Bathurſt from John Dryden, Poet, p. 154. He was a little man, wore ſhort hair, a little band, and little cuffs, *idem ibid.*
Spinckes, Nathaniel, an account of him, Suppl. 96 [*H*]
Sports, the Book of, forbidden by archbiſhop Abbot to be read at Croydon, Vol. I. 10 (Text)
Spotſwood, a miſtake in his *Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland* corrected, Vol. I. 571 under [*C*]
Sprat, Thomas, biſhop, the ſubſtance of his Hiſtory of the Royal Society furniſhed by biſhop Wilkins and Mr Oldenburg, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4272 [*P*]
Stackhouſe, the motive and plan of his Body of Divinity, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4270 [*I*]
Stanhope, earl and general, a paſſage in the inſcription on his monument in Weſtminſter Abbey criticiſed, Vol. V. 2911 under [*R*]
Stanyhurſt, Richard, an account of him, Vol. VI. Part i. 4062 [*B*]
Staple of commerce, an hiſtorical account of its nature and original, Vol. IV. 2374 [*A*]
Stapleton, Thomas, a paſſage in his *Horn Blaſt, &c.* chaſtiſed, Vol. III. 1910 [*D*]
—— William, a famous Popiſh divine, an account of him, Vol. VI. Part i. 4065 under [*G*]
Stars, fixed, an optical method of meaſuring their diſtance from the earth condemned, Vol. IV. 2358 under [*E*]
—— The light by which we ſee any of them now muſt have been emitted from them ſix years before, Vol. V. 3134 under [*B*]
—— their parallax not above 2″, *idem ibid.*
Steele, Sir Richard, a miſtake in the paſtoral in his Poetical Miſcellanies in the preface to it, corrected, Vol. V. 3527 [*G*]
—— N. B. His dedication to the Pope of his State of the Roman Catholic Religion, written by biſhop Hoadly, tranſlated into French by father Pilloniere, with a preface, notes, and additions, by which he has contrived to make a bad piece much worſe, having mutilated the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution of that nation which gave him ſhelter upon ſuch eaſy terms. Vindication of a Paſſage in Dr Snape's Second Letter to the Lord Biſhop of Bangor, p. 17. edit. 1717. 8vo
—— his adventure with Richard Savage, and his kindneſs to that poet, Vol. VI. Part i. 3831 [*Z*]
Sthael, the famous chymiſt, ſome account of him, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4324 [*F*]
Stillingfleet, Edward, biſhop, a miſtake in the preface to his *Origines Britannicæ*, p. 26. corrected, Vol. V. 2989 under [*D*]
—— two more miſtakes in the body of that work, p. 249. corrected, *idem ibid.*
—— Edward, ſon of the biſhop, an account of him, Vol. VI. Part i. 3842 [*DD*]
Stirling in Scotland, the bridge of it was the boundary in King Edgar's time between the Scottiſh and Northumbrian kingdoms, Vol. I. 446 [*E*]
Stone, the nature of that *Oculus Mundi*, Vol. IV. 2219 [*F*]
Stonehenge on Saliſbury Plain, the ſeveral opinions about its original, Vol. II. 1289 [*D*]
—— the building of it aſcribed to Queen Boadicea, Vol. II. 841 [*E*], and 850 [*D*]
—— the reaſons for Inigo Jones's opinion, that it was built by the Romans, Vol. IV. 2271 [*B*]
—— aſcribed to the Danes by Dr Walter Charleton, to the Druids by Mr Aubrey, and to the Phœnicians by William Stukeley and Mr Tanner, *ibid.*
—— all theſe conjectures ridiculed as ſo many mere fantaſtical hypotheſes, and handſomely bantered by comparing them to Toland's Little Stonehenge in Ireland, built, ſays that author, by the druideſs Gæalcopa (who does not know the druideſs Gæalcopa) who lived at Iniſoen in the county of Donegal, Suppl. 114 (Text)
—— an exact deſcription and meaſurement of it, Vol. IV. 2772 [*C*]
Stones, an inſtance of reverence to conſecrated ones by Dr Coſin biſhop of Durham, Vol. III. 1479 [*K*]
Story, a good effect of a merry one, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4283 [*HH*]
Stow, John, a miſtake in his Chronicle, p. 480, 481. chaſtiſed, Vol. IV. 2197 under [*F*]
—— another in his Annals, p. 668. corrected, *ibid.* 2384 [*G*]
—— another in his Annals, edit. 1615. fol. p. 342. col. 2. in the margin, corrected, Vol. III. 2141 [*C*]
—— another in *eodem*, p. 750. corrected, Vol. III. 1802 (Text)
—— his authority of no great value, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4092 under [*Z*]
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—— his conduct in the caſe of defective titles in Ireland defended, Vol. I. 524 [*E*]
—— his letter to Sir Henry Wotton wiſhing him to ſucceed Winwood in the place of ſecretary of ſtate, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4345 [*N*]
—— another of acknowledgment for Sir Henry's kindneſs to his younger brother, who went in Sir Henry's retinue to Venice, *ibid.*
—— an inſtance of the pregnant parts of his eldeſt daughter Anne at three years of age, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4175 in marg. note (*).
—— his fondneſs for power inexcuſable, *ibid.* 4179 [*K*] col. *a. b.* and 4183 [*B*], and 4187 [*Y*], and 4186 [*W*]
—— his proceedings againſt lord Mount Norris univerſally condemned, *ibid.* 4188 [*Y*]
—— his proſecution of Adam lord Loftus univerſally condemned, *ibid.* 4191 [*DD*]
—— his method of ſtudy recommended, *ibid.* 4197 (Text)
Stratagem, a witty one of Sir John Perrot to trepan an Iriſh rebel, Vol. V. 3329 [*E*]
—— an account of a military one, Vol. VI. Part i. 4008 [*E*]
—— another, *ibid.* 3999 [*C*]
—— another of a boatſwain, *ibid.* 3657 [*I*]
Stratton, an account of a battle fought there between the royal and parliament forces in 1642, Vol. IV. 2993 [*B*]
Strype, a paſſage in his *Memorials, &c.* Vol. iv. p. 274. corrected, Vol. III. 2099 [*M*]
—— a miſtake in his Annals, Vol. ii. p. 290. corrected, *ibid.* 1827 (Text)
—— another in his *Memorials, &c.* Vol. iii. p. 39. corrected, Vol. IV. 3412 [*C*]
—— another in *eodem*, p. 13. corrected, Vol. IV. 2415 under [*H*]
—— another in his Life of Mathew Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, p. 365, 366. corrected, Vol. IV. 2459 [*E*]
—— another in his Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift concerning his grace's firſt benefice in the church, corrected, Vol. VI. Part ii 4134 [*I*]
Stuart, Arabella, how allied to the crowns both of England and Scotland, Vol. I. 173 [*A*]
Stubbe, a remarkable letter of his to Robert Boyle, Eſq; Vol. II. 922 [*N*]

Stuckley, Sir Lewis, a ſlander in his Humble Petition and Information in 1618. chaſtiſed, Vol. IV. 2285 [*G*]

Studious life, rules for it, Vol. II. 939 [*F*]

Stukeley, Dr William, the antiquarian, an account of him, Suppl. 81 [*A*]

Sturmius, Dr, a German mathematician, his invitation for improving the diſcovery of the variation of the mariner's needle, Vol. IV. 2500 [*M*] col. *b*

Stygian ſpirit, the nature and compoſition of it, Vol. V. 3079 [*E*]

Style, New or Gregorian, an account of a method in 1665 to introduce it in England, Vol. IV. 2273 [*R*]

—— another deſign of introducing it in 1692 miſcarried chiefly by the oppoſition of Dr Wallis, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4133 (Text)

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Sundays, ſome plays and games licenſed to be uſed on nine of them by Queen Elizabeth, Vol. V. 2894 [*KK*]

Superſtitious credulity, an inſtance of it in an Iriſhman, Vol. VI. Part i. 3968 [*M*]

Supremacy, the firſt act of parliament that eſtabliſhes it in the kings of England ſuggeſts more than a civil juriſdiction, and favours Eraſtianiſm, Vol. V. 3166 [*NN*]

Surinam, in the Weſt Indies, a deſcription of Mrs Behn's habitation there, Vol. I. 665 [*B*] [*C*] [*D*]

Sutton, the oppoſition ſhewn by lord Bacon to his foundation of the Charter Houſe proved to be unjuſtifiable, Vol. VI. Part i. 3897 [*Z*]

Swain, the Saxon prince, an account of him, Vol. IV. 2228 [*I*]

Swinton, John, of Swinton in Scotland, an eminent Quaker there, an account of him, Vol. I. 474 [*A*] and (Text)

Swift, Dr Jonathan, approves the Partition treaty of King William III. Vol. II. 733 under [*M*]

—— commends Andrew Marvel's Rehearſal Tranſproſed, Part ii. Vol. V. 2055 [*L*]

—— a witty ſarcaſm of his upon the poverty of Scotland, Vol. V. 3155 [*X*] in marg. note (29)

—— his remarks upon two pieces of falſe wit in Waller's poems, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4113 [*KK*]

—— his four verſes in praiſe of Dr Arbuthnot's wit, Suppl. 7 [*O*]

—— his humorous expreſſion concerning lord Peterborough's activity in the conqueſt of Spain, *ibid.* 13 [*C*]

—— his humorous manner of making his butler verger of St Patrick's, Vol. VI. Part i. 3871 [*HH*]

—— his wife Stella, an account of her, *ibid.* 3873 [*MM*]

—— N.B. Add in Swift's article to the account of his family, in p. 3857 and 3858 [*A*], [*B*], [*C*], An inſcription on a monument placed againſt the ſouth wall of St Andrew's church in Canterbury. Near to this place lie buried the bodies of Mr Thomas Swift, rector of this church twenty-two years, a reverend preacher of God's word. He died the 12th of June 1592, aged 57. And of Mr William Swift his ſon, who ſucceeded him in this church thirty-three years. He was rector of Herbal Down twenty-two years, and a painful paſtor in both cures, aged 58, and died the 24th of October, 1624. Margaret, wife of Mr Thomas, lieth in the cathedral church yard againſt the ſouth door with nine of her children. Mary, wife of Mr William, lieth buried with him: She died the 25th of March, 1625, aged 58. They left iſſue one ſon Mr Thomas Swift, preacher in Herefordſhire, and two daughters. Katherine wife of Thomas Withierden, Gent. and Margaret wife of Henry Atkinſon, pothecary and citizen of London. By which two daughters this monument was erected

—— N.B. Mr Thomas, the ſurvivor, was vicar of Goodrich in Herefordſhire, and had ſix ſons, one of whom named Jonathan was the father of Jonathan, the famous dean of St Patrick, who died in October 1725

—— likewiſe, That he allowed his ſiſter, who had diſobliged him in her marriage, 30l. per ann. Communicated by Deane Swift, Eſq;

—— alſo to the character of Stella in 3875 [*MM*] add, the Dean wrote a large euloge of her upon her death, which has been lately printed in the xvith volume of his works by Mr Deane Swift, this year 1765; who informs us in the ſame volume, in a marginal note (*) to p. 31. That the Dean never wrote any Examiners after the 7th of June. He took up that paper at N° xiii. and laid it down at N° xliv

Sydenham, Dr, a letter to him from Charles Blount, wherein that author expreſſes himſelf favourably of chriſtianity, Vol. II. 837 [*B*]

Sydney, lady Mary, counteſs of Pembroke, an account of her tranſlation of the Pſalms into Engliſh metre, Vol. I. 337 [*B*]

—— Sir Henry, an account of him, Vol. VI. Part i. 3881 [*A*]

—— Colonel, engaged in Monmouth's rebellion, *ibid.* 3894 [*O*]

Sykes, Richard, an account of him, Vol. VI. Part i. 3932 [*C*]

Sylveſter, Edward, the celebrated Oxford ſchoolmaſter, ſome account of him, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4266 [*A*]

Symon, father, a cenſure of his upon Mathew Poole's *Synopſis Criticorum* chaſtiſed, Vol. V. 3400 under [*E*]

Sympathetic powder, invented by Sir Kenelme Digby, Vol. III. 1702 [*B*]

Synge, archbiſhop of Tuam, an account of his epiſcopal family, Vol. VI. Part i. 3897 [*B*]

—— N. B. To the catalogue of his writings under 3899 [*G*], add, A recommendatory Letter for printing Biſhop Gibſon's ſmall Tracts upon Religion in the Iriſh Preſs. Communicated by George Gibſon, Eſq; the biſhop's eldeſt ſon

—— Dr George, an account of him, Vol. VI. Part i. 3898 [*C*]

Synod, Roman, the firſt time of the archbiſhop of Canterbury's aſſiſting in one, Vol. I. 164 (Text)

T.

Taberder, that title why given to ſome ſcholars of Queen's college Oxford, Vol. VI. Part i. 3734 [*C*]

Talbot, the antiquity of that family, Vol. VI. Part i. 3901 [*A*]

—— William, biſhop of Durham, an account of him, Vol. VI. Part i. 3905 [*B*]

—— Charles, lord chancellor, voted for the exciſe bill in 1726, apologized, *ibid.* 3906 [*D*]

—— N. B. In his article 3907 [*E*] col. *b*. l. 16. after the words by Mr Pope, inſert, upon lord Bathurſt

—— William, the preſent earl Talbot, ſome account of him, as alſo of his brothers John and George, *ibid.* 3908 (Text)

Talents, Francis, author of the *Chronological Tables*, ſome account of him, Vol. II. 916 [*F*]

Tamariſk, when and by whom that plant was firſt brought into England; alſo who firſt diſcovered it in Germany and deſcribed it, Vol. IV. 2462 under [*A*] col. *b*

Tanner, biſhop, a miſtake in his *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, p. 626. corrected, Vol. IV. 2253 under [*A*]

—— aſſiſts Dr Knight in writing the lives of Dean Colet, Eraſmus, and Blomfield, in the Hiſtory of Norfolk, Vol. VI. Part i. 3910 [*H*]

—— his character in the inſcription on his monument, *ibid.* 3909 [*E*]

Tarak, the old palace of the ſupreme monarchs of Ireland, Vol. I. 694 [*A*]

Tarleton, the ſtage-player in Queen Elizabeth's time, an inſtance of his droll wit, Vol. III. 2145 [*F*]

Tatler, recommendation in N° 167. of Betterton, the celebrated actor, Vol. II. 779 [*N*]

Taulerus, John, a famous myſtic divine, ſome account of him, Vol. V. 3170 [*F*]

Tax, one of one ſhilling in the pound deemed extravagant in 1525, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4317 [*Z*]

Taylor. N. B. Add to his article in Vol. VI. Part i. 3912 under [*H*]. N. B. His *liberty of propheſying* is warmly commended by Mr John Jortin in the preface to Vol. I. of his *Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*

Teleſcope, reflecting, the firſt inventor of it who, Vol. IV. 2356 [*A*]

—— its conſtruction deſcribed, and who was the firſt manual operator for it, *ibid.* [*B*]

Temperance, an inveterate diſeaſe cured by it, Vol. I. 527 (Text) and [*K*]

Temple, Sir William, an inſtance of his modeſty and gratitude, Vol. II. 703 [*F*]

—— the occaſion of his diſtaſte to the firſt earl of Shafteſbury, Vol. III. 1467 [*M*]

—— defends ſelf-murder, Vol. VI. 3921 (Text)

—— leaves the bulk of his eſtate to female grandchildren on condition they did not marry Frenchmen, *ibid.* [*O*]

—— his ſmart remark upon his lady's merit, *ibid.* [*P*]

—— Sir John, an account of him, *ibid.* 3919 [*I*]

Teniſon, Dr Thomas, archbiſhop of Canterbury, reclaims King William from his criminal intrigues with lady Villiers, Vol. VI. Part i. 3927 under [*P*] marg. note (‡)

—— his conduct in the projected union between the churches of England and Pruſſia defended, Suppl. 78 [*L*]

—— N. B. I ſhall take this opportunity of ſupplying an omiſſion in reſpect to his conduct as one of the commiſſioners for Mr Boyle's lectures againſt atheiſm. Mr Boyle, by a codicil dated June 28, 1691, to be annexed to his will, charges his meſſuage and dwelling houſe in St Michael's Crooked-lane, London, with the payment of the clear profits and rent thereof to learned divines in London, or within the bills of mortality, to be elected for a term not exceeding three years by archbiſhop Teniſon, Sir Henry Aſhurſt, Sir John Rotheram, and John Evelyn, Eſq. The buſineſs of this appointment was, among others, to read a lecture to ſatisfy real ſcruples, and to anſwer ſuch new objections and difficulties as might be ſtarted, to which good anſwers had not been made; as alſo to preach eight ſermons in the year, the firſt five in January, February, March, April, and May, and the other three in September, October, and November. The proof of the Chriſtian religion againſt notorious infidels, atheiſts, Pagans, Jews, Mahometans; and not to deſcend lower to any controverſies that are among Chriſtians themſelves. But by reaſon the lectures were ſeldom continued above a year, and that the houſe ſometimes ſtood empty, or tenants broke, or failed in due payment of their rent, therefore the ſalary ſometimes remained long unpaid, or could not be gotten without ſome difficulty; to remedy which inconvenience his preſent grace of Canterbury, Dr Teniſon, procured a yearly ſtipend of 50l. to be paid quarterly for ever, charged on a farm in the pariſh of Brill, in the county of Bucks; which ſtipend is accordingly very duly paid when demanded, and without fee or reward. But beſides the lecture is greatly indebted to your grace's endeavours formerly in promoting this pious deſign, and aſſiſting in the ſettlement of it in the pious founder's life time, and moreover lately ſince his death in procuring a more certain ſalary, more conſtantly and duly paid than it was before. Derham's Phyſico Theology, edit. 1713. in the dedication note [*G*]

—— Dr Edward, biſhop of Oſſory in Ireland, an account of him and his ſon Dr Thomas, L. L. D. Vol. VI. Part i. 3929 [*W*]

Tenures, the origin, nature, and number of them in England, and their concomitants, and when taken away, Vol. V. 3350 [*C*]

Teſtament of the twelve patriarchs tranſlated from the Greek into Latin by Robert Groſthead, biſhop of Lincoln, Vol. I. 537 [*D*]

Theatre for plays, an account of the union between the Duke of York's and the King's company of actors therein, Vol. II. 772 [*E*]

—— their ſtate before the introduction of painted ſcenes, Vol. III. 1609 [*M*]

Thomas, William, clerk of the council to King Edward VI. an account of him and his pilfering the church revenues, Vol. II. 947 [*C*]

Thompſon, Anthony, the Engliſh reſident at Bruſſels, ſome account of him, Vol. VI. Part i. 3738 [*N*]

Thoreſby, John, cardinal, an account of him, Vol. VI. Part i. 3931 [*A*] and [*B*]

—— an ingenious antiquary and firſt founder of the muſeum Thoreſbeianum, a dodecaſtic of his, Vol. VI. Part i. 4054 [*I*]

—— Ralph, his ſon, a tranſcript of his Hiſtory of the State of the Northern Parts of England, *ibid.* 3934 to 3943 [*H*]

Thurles, Thomas Butler, viſcount, father to James Butler, the firſt duke of Ormond, ſome account of him, Vol. II. 1052 [*B*]

Thwaites, Edward, regius profeſſor of Greek at Oxford, ſome account of him, Vol. VI. Part i. 3732 [*A*]

Tickell, the poet, ſome account of him, Suppl. 14 [*D*]

Time-keeper for finding the longitude at ſea, an account of that invention by Mr John Harriſon, Append. 125 to 128

—— N. B. Mr Harriſon having very lately diſcovered and explained the conſtruction of his time-keeper or watch to the ſatisfaction of proper perſons appointed for the purpoſe by the commiſſioners of longitude, will undoubtedly receive with all convenient ſpeed the ſum of 17500l. to make up the 2500l. he has already received 20000l. the reward promiſed by an act of the 12th of Queen Anne

Tindal, Matthew, civilian, his reaſons for condemning thoſe who acted at ſea under King James IId's commiſſion after his abdication as pirates, Vol. VI. Part i. 3960 [*B*]

—— an account of the forgery of his will by Euſtace Budgell, Eſq; Vol. VI. Part i. 3964 [*E*]

Tobacco firſt brought into England by captain Drake, Vol. III. 1741 under [*M*]

—— an excellent Latin poem in Harley's Miſcellanies, Vol. i. p. 521. in its praiſe, Vol. III. 1983 [*F*]

—— when and by whom firſt brought into uſe in England, Vol. V. 3471 [*H*]

—— the bad policy of King James I. endeavouring to reſtrain it, Vol. V. 3471 (Text) in marg. note (*), and [*MM*]

Toland, John, a remark of his in the Life of Harrington, p. 10. chaſtiſed, Vol. IV. 2532 [*C*]

—— an inſtance of his inaccuracy in the ſame Life, p. 17. marked, *ibid.* 2533 [*E*]

—— his apology for Harrington's lunacy in the ſame Life, p. 38. chaſtiſed, *ibid.* 2538 [*M*]

—— his *Chriſtianity not myſterious* burnt in Ireland, Vol. VI. Part i. 3968 [*R*]

—— his account of a little Stonehenge at *Iniſoen* in Ireland ridiculed, Suppl. 114 (Text)

Tombes, John, the anabaptiſt, an account of him, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4266 [*B*]

Tonnage and poundage ſhewn to be a matter of free gift from ſubjects to the crown, Vol. VI. Part i. 3613 under [*R*] col. *a*

Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham. N. B. A miſtake in his article, Vol. VI. Part i. l. 14. (Text), where it is ſaid that he was deprived either the 11th or 14th of October, muſt be corrected. From a letter of archbiſhop Wake's to father Courayer, dated Croydon, June 26, 1726. he writes thus: Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham was, I believe, undoubtedly deprived of his biſhopric Sept. 29, 1559. Mr Strype gives that day from a MS. in the Cotton library, and his magnificent coming to London the 20th of that ſame month, ſhews that he was not depoſed at that time. Thus Mr Strype reports in his Annals, Vol. i. p. 144. and in his private letter to myſelf he prefers that opinion to the account he had given before of it. I have formerly acquainted you that it appears from the books ſtill remaining of the dean and chapter of Durham, that his laſt leaſes were confirmed by them September 17, which muſt have been executed by him before he took his journey to London. So that I think, upon the whole, it may reaſonably be concluded, that he was deprived the day mentioned in the Cotton MS. as it is evident he could not have been till after the 20th of that month, the day of his coming to London. This letter, with many others, was communicated to me by father Courayer himſelf

Tooke, Thomas, an excellent ſchoolmaſter, an account of him, Suppl. 132 [*C*]

Topham, Richard, his collection of books and drawings, given by his executors lord chief juſtice Reeves and Dr Mead to Eton college, Vol. V. 3085 [*Q*]

Toſti, brother, to King Harold, an account of him, Vol. IV. 2228 [*I*]

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Tournament, an extraordinary one deſcribed, Vol. III. 1770 [*A*]

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Treaſon, the articles of impeachment of Benedict earl of Arlington for that crime, Vol. II. 706 [*I*]
—— a paſſage in the *Declarations of the Treaſon of Robert Earl of Eſſex* corrected, Vol. III. 1582 [*B*]
Treaſurer of the chamber to the King, the nature of that office, and a remarkable act of parliament concerning it in the 6th of Henry VIII. Vol. II. 1292 [*B*]
Tredeſcant, John, from whom the Tredeſcant cherries take their name, his curious collection of rarities lodged in the Muſeum at Oxford, Vol. I. 233 [*N*]
Tregoſſe, Thomas, a diſſenting miniſter, an account of him, Vol. III. 2073 [*D*]
Tremuton Caſtle, formerly a pleaſure houſe of the dukes of Cornwall, Vol. IV. 2283 [*C*]
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—— he promiſes to aſſiſt in the Rye Houſe plot, Vol. I. 185 (Text)
—— his apology for Robert Barclay the Quaker, *ibid.* 481 under [*F*]
—— Sir John, ſome account of him, Suppl. 175 [*A*]
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Triewood, captain of mechanics to the King of Sweden, improves Dr Halley's diving bell, Vol. IV. 2515 [*PP*]
Trimnel, biſhop, an account of his charge againſt ſeveral principles and practices of the nonjuring ſeparatiſts, Suppl. 241 [*E*]
—— that charge attacked by Mr John Johnſon, *ibid.* 112 (Text) in marg. note (*g*)
Trinity college Oxford, an account of its foundation, Vol. V. 3403 (Text)
—— the eminent men educated there, *ibid.* [*Q*]
—— an account of the new buildings there, Suppl. 10 [*L*]
Trinity hall Cambridge, an account of its foundation, Vol. I. 551 [*B*]
—— N. B This account muſt be corrected, there being only twelve fellows, among which are two divines for the ſervice of the chapel, who, beſides an equal dividend and privileges with the other ten lay fellows, enjoy an additional benefaction of 50l. per ann. for reading catechetical lectures in the chapel in term time. M.S. penes me
Trumbul, Sir William, a friend to Pope the poet, an account of him, Vol. V. 3465 [*D*]
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—— all the copies of the firſt edition of his tranſlation of the New Teſtament burnt in Cheapſide, London, Vol. VI. Part i. 3980 [*I*]
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—— the younger, the ſubſtance of his new model of government, *ibid.* 3993 [*Q*]
—— often nicknamed *Sir Humorous Vanity*, ibid. 3998 [*FF*]
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—— he was protected by Sir Walter Ralegh, the earl of Eſſex, dean Nowel, and Sir John Pickering, ſome time lord keeper of the great ſeal, Vol. V. 3473 [*L*]
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Vere, an account of the immenſe eſtate of that noble family, Vol. VI. Part i. 3998 [*B*]
—— Sir Francis, cut out a new harbour in 1601 at Oſtend, *ibid.* 4003 [*Q*]
—— Aubrey, the laſt earl of Oxford of this name, *ibid.* 4032 to 4034 (Text), and [*XX*], [*YY*], [*ZZ*], and [*AA*]
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—— eight from Addiſon's epiſtle to lord Halifax, *ibid.* 33 [*C*], [*D*], and [*E*]
—— an epigram on the lady Mancheſter *ab eodem*, ibid. 38 [*Q*]
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—— his meſſage from the earl of Strafford to King Charles I. *ibid.* 4075 under [*LL*]

—— his anſwer to that King's complaint of his preaching againſt popery, *ibid.* 3947 [*Y*]

—— his reprimand of Oliver Cromwell then Protector to his face cenſured, *ibid.* 4078 [*XX*] and [*YY*]

—— predicts the reſtoration of King Charles II. *ibid.* 4079 [*YY*]

—— Ambroſe, his younger brother, ſome account of him, *ibid* 4063 [*D*]

—— Dr Henry, archbiſhop of Armagh, an account of him, as alſo of his ſon Dr Robert Uſher, biſhop of Derry, *ibid.* 4062 [*B*]

W.

Wagner, Tobias, a miſtake in his *Examen Elenchticum Atheiſmi Speculatoris*, cap. v. p. 11. corrected, Vol. II. 995 [*G*]

Wainfleet, William, founder of Magdalen college, Oxford, ſome account of him, Suppl. 210 [*I*]

Wake, William, archbiſhop of Canterbury, kept a Greek gentleman in pay to ſearch for MSS. in the Eaſt, Vol. VI. Part i. 3722 under [*E*]

—— an original letter of his to the editor of an intended edition of the New Teſtament in Greek at Oxford, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4084 [*C*]

—— the inconſiſtencies charged upon him in his ſpeech before the houſe of lords for a toleration of the Diſſenters at Dr Sacheverell's trial, and his voting againſt the repeal of the ſchiſm bill diſproved, *ibid.* 4088 [*L*]

—— his letter cenſuring biſhop Hoadly's ſermon on the nature of Chriſt's kingdom, *ibid.* 4089 [*M*]

—— the occaſion of his promoting the project of an union between the churches of England and France, *idem ibid.* [*P*]

—— ſeveral letters of his to Courayer in defence of the Engliſh ordinations, *ibid.* 4091 to 4096 under [*U*] and [*W*]

—— commends biſhop Gibſon's *Codex* as containing the *Concordia Sacerdotis et Imperii* of the Engliſh church, *ibid.* 4092 [*X*]

—— his opinion of Strype, Burnet, Heylin, and Collier, in the Hiſtory of the Reformation, *ibid.* 4093 [*X*]

—— his opinion of Preſbyterian ordination, *idem ibid.*

—— aſſiſts Courayer in his defence of the Engliſh ordinations, *ibid.* 4091 to 4094 under [*W*] and [*X*]

—— a copy of his *State of the Church* with MS. corrections and additions, and many MS. evidences, is in the public library at Cambridge, *ibid.* 4096 under [*X*]

Wake, archbiſhop of Canterbury, his averſion to all proſecutions in religious matters, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4337 under [*I*]

Walden in Eſſex, an account of the foundation of the free grammar ſchool there, Vol. VI. Part i. 3714 [*C*]

Wales, the hiſtory of that principality, Vol. II. 723 [*H*]

—— the prince of Wales's unalienable right to it maintained, Suppl. 141 [*C*]

Walker, a miſtake in his Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. p. 255. corrected, Vol. II. 1102 [*C*]

—— another in *eodem*, p. 20. edit. 1714. folio. corrected, Vol. III. 2024 under [*A*]

—— another in *eodem*, p. 94. corrected, Vol. IV. 2487 [*Q*]

—— Sir Edward, a paſſage in his Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 59. cenſured, Vol. IV. 2318 under [*A*]

—— Dr Obadiah, nonjuror, ſupported after the revolution chiefly by Dr Radcliffe, Vol. V. 3454 under [*G*] col. *b*

—— his method of cleaning braſs medals, and of judging of the ſcarcity of medals, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4099 [*E*]

Wall, Dr, his diſpute with John Gale in defence of infant baptiſm, Vol. III. 2080 [*E*], and 2084 [*H*]

Waller, Edmund, poet, what it was that occaſioned him to alter the *Maid's Tragedy*, Vol. I. 627 [*L*]

—— an inſtance of his ſuperiority to Corneille in treating the article of love, Vol. IV. 2348 [*F*]

—— borrows his celebrated anacreontic *To Phyllis* from Ben Jonſon's *Song to Cælia* in *Volpone*, Vol. IV. 2790 under [*FF*]

—— a curious pamphlet concerning his plot, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4105 [*R*]

—— was in the ſecret of the Revolution, *ibid.* 4112 [*GG*]

—— inſtances of his thoughts not being ſometimes very juſt, *ibid.* 4113 [*KK*]

—— a miſtake in the *Account of his Life*, p. 7. corrected, *ibid.* 4100 [*B*]

—— his *Amoret* was lady Sophia Murray, *ibid.* 4102 [*I*]

—— a ſtory of him in *His Life*, p. 20. diſcredited, *ibid.* 4103 [*L*]

—— his witty turn given to the ſpeech of a judge, *ibid.* 4103 [*M*]

—— a paſſage in *His Life*, p. 23, 24. corrected, *ibid.* 4104 [*M*]

—— two witty replies of his to King James II. *ibid.* 4112 [*GG*]

—— N. B. The reader is deſired to correct a miſtake in the ſignature affixed to the end of his article, which, inſtead of E, ſhould be P

Wallis, Dr John, a miſtake of his printed in Philoſ. Tranſact. N° cclxxvi. p. 1036. corrected, Vol. IV. 2452 [*D*]

—— another in N° cclxxviii. p. 1107, 1108. corrected, *ibid.* 2453 [*F*]

—— why he was not made a biſhop, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4119 under [*I*]

—— juſtly called father of the art of decyphering, *ibid.* 4117 [*G*]

—— firſt explains the organical formation of articulate ſounds, *ibid.* 4121 [*O*]

—— fails in his attempt to ſquare the circle, *ibid.* 4123 [*Q*]

—— improves the doctrine of infinite progreſſion in algebra, *ibid.* 4123 [*R*]

—— ſquares many curves not known before, *ibid.* 4124 [*R*]

—— invents a new method of drawing tangents to curves, *idem ibid.*

—— an account of his diſpute with Hobbes, *ibid.* 4124 [*S*]

—— how far he advanced towards diſcovering Sir Iſaac Newton's method of fluxions, *ibid.* 4124 under [*S*], and 4136 [*YY*]

—— firſt compleats the art of reſtoring ſpeech to the dumb, *ibid.* 4128 under [*BB*]

—— his uſefulneſs and ſervice to the royal ſociety, 4128 [*DD*]

—— decides, by order of the royal ſociety, the diſpute between Flamſtead and Hevelius, about the preference between plain and teleſcopical ſights in aſtronomical obſervations, *ibid.* 4128 [*DD*]

—— ſome abſurd conceits of his marked, *ibid.* 4133 [*QQ*]

—— his ignorance in aſtronomy marked, *ibid.* 4133 [*RR*], and 4134 [*SS*]

Wallis, Dr John, an account of his ſon John, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4135 [*TT*]

—— N. B. Add to his article in p. 4130. l. 6. (Text), after the word "confirmed," A letter from Dr Wallis to the reverend Dr Bernard, one of the Oxford delegates for printing there by a meſſenger ſent from Oxford for that purpoſe; the delegates having agreed to be determined by his opinion. Beginning thus: Rev. Sir, *In anſwer to your's of June* 20, &c. *Gent. Mag.* for May 1764

Walpole, John, anceſtor to the preſent earl of Orford, how he became poſſeſſed of lord Robarts eſtate, Vol. III. 1789 under [*D*] col. *b*

—— Horace, his cenſure of Queen Anne under the article of lord Somers, in his Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, criticized, Vol. VI. Part i. 3755 [*CC*]

—— his character of Sir Philip Sydney, p. 184. Vol. i. marked, *ibid.* 3889 under [*AA*]

—— Sir Robert, afterwards earl of Orford, an account of his acquaintance with Dr Mathew Tindal, *ibid.* 3962 [*G*]

—— Horace, excuſes King Charles I. for ſending for the Iriſh Papiſts in his defence, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4156 [*N*]

—— his opinion of the writings of Cavendiſh duke and ducheſs of Newcaſtle, Suppl. 129 [*A*]

Walſh, poet, ſome account of him, Vol. V. 3406 [*G*]

Walſingham, Sir Francis, quartered upon the biſhopric of Wincheſter, Vol. III. 1458 [*F*]

—— two letters of his encouraging navigation, Vol. IV. 2465 [*C*]

Walton, Sir George, a remarkable letter of his, Vol. II. 1091 (Text)

—— Iſaac, a miſtake in his life of Dr Donne, p. 29. corrected, Vol. III. 1726 [*K*]

—— another in his life of biſhop Sanderſon about that biſhop's birth-place corrected, Vol. V. 3586 [*B*]

—— N. B. Add to this remark [*B*], That the biſhop's ſiſter married Leonard-Gill Bright, younger brother of Stephen Bright, of Carbrook, Eſq; who died in 1642. Ducat. Leod. p. 78

—— his ſtory of a dream of Sir Henry Wotton's father chaſtiſed, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4341 under [*E*]

Warburton, biſhop, a miſtake in his alteration of two lines in Pope's Dunciad, b. iv. p. 643, 644. relating to Sir Iſaac Newton's philoſophy chaſtiſed, Vol. V. 3234 under [*Y*]

—— his cenſure of dean Swift chaſtiſed, *ibid.* 3415 [*II*]

—— his promiſe to write Pope's life criticized, *ibid.* 3416 [*LL*]

—— rebukes the ſecond earl of Shafteſbury's cenſure of Mr Locke, *ibid.* 3000 and 3001 [*R*], and 3008 [*DD*]

—— his cenſure of Milton's Samſon Agoniſtes, *ibid.* 3117 under [*YY*] col. *a*

—— his defence of the fiery eruption at Jeruſalem borrowed from Walter Moyle, *ibid.* 3195 under [*N*]

—— a miſtake in his *Julian, &c.* upon dean Prideaux's remark upon the deſtruction of Brennus's army corrected, *ibid.* 3435 [*CC*]

—— an inſtance of his author craft, Vol. VI. Part i. 4019 under [*F*]

—— ſome curious remarks of his upon Shakeſpeare's *Midſummer Night's Dream*, Act iv. Scene 3. *ibid.* 3633 under [*O*]

—— his behaviour to Sir Tho. Hanmer cenſured, *ibid.* 3743 under [*U*]

—— acknowledges that his ſenſe of Julian's defeat in attempting to rebuild the temple at Jeruſalem being a miracle, was not the general opinion, *ibid.* 3780 under [*O*]

—— denies in the preface to his edition of Shakeſpeare's Plays, that he was introduced by the then biſhop of Saliſbury [Dr Tho. Sherlock] to Sir Thomas Hanmer, *idem ibid.*

—— preceded in his aſſertion of the miracle at the temple of Jeruſalem by Dr John Spencer, *ibid.* 3796 under [*E*] col. *b*

—— his criticiſm upon Wollaſton's *Religion of Nature delineated*, reſtricted, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4306, 4307 under [*I*]

—— his anſwer to biſhop Hoadly on the Euchariſt, Suppl. 162 (Text)

—— his animadverſion in his *Divine Legation of Moſes*, Part i. upon Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees*, ibid. 124 [*A*]

Warburton, biſhop, his controverſy with Mr John Jackſon, Suppl. 108 (Text) and [*F*], and 109 [*G*]
—— N.B. In the Appendix, p. 223, add, That in that pamphlet biſhop Warburton is ſmartly ridiculed for a miſtake in his emendations upon Shakeſpeare's Othello, Act ii. Scene 8
Ward, Dr John, two miſtakes in his *Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors*, p. 143. corrected, Vol. IV. 2272 [*P*]
—— a monumental inſcription in Latin and Engliſh by him upon Henry Grove the Diſſenting miniſter, *ibid.* 2449 [*F*]
—— his opinion of Dr Woodward's ſhield, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4331 [*M*]
—— Seth, biſhop, preſents the royal ſociety with a curious pendulum clock, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4149 [*H*]
—— on his advancement to a biſhopric was preſented with a pair of lawn ſleeves by a Preſbyterian lady, *ibid.* 4149 [*K*]
—— obtains a renewal of the biſhop of Saliſbury's claim to the chancellorſhip of the order of the garter, *ibid.* 4150 [*L*]
—— choſen preſident of Trinity college, Oxford, in 1659, againſt the college ſtatutes, Suppl. 10 [*I*]
War, civil, that againſt King Charles I. was begun by the parliament, Vol. III. 1545 [*L*]
Ware, Sir James, a paſſage in his works, Vol. iii. p. 294. corrected, Vol. III. 1440 [*A*]
—— a miſtake in his Hiſtory of the Biſhops of Ireland, Vol. i. p. 219. Dublin edit. 1739. folio. corrected, Vol. VI. Part i 3910 [*B*]
Waring, Robert, an account of his *Effigies Amoris*, Vol. V. 3427 [*B*]
Warner, Walter, the mathematician, an account of him, Vol. IV. 2542 under [*G*]
—— biſhop of Rocheſter, defended againſt the charge of parſimony, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4160 [*H*]
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Warton, poetry profeſſor at Oxford, his reaſons for propoſing the publication of Wood's Hiſt. and Antiq. of Oxford in the original Engliſh, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4324 [*H*]
Warwick, Sir Philip, a paſſage in his *Memoirs*, p. 235, 236. ridiculed, Vol. II. 1214 [*G*]
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—— what is the main difference in the diſpute between him and Dr Clarke about the Trinity, *ibid.* 4163 under [*B*] col. *b*
—— his explanation of what is meant by believing in myſteries reduced to ſix heads, *ibid.* 4164 under [*D*]
—— ſhews the uſe and deſign of creeds in the church, *ibid.* 4165 [*E*]
—— explodes Dr Clarke's argument to prove the exiſtence of God *a priori*, ibid. 4168 [*I*]
—— he once denied the validity of lay baptiſm, Suppl. 107 [*B*]
Waters, Mary, afterwards dame Honeywood, an account of her, Vol. II. 958 [*M*]
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Weldon, Sir Anthony, a miſrepreſentation in his *Court and Character of King James I.* p. 99, 100. 108, 109. corrected, Vol. II. 1385 under [*L*]
Wells, Dr Edward, a learned divine, an account of him and his books, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4297 [*A*]
Wentworth, Sir Thomas, afterwards earl of Strafford, his letter to Sir Henry Wotton, wiſhing him to ſucceed Winwood in the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4345 [*N*]
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—— his character of archbiſhop Potter in his *Memoirs*, p. 300, 301. edit. 1753. reſtricted, Vol. V. 3420 [*G*]
—— two remarkable anecdotes concerning him, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4214 under [*FF*] note (*a*)
—— receives 4703 l. for encouragement to find the longitude at ſea, *ibid.* 4210 [*W*]
—— receives 500 l. for ſurveying and making a chart of the Engliſh coaſts, *ibid.* 4212 [*BB*]
—— his miſrepreſentations of Sir Iſaac Newton chaſtiſed, *ibid.* 4211 [*Y*]
—— a liſt of the particulars wherein he did not join with the church of England's liturgy, *ibid.* 4212 [*CC*]
—— intimates the rite of circumciſion not to be irreconcileable to the Chriſtian ſcheme, *ibid.* 4213 [*DD*]
—— a paſſage in his *Memoirs*, p. 51. concerning biſhop Smallridge marked, Vol. VI. Part i. 3710 [*L*]
—— another in *iiſdem*, p. 140, 141, 142. chaſtiſed, *ibid.* 3711 [*M*] and [*N*]
—— another in *iiſdem*, p. 138, 139. concerning Dr S. Clarke, chaſtiſed, *ibid.* 3712 [*N*]
—— N. B. Add to his article, that he publiſhed biſhop Sherlock's ſermon concerning the danger of popery in 1745; that biſhop publiſhed *A Letter to the Inhabitants of London about the Earthquake in* 1750, and ſome other things, which deſerve to be collected and printed in one volume
Whitaker, Dr, his cenſure of Cartwright's *Admonition*, *&c.* Vol. VI. Part ii. 4239 [*U*]
—— was one one of the firſt defenders of the Lambeth articles which occaſioned the Quinquarticular controverſy, *ibid.* 4249 under [*CCC*]
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—— his Latin letter to Cecil, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4235 [*N*]
—— maintains that Papiſts can't be ſaved, *ibid.* 4247 [*SS*]
—— endeavours to put a check to prohibitions from the temporal to the eccleſiaſtical courts by the ſame reaſoning which was followed ſince by biſhop Gibſon, in the preface or introduction to his *Codex*, ibid. 4251, 4252 [*GGG*]
—— reforms the eccleſiaſtical courts, *ibid.* 4253 [*KKK*]
—— his ſtate and magnificence, *ibid.* 4255 (Text)
—— a Latin diſtich under his picture in the parlour at Peter Houſe Cambridge, *ibid.* 4133 [*F*]
—— his tender regard for the reputation of that univerſity, *ibid.* 4239 [*X*]
—— his bold ſpeech to Queen Elizabeth againſt alienating biſhop's lands, *ibid.* 4249 [*BB*]
—— his arguments in defence of the oath *ex officio*, ibid. 4244 [*KK*]
—— ſettles the hoſpital of Eaſt-Bridge in Kent in the way it ſtill continues, *ibid.* 4250 [*DDD*]
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Whyte, Richard, D.D. a learned Popiſh divine, an account of him, Vol. VI. Part i. 4037 under [*G*]
Wicliffe, John, holds conſubſtantiation, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4263 [*S*], and 4264 [*T*]
—— an account of his behaviour in the biſhop of London's court, Vol. III. 1490 [*C*]

Wicliffe, John, a liſt of the authors which he ſtudied, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4257 [*C*]

—— his doctrine received by John Huſs and Jerome of Prague, Vol. II. 718 [*D*]

—— the prevalence of his doctrine in 1382, Vol. II. 1300 [*K*]

—— it ſpreads more by being perſecuted, Suppl. 210 (Text)

Wife, a remarkable inſtance of patience with a bad one, Vol. IV. 2665 [*E*]

Wilkins, Dr John, biſhop of Cheſter, his invention of a windmill to turn with the wind from any point of the compaſs, anſwers no good purpoſe, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4270 [*K*]

—— his diſcovery of a new world criticized, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4267 [*D*]

—— publiſhes the firſt juſt treatiſe in 1640 to prove the probability of the earth's diurnal and annual motion, *ibid.* 4268 under [*E*]

—— projects an univerſal language by muſical notes, *ibid.* 4269 under [*F*]

—— his contrivance for a perpetual motion exploded, *ibid.* 4271 [*K*]

—— his analyſis of the Lord's prayer approved, *ibid.* [*M*]

Willet, Dr Andrew, the account of his life by Dr Smith in Abel Redivivus chaſtiſed, Vol. III. 2059 [*N*]

William, Prince, Duke of Glouceſter, Queen Anne's ſon, Vol. II. 1041 [*MM*]. N. B. Add to Vol. IV. 2819 under [*R*], l. 35. after the words "appointed biſhop Burnet for that purpoſe." No wonder, therefore, that the Duke never had any good liking for that biſhop; and when his lordſhip happening to be called from this charge to his dioceſe, expreſſed the higheſt eſteem and affection at parting for a ſhort time with his royal pupil, the Duke was not wanting to return the compliment. But the tutor was no ſooner got out of hearing, than the maid of honour, who then attended upon his highneſs, ventured to tax him with diſſembling in the compliment, ſince they all knew he had no ſuch affection for the biſhop. To which his highneſs, about ſeven or eight years of age, replied briſkly, "What then, would you have me "learn nothing of my tutor?" *Boyer's Life of Queen Anne*

—— Henry, earl of Bath, an account of him, Vol. IV. 2341 [*R*]

—— Daniel, an eminent Preſbyterian divine, an account of him, Suppl. 45 [*B*]

—— the Conqueror, an account of the ſeveral publications of his laws, Vol. VI. Part i. 3610 [*M*]

Williams, archbiſhop of York, the firſt promoter of doctor Laud, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, Vol. V. 2887 [*D*]

—— did it probably to ſerve his own ends, *ibid.* 2889 [*M*]

—— obtains Selden's releaſe from confinement in 1621, Vol. VI. Part i. 3609 [*L*]

—— his noble anſwer to Kilvert's petition for pardon in proſecuting him, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4288 [*CCC*]

—— an inſtance of his malice to archbiſhop Laud, *ibid.* 4354 [*F*]

—— an account of his ſplendid way of life at Waldgrave, *ibid.* 4279 [*O*]

—— his kindneſs to Dr Lamb the civilian, *ibid.* [*Q*]

—— inſtances of his miniſterial craft, *ibid.* 4283 [*II*], and 4284 [*KK*]

—— his improvements at Bugden and his epiſcopal way of life there, *ibid.* 4285 [*OO*]

—— his generoſity to Peter Du Moulin and his ſon, *ibid.* 4291 [*KKK*]

—— Dr John, biſhop of Chicheſter, rebuked by archbiſhop Teniſon, Vol. VI. Part i. 3924 [*E*]

—— Thomas, friar, an account of him, Vol. IV. 2864 [*B*]

Williamſon, Sir Joſeph, a poem of his prefixed to *News from the Dead, or the wonderful Recovery of Anne Green*, Vol. V. 3344 [*D*]

—— his benefaction to Queen's college Oxford, Vol. VI. Part i. 3736 [*H*]

—— his marriage to lady Katharine O Brian, baroneſs of Clifton, *idem ibid.* in marg. note (10)

—— projects the deſign of ſending ſtudents in the univerſities abroad for improvement in ſtate affairs in King Charles IId's time, Vol. V. 3244 (Text), and Vol. VI. Part i. 3735 [*G*]

Williamſon, Joſeph, this ſcheme further purſued, with ſome alterations, by King George I. Vol. VI. Part i. 3736 under [*G*] marg. note (10)

Willis, Thomas, father of the celebrated phyſician, an account of him, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4292 [*A*]

—— M. D. improves the anatomy of the brain, *ibid.* 4293 [*E*]

—— his opinion concerning the materiality of the ſouls of brutes ſtated, *ibid.* 4295 [*H*]

—— the eloge upon him in his epitaph reſtricted, *ibid.* 4296 [*L*]

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—— earl of Rocheſter, an inſtance of his cowardice, Vol. VI. Part i. 3654 [*F*]

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f.	1.	22. *dele* the whole article
f.	2.	10. from the bottom *dele* anno 1708, and *inſert* the words in the ſubſequent article after Antwerp
f.	5.	0. under [*N*] *for* firſt commiſſioner's poſt *read* firſt commiſſioner's poſt in the admiralty
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i.	4.	8. *for* invented *read* brought into England
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A
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Origines Eccleſiaſticæ by Dr Joſeph Bingham, Vol 1. begun in 1708, 8vo. Vol. 2. publiſhed in 1725, fol. and conſiſted of 23 books, *ibid.* 795 (Text) and [*C*]

The ſum of 30 or 40000l. regained to the I[illegible] church by archbiſhop Bramhall in 1634, V[illegible]II. 962 (Text) and [*H*]

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The chriſtian ſacrament and ſacrifice by Dr Dan. Brevint in 1673, *ibid.* 978 [*D*]

De fide et officiis chriſtianorum, and *De ſtatu mortuorum*, both by Dr Tho. Burnet, 2d edit. in 1733, *ibid.* 1031 [*C*], and 1032 [*D*]

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Primitive chriſtianity, &c. by Dr Will. Cave in 1672, *ibid.* 1195 (Text)

Tabulæ eccleſiaſticæ, &c. by the ſame in 1674; alſo *Antiquitates apoſtolici* in 1676 and 1677; alſo *Antiquitates eccleſiaſtici* in 1682, *ibid.* 1196 (Text)

Scriptorum eccleſiaſticorum hiſtoria literaria, &c. by the ſame in 1688, again in 1698, again in 1700, again in 1715, and laſtly with additions in 1746, *ibid.* [*D*]

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A Latin tranſlation of the Engliſh communion book by John Cheke about 1650, *ibid.* 1314 under [*R*] *a*

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Some account of the preſent Greek church by Dr John Covel in 1722, *ibid.* 1488 [*B*]

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Contemplations and reflections upon the pſalms by lord Clarendon in 1671; alſo an anſwer to Creſſy's book, &c. in 1672, *ibid.* 2736 (Text) and [*GG*]

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An apology for the church of England by biſhop Jewel in 1562, *ibid.* 2761 [*N*]

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A demonſtration of the Meſſias in three parts by Dr Rich. Kidder in 1684, 1699, and 1700, *ibid.* 2837 [*C*]

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The hiſtory of the Apoſtles creed by the ſame in 1702, *ibid.* 2860 [*E*]

A confeſſion of faith, ratified by the parliament of Scotland in 1560, by John Knox, *ibid.* 2877 [*HH*]

The firſt book of diſcipline; the form and order for admitting ſuperintendants and miniſters; and of excommunication and faſting; all approved by the general aſſembly of Scotland, and compoſed by John Knox in 1560, *idem ibid.*

The hiſtory of the reformation of religion within the realm of Scotland by the ſame in 1586, *idem ibid.*

A conference between Dr W. Laud and Fiſher the Jeſuit by archbiſhop Laud in 1624, Vol. V. 2903 [*II*]

Paraphraſes and commentaries upon the Holy Scriptures by biſhop Simon Patrick between 1679 and 1695, and reprinted together in 1727 in 2 vols. fol. *ibid.* 3309 under [*I*]

A commentary on Iſaiah in 1714; on Jeremiah in 1718; on Ezekiel in 1723; on Daniel and the minor prophets in 1726; all by W. Lowth, *ibid.* 3011 (Text)

Several curious pieces in the works of Mr Joſeph Mede in 1677, *ibid.* 3088 [*Q*]

An edition of the New Teſtament in the original Greek by Dr John Mill in 1707, fol. *ibid.* 3103 (Text)

Several theological pieces by Dr Henry More in 1679 in three large volumes, *ibid.* 3176 (Text)

The Dort doctrine upon the Quinquarticular-controverſy firſt entirely rooted out of the church of England by biſhop Richard Mountague in King Charles the Firſt's time, *ibid.* 3191 [*K*]

Origines eccleſiaſticæ by the ſame in 1638 and 1640, *ibid.* 3192 (Text) and [*N*]

A diſſertation upon the ſacred cubit of the Jews by Sir Iſaac Newton, edit. 1737, *ibid.* 3244 (Text) and [*FF*]

De ſacrificiis libri duo by Dr Will. Outram in 1677, *ibid.* 3289 [*B*]

The divine original and authority of the Scriptures in 1659; alſo, *A brief vindication of the doctrine of the Trinity* in 1664, both by Dr John Owen; *ibid.* 3294 under [*H*]

An expoſition of the Apoſtles creed by John Pearſon in 1659, the 12th edit. in 1741, *ibid.* 3310 [*C*]

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The true opinions in religion of the Mahometans with a vindication of them from ſome falſe aſperſions by Dr Ed. Pococke in 1649, *ibid.* 3377 [*BB*]

Porta Moſis, &c. by the ſame in 1655, *ibid.* 3380 (Text) and [*GG*]

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A diſcourſe of church government, &c. by Dr John Potter archbiſhop of Canterbury in 1707, *ibid.* 3417 (Text) and [*B*]

A connection of the Old and New Teſtament by Dr Humph. Prideaux in 1715 and 1717, *ibid.* 3425 and 3426 (Text)

The neceſſity of divine revelation, &c. aſſerted by Dr John Rogers in 1727; alſo *A diſcourſe of the viſible and inviſible church* by the ſame in 1719, *ibid.* 3506 [*B*], and 3507 [*E*]

De juramenti promiſſorii obligatione, &c. and *De obligatione conſcientiæ*, &c. both by biſhop Saunderſon in 1647; alſo XII caſes of conſcience by the ſame in 1658 and 1667; one more in 1674, and another in 1678; alſo *Epiſcopacy as eſtabliſhed in England not prejudicial to the regal power* by the ſame in 1661, *ibid.* 3590 [*U*]

The chriſtian life, &c. by Dr John Scot in 5 parts: 1. in 1681; 2. in 1685 and 1686; 3. in 1697; and 4. and 5. in 1699, Vol. VI. Part i. 3601 [*B*]

An act of parliament in Scotland for reſtoring epiſcopacy there framed by archbiſhop James Sharp in 1662, *ibid.* 3644 (Text) and [*N*]

Seven volumes of archbiſhop John Sharp's ſermons publiſhed from 1698 to 1734, *ibid.* 3692 (Text)

A diſcourſe concerning death by Dr Will. Sherlock in 1690, *ibid.* 3681 (Text) and [*K*]

Diatriba de Chaldaicis paraphraſtis, &c. by Dr Tho. Smith about 1670, *ibid.* 3721 [*F*]

An account of the Greek church by the ſame in 1680, *ibid.* [*H*]

De legibus Hebræorum, ritualibus, &c. by Dr John Spencer in 1683, *ibid.* 3798 (Text) and [*H*]

Origines ſacræ, &c. by Stillingfleet in 1662, *ibid.* 3837 (Text) and [*F*]

Several tracts againſt the Socinians, Papiſts, Preſbyterians, and Deiſts, between 1671 and 1696 by the ſame, *ibid.* 3838 and 3839 [*K*], [*L*], [*M*], [*N*], and [*O*]

The liberty of propheſying by biſhop Jer. Taylor in 1647, *ibid.* 3911 [*G*]

Several tracts againſt Popery by archbiſhop Teniſon between 1687 and 1689, *ibid.* 3925 [*I*] and [*K*]

A diſcourſe on tranſubſtantiation in 1684; alſo *The rule of faith*, &c. in 1668, by archbiſhop Tillotſon, Vol. VI. Part i. 3947 [*R*], and 3950 (Text)

The true method of preaching exemplified by the ſame in his ſermons publiſhed in 1671 and 1704, and ſeveral times ſince, *ibid.* 3954 (Text)

Several pieces in the Romiſh controverſy by Dr Wil. Wake in 1686, 1687, and 1688, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4085 and 4086 [*E*], [*F*], and [*G*]

Alſo *An Engliſh verſion of the apoſtolical fathers* by the ſame in 1693, *ibid.* 4087 [*H*]

Alſo *The ſtate of the church and clergy in England* by the ſame in 1703, *ibid.* 4088 (Text)

The polyglot Bible, &c. publiſhed by Dr Brian Walton in 1657, *ibid.* 4144 [*D*]

A philoſophical eſſay to prove the being and attributes of God, &c. by the ſame in 1652, *ibid.* 4151 [*W*]

A defence of ſome queries in vindication of Chriſt's divinity in 1719 by Dr Dan. Waterland, *ibid.* 4162 [*B*].

A ſecond vindication of Chriſt's divinity by the ſame in 1723, *ibid.* 4163 under [*B*]

An explanation of the word myſteries in religion by the ſame in 1718, *ibid.* 4164 under [*D*]

The critical hiſtory of the Athanaſian creed by the ſame in 1723, *ibid.* 4164 (Text), and 4165 [*E*]

A diſſertation on the argument a priori with the true uſe of the ſchoolmen and metaphyſical divines in 1734, *ibid.* 4168 (Text) and [*I*], and 4169 [*K*]

Several archidiaconal charges on the doctrine of the euchariſt from 1736 to 1740 by the ſame, *ibid.* 4170 (Text)

Uſſerii hiſtoria dogmatica controverſiæ inter orthodoxos et pontificios by Henry Wharton in 1688, *ibid.* 4198 [*F*]

A treatiſe on the celibacy of the clergy by the ſame in 1688, *ibid.* 4198 [*G*] *a*

Anglia ſacra, &c. by the ſame in 1695, *ibid.* 4199 [*H*]

A defence of pluralities, &c. by the ſame in 1692, *ibid.* 4200 [*I*]

An account of ſeveral pieces in MS. upon religious ſubjects by the ſame, *ibid.* 4201 and 4202 [*O*]

The hiſtory of Moſes Cheronenſis in the original Armenian language by Mr Geo. Whiſton in the XVIIIth century, *ibid.* 4215 [*GG*]

A paraphraſe and commentary on the New Teſtament, &c. by Dr Daniel Whitby in 1703, *ibid.* 4217 and 4218 [*H*]

An anſwer to Cartwright's admonition with a defence of it by Dr Whitgift in 1572 and 1357, *ibid.* 4237 [*S*]

A diſcourſe on the gift of prayer and preaching by Dr John Wilkins in 1646, *ibid.* 4270 [*I*]

The rights of the clergy in the chriſtian church aſſerted by Will. Wotton in 1696, Suppl. 4 [*A*]. Alſo,

Miſcellaneous diſcourſes relating to the traditions of the Scribes and Phariſees by the ſame in 1718, *idem ibid.*

The analogy of religion natural and revealed to the conſtitution and courſe of nature by biſhop Joſeph Butler in 1736, *ibid.* 23 (Text) and [*F*]

A general eccleſiaſtical hiſtory by Dr Laurence Eachard about 1711, *ibid.* 44 (Text) and [*A*]

Theologia ſpeculativa et practica in two parts by Dr Richard Fiddes in 1718 and 1720, *ibid.* 53 [*B*]

Specilegium S. S. patrum by Dr Erneſt Grabe in 1700, Suppl. 76 [*C*]
Juſtin Martyr's firſt apology in 1700; alſo *Irenæus contra hæreſes* in 1702, by the ſame, *ibid.* [*E*] and [*H*]
The Alexandrian MS. of the Bible printed by the ſame in 1707, and ſeveral ſubſequent years, *ibid.* 77 (Text)
A projected union between the churches of England and France in the reign of Queen Anne, *ibid.* 78 [*L*]
An account of 54 pieces chiefly in divinity by biſhop Benjamin Hoadly from 1702 to 1757, *ibid.* 102
The doctrine of the cherubim by John Hutchinſon ſhewn to be groundleſs by archdeacon Sharp in his works, edit. 1763, *ibid.* 106 under [*E*]
A practical treatiſe of chriſtian perfection; alſo *A ſerious call to a devout and holy life*; alſo *The grounds and reaſons of chriſtian regeneration*; alſo *The ſpirit of prayer*; and *The ſpirit of Love*; all by William Law in the XVIIIth century, *ibid.* 108 marginal note (*a*)
The reaſonableneſs and certainty of the chriſtian religion by Dr Rob. Jenkin in 1708, 3d edit. *ibid.* 111 [*C*]
Practical chriſtianity, &c. in 1678; alſo *An enquiry after happineſs*; both by Rich. Lucas, *ibid.* 123 (Text) and [*A*]
The principles and duties of the chriſtian religion by John Mapletoft in 1710, *ibid.* 127 (Text)
A treatiſe of the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, 5th edition in 1744; alſo *An eſſay of inſtructions for the Indians*, 4th edition in 1744, both by Dr Tho. Wilſon biſhop of the Iſle of Man, *ibid.* 199 [*C*]
An account of the riſe and progreſs of the doctrines and diſclipline of the Moravian ſect, *ibid.* 214 to 220
The uſe and intent of prophecy, &c. by biſhop Sherlock in 1725, Append. 231 (Text) and [*D*]
A charge againſt ſome opinions and practices of the Nonjuring ſchiſmaticks by biſhop Trimnel in 1709, *ibid.* 241 (Text) and [*E*]

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The right of granting prohibitions from the temporal to the ſpiritual courts queſtioned by archbiſhop Bancroft in 1605, Vol. I. 467 (Text) and [*D*]
An inſtance of the puniſhment by torture in Queen Elizabeth's time, *ibid.* 180 [*D*]
The opinion of lord chief juſtice Coke that the reſolution of all the judges is the higheſt authority in law in England ſhewn to be inconſiſtent by Jer. Collier, *idem ibid.*
A diſcourſe concerning the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction in the realm of England; alſo remarks on lord Will. Ruſſel's trial and conviction in 1683, likewiſe an enquiry into the power of diſpenſing with penal ſtatutes, all by Sir Robert Atkyns in 1686, *ibid.* 258 and 259 (Text) and [*D*], [*E*], and [*F*]
The right of the court of Chancery to receive appeals from the common law eſtabliſhed by King James I. *ibid.* 389 [*Y*]
The exemption of the clergy from proſecutions in the temporal courts whence derived, *ibid.* 641 [*TT*]
The elements of the common law of England by Sir Francis Bacon in 1696, *ibid.* 375 [*K*]
The hiſtory of the alienation office by the ſame in 1698, *ibid.* (Text) and [*M*]
Reports by Sir Edward Coke in 1600; alſo a book of entries; alſo Inſtitutes in four parts; alſo a treatiſe of bail and mainpriſe in 1637; alſo readings on the ſtatute of fines in 1662; alſo the compleat copyholder in 1640, all by the ſame, Vol. II. 1397 and 1398 [*U*]
Brief animadverſions, amendments of, and additional explanatory records to the 4th part of lord Coke's inſtitutes by Will. Prynne in 1669, *idem ibid.*
Unwritten cuſtoms were the law of England in the time of Bracton who firſt reduced them into writing uuder Henry III, *ibid.* 941 [*C*]
The firſt methodical treatiſe of the laws of England by the ſame about 1244, *ibid.* (Text) and [*D*]
The interpreter, &c. by Dr John Cowel in 1607, and laſtly in 1708, Vol. III. 1495 [*C*]
Reformatio legum compiled in the reign of King Edward VI. why not confirmed by parliament, *ibid.* 1508 [G]
A liſt of thoſe divines who compoſed the common prayer book publiſhed by act of parliament of King Edward VI. in 1549, Vol. III. 1512 [*K*]
Origines juridiciales, &c. by Sir Will. Dugdale 1666, and again in 1671, *ibid.* 1820 [*L*]
Reports, &c. by Sir James Dyer printed in 1601, the beſt edition in 1688, *ibid.* 1828 [*C*]
A ſpeech touching the *Poſt-nate* by lord chancellor Egerton in 1609, *ibid.* 1839 [*K*]
Certain obſervations concerning the office of lord chancellor by the ſame in 1651, *idem ibid.*
The original of abridgments of caſes in law by Stratham in the reign of King Henry VI. *ibid.* 1938 [*B*]
The grand abridgment of the law by Anth. Fitz Herbert in 1519; alſo *Natura brevium novel, &c.* by the ſame in 1534, *ibid.* 1938 [*C*]
The ſtate of chancery and the inns of court in the reign of Henry VI. by lord chancellor Forteſcue, *ibid.* 1987 [*D*]
The origin of the liberties of England by lord chancellor Forteſcue and lord Coke, *ibid.* 1999 under [*Q*] *b*
The meaning and reaſon of eſſoins in law by lord chancellor Forteſcue, *idem ibid.*
De laudibus legum Angliæ, &c. a diſcourſe by the ſame; alſo *The difference between an abſolute and limited monarchy, &c.* by the ſame, *ibid.* 1991 [*K*], and 1995 [*N*]
The beſt method of ſtudying the law by Fleetwood in 1579, *ibid.* 1963 [G]
No ſuch degree as ſerjeant at law any where but in England aſſerted by chancellor Forteſcue in 1430, *ibid.* 1988 [*E*]
The expence of taking that degree in the time of King Henry VI. *idem ibid.*
Inſtances of the long continuance of ſuits in the ſupreme law courts of France by the ſame, *ibid.* 1999 [*Q*]
The law concerning divorces aſſerted to be unjuſt in ſome caſes by biſhop Fleetwood about 1715, *ibid.* 1976 under [*F*]
The nature and buſineſs of the court of requeſts explained, Vol. IV. 2459 [*E*]
An inſtitute of the law of Scotland in civil rights, &c. by Andrew M'Dowel in 3 vols. 1751, 1752, and 1753, *ibid.* 2258 [*C*]
Inſtitution of the laws of Scotland, &c. by lord viſcount Stairs publiſhed in 1693, *idem ibid.*
The buſineſs of the augmentation court firſt erected in 1535 and diſſolved in 1553, Vol. V. 3401 (Text) and [*F*]
Free ſhips make free goods maintained for a rule in law by Sir William Temple in 1674, Vol. V. 3918 [G]
The maxim that the jury are judges of the law as well as of fact firſt proved to be a fundamental part of the Levellers ſcheme during the grand rebellion, *ibid.* 2958 under [*BBB*]
The origin, nature, and number of law tenures in England which were aboliſhed parliament ſoon after the reſtoration of King Charles II. *ibid.* 3350 [*C*]
The privilege of the univerſity of Cambridge to appoint vintners within themſelves aſſerted by that body in 1585, *ibid.* 3470 [*H*]
A treatiſe of tenures by Tho. Littleton, judge, firſt publiſhed in 1533, *ibid.* 2978 [*H*]
A collection of pleadings in ſome remarkable caſes in Scotland by Sir George Mackenzie in 1673, *ibid.* 3036 [*F*]
An anſwer to ſome reaſons printed in England againſt the overture of bringing into that kingdom ſuch regiſters as are in Scotland by the ſame in 1673, *ibid.* 3040 (Text)
Obſervations on the twenty-firſt act of parliament of James VI. againſt diſpoſitions made in defraudence of creditors by the ſame, *idem ibid.*
A diſcourſe upon the laws and cuſtoms of Scotland in matters criminal by the ſame in 1678, *ibid.* 3039 (Text)
Obſervations on the laws and cuſtoms of nations as to to precedency, with the ſcience of heraldry as a part of the law of nations, by the ſame about 1686, *ibid.* 3040 (Text)
An inſtitution of the laws of Scotland by the ſame in 1684, *ibid.* 3039 (Text)
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Directions to churchwardens, &c. by Dr Humphry Prideaux in 1701, and again in 1711, *ibid.* 3430 [*S.*]

The juſtice of the preſent eſtabliſhed law which gives the ſucceſſor in an eccleſiaſtical benefice all the profits from the day of avoidance maintained by Dr Humphry Prideaux in 1703, Vol. V. 3432 (Text)

The original right of the clergy to tythes by the ſame in 1709, *ibid.* 3433 (Text) and [*Z*]

The hiſtory of tythes by John Selden in 1618, Vol. VI. Part i. 3607 (Text), and 3608 [*K*]

Mare clauſum, &c. by the ſame in 1636, *ibid.* 3615 [*F*]

Fleta, ſeu commentarius juris Anglicani ſic nuncupatus, publiſhed by the ſame in 1647, *ibid.* 3620 (Text)

Thoſe who acted at ſea under the commiſſion of King James II. after his abdication maintained to be guilty of piracy by Dr Matthew Tindal in 1689, *ibid.* 3960 [*B*]

The judgment of the law concerning long continued parliaments in 1647; alſo *Rerum judicaturum centuriæ octo* in 1661, both by judge David Jenkins, *ibid.* 3906 under [*C*]

Eccleſiaſtical caſes in two volumes by biſhop Stillingfleet in 1704, *ibid.* 3839 marg. note (25)

Elementa juriſprudentiæ, &c. by Dr Richard Zouche in 1629, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4387 [*D*]

Deſcriptio juris et judicii feudalis, &c. by the ſame in 1634, *idem ibid.*

Deſcriptio juris et judicii temporalis, &c. by the ſame in 1636, *idem ibid.*

Deſcriptio juris et judicii eccleſiaſtici, &c. by the ſame in 1636, *idem ibid.*

Deſcriptio juris et judicii ſacri, &c. alſo *Deſcriptio juris et judicii militaris, &c.* alſo *Deſcriptio juris et judicii maritimi, &c.* all three by the ſame, and printed in one volume in 1640, *idem ibid.*

Juris et judicii fecialis explicatio by the ſame in 1650, *idem ibid.*

Caſes and queſtions reſolved in the civil law by the ſame in 1652, *idem ibid.*

Solutio queſtionis de legati delinquentis judice competente by the ſame in 1657, *idem ibid.*

Quæſtionum juris civilis centuria, &c. by the ſame in 1660, *idem ibid.*

The juriſdiction of the admiralty of England aſſerted, &c. by the ſame in 1663, *idem ibid.*

Specimen quæſtionum juris civilis cum deſignatione authorum, an anonymous piece in 1653 aſcribed to the ſame, *idem ibid.*

The oath enjoined by the five mile act of King Charles II. not to attempt any alteration whatſoever in church or ſtate, explained to ſignify only an unlawful attempt by Bridgman keeper of the great ſeal under that King, Suppl. 8 [*A*]

De jure regni apud Scotos by George Buchanan in the XVIth century, Suppl. 19 (Text)

Codex juris Anglicani, &c. by Dr Gibſon in 1713, and again in 1761, Suppl. 66 [*G*]

Vade mecum by John Johnſon in 1705 and 1709, Suppl. 112 [*D*]

A collection of eccleſiaſtical laws, canons, &c. by the ſame in 1720, *ibid.* 113 (Text)

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The Prince of Wales's title to that principality ſhewn to be unalienable by judge Rob. Price in 1695, *ibid.* 141 (Text). Alſo,

That the education and care of his royal children is inveſted in him by the law, aſſerted by the ſame in 1717, *ibid.* 144 [*G*]

The option, or an enquiry into the grounds of the archbiſhop of Canterbury's claim to options within his province by biſhop Sherlock in 1755, Append. 231 [*E*]

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The geometrical key, &c. invented by Tho. Baker and publiſhed in 1684, Vol. I. 422 [*A*]

Euclidis elementa by Dr Iſaac Barrow in 1655, *ibid.* 504 [*X*]

Euclidis data by the ſame in 1657, *idem ibid.*

Lectiones geometricæ, &c. by the ſame in 1670, *idem ibid.*

Archimedis opera; Apollonii concicorum libri iv. et Theodoſii ſpherica, by the ſame in 1675, *idem ibid.*

Lectio in qua theoremata Archimedis de ſphæra et cylindro per methodum indiviſibilium inveſtigata ac demonſtrata exhibentur by the ſame in 1678, *idem ibid.*

Mathematicæ lectiones habitæ in ſcholis publicis acad. Cantab. A. D. 1664, 1665, 1666, *&c.* by Dr Iſaac Barrow, publiſhed in 1683, Vol. I. 504 [*X*]

A liſt of ſeveral mathematical pieces in MS. by the ſame, *ibid.* 505 and 506 under [*X*]

Veterum mathematicorum Græcorum, Latinorum, et Arabum ſynopſis by Dr Edward Bernard in 1673, Vol. II. 754 (Text) and [*D*]

Logarithms improved by Henry Briggs in 1615, *ibid.* 979 [*B*]

Harmonia menſurarum, &c. by Dr Roger Cotes in 1722, Vol. III. 1482 [*C*]

A method for the transformation of curves invented by James Gregory in 1668, Vol. IV. 2357 (Text)

Des Cartes's miſtakes in geometry corrected by Fermat, *ibid.* 2518 [*UU*]

Fermat had an algebraical method publiſhed in 1631, of the ſame kind with Sir Iſaac Newton's fluxions, Vol. V. 3212 [*C*]

The method of infinite ſeries whoſe terms are independent of each other invented by Sir Iſaac Newton in 1664, *ibid.* 3211 (Text) and [*B*]

Baker's geometrical key improved in 1687 by Dr Halley, Vol. IV. 2507 (Text)

An infinite approximating ſeries for ſquaring the circle and hyperbola invented by James Gregory in 1667, *ibid.* 2356 [*C*]

The ability of Apollonius Pergæus to conſtruct a *locus* to four right lines proved by Dr Halley, *ibid.* 2495 under [*B*]

New and better rules than the former for conſtructing ſolid problems invented by Dr Halley, *ibid.* 2507 (Text)

The two loſt books of Apollonius *De ſectione rationis* reſtored by the invention of Dr Halley, *ibid.* 2513 [*KK*]

The eighth loſt book of Apollonius's conics ſupplied by the invention of the ſame, *ibid.* 2513 [*LL*]

Several miſtakes corrected and defects ſupplied by Dr Halley in Des Cartes's geometrical works, *ibid.* 2518 [*UU*]

A rational and irrational algebraical formula for extracting roots of equations without any previous reduction invented by Dr Halley in 1694, *ibid.* 2519 [*WW*]

A compendious and eaſy method of conſtructing logarithms without the help of the hyperbola invented by Dr Halley and printed in 1708, *ibid.* 2514 (Text) and [*NN*]

Algebra improved by Tho. Harriot and publiſhed in 1631. 1. In producing ſmall letters inſtead of capitals to define his ſpecies, as taking up leſs room, eſpecially when they come to be frequently repeated. 2. His waving the terms of quadratic, cubic, ſurſolid, &c. in the ſignation of them, which he performs very naturally by the bare number of their dimenſions, as *aa, aaa, aaaa,* which when they come to be numerous are conveniently expreſſed by numeral figures, which is alſo ſometimes uſed by others. 3. His putting the whole equation to one ſide, making it equal to nothing; and which was the end why he did it: 4. Shewing thence the true original of higher equations from a compoſition of lateral or more ſimple equations, which is the great key that opens the moſt abſtruſe myſteries in algebra, and which I think, ſays Dr Wallis, we owe purely to him. And conſequently thereupon, 5. Determining the number of roots affirmative, negative, or imaginary in every equation, *viz.* ſo many as are the dimenſions of its higheſt term. 6. Diſcovering the genuine conſtruction of the abſolutely known quantity, or *homogeneum comparationis* as Vieta calls it, viz. by a continual multiplication of all the roots. 7. As alſo the conſtitution of all the co-efficients, viz. of what and how many numbers each co-efficient doth conſiſt, and by what multiplication of roots into one another each member is made. 8. Reſolving by diviſion an equation ſo compounded, into thoſe ſimple equations of which by multiplication it is made up. 9. Determining (by comparing common equations with his canonicals) how many roots of each equation are real (and not merely imaginary) and how many of theſe are affirmative, and how many negative. 10. Reducing conditional equations to more ſimple forms by ſuppoſition of certain qualities, or reſpective proportions in their ſeveral roots among themſelves,

whereby ſome of their places become vacant, or ſo and ſo qualified, and conſequently, 11. A diſcovery of thoſe qualities and proportions in the roots from ſuch want of, or qualifications of the co-efficients as ariſe from thence. 12. Turning at once by changing the ſigns of even places, all the affirmative roots into negative, and *e contra.* 13. Multiplying and dividing the roots of any equation yet unknown in any proportion at pleaſure. And 14. Thereby freeing the co efficients of any equation from fractions and ſurds. 15. Increaſing or diminiſhing the value of ſuch unknown roots by the addition or ſubduction of any quantity aſſigned. And ſo 16. By this means (if there be occaſion) making ſome or all of the negative roots to become affirmative, or *vice verſa.* And 17. Taking away (by the ſame means) one or more of the intermediate terms in any equation, and thereby reducing the equation to fewer terms. 18. Taking away in particular the ſecond term in any equation, by increaſing or diminiſhing the value of the root by an aliquot part of the co efficient, denominated by ſuch number as is that of the dimenſions of the higheſt term. 19. Reducing thereby all affected quadratic equations to ſimple quadratics. 20. Reducing in like manner all affected cubic equations to two forms very convenient for further reduction. 21. Reducing farther the ſame affected cubic equations to ſimple cubics as far as they are capable of being reduced into ſpecies. 22. Diſcovering thoſe cubic equations, which are not capable of explication in ſpecies (according to ſuch ways of notation as are yet received) without imagining the ſquare root of a negative quantity, with the demonſtration of that incapacity. 23. Shewing notwithſtanding that theſe ſame equations have real roots, and not merely imaginary. 24. A peculiar way and very expedient of reducing affected quadratic equations to ſimple quadratics by completing the ſquare. 25. An improvement of the *exegeſis numeroſa,* that is the numeral ſolution or extraction of roots of affected equations firſt introduced by Vieta. All theſe are either explicitly delivered by him, or are obvious to remark upon the bare inſpection of what he delivers, and moſt of them are properly his own diſcoveries as far as I can yet find, though in ſome few of them Vieta had gone before him. To this ſtate had Harriot advanced algebra in his poſthumous work written long before; for he died in 1621, but publiſhed in 1631. Wallis's hiſt. of algebra, c. 30. Vol. IV. 2542 [*H*]

The hiſtory of algebra by Walter Warner in 1631, *ibid.* 2541 [*G*]

Mathematics improved by Dr Wallis in his controverſy with Hobbes between 1655 and 1672 incluſive, *ibid.* 2618 [*S*]

The method of indiviſibles known in 1647 to Gregorius a St Vincentio, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4121 [*M*]

Sir Iſaac Newton's method of fluxions explained by John Machin aſtronomy profeſſor at Greſham college in 1713, Vol. IV. 2518 [*UU*]

The organical deſcription of curves improved by Colin Maclaurin in 1720, Vol. V. 2043 [*F*], and in 1742, *ibid.* 3045 [*P*]

Algebra improved by the invention of ſymbols in working queſtions in it by Oughtred in 1631, *ibid.* 3284 (Text) and [*I*]

The quadrature of the cycloid firſt invented by Sir Chriſtopher Wren and Dr Wallis, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4126 [*Y*]

Algebra improved by Dr Pell's invention of a marginal proceſs in working ſuch queſtions in 1688, Vol. V. 3316 [*I*]. Alſo,

By his additions to Harriot's and Oughtred's ſymbols, and by giving the firſt ſolution of ſome of Diophantes' queſtions, *idem ibid.*

The doctrine of infinite progreſſions improved in the *Arithmetica infinitorum* by Dr John Wallis in 1655, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4123 [*R*]

Geometry improved in ſquaring many curves not before known by the ſame, *idem ibid.* Alſo,

By his treatiſe on conic ſections, *idem ibid.*

A piece upon the angle of contact by the ſame in 1656, *ibid.* 4124 [*T*]

A new method of drawing tangents to curves invented by the ſame, *idem ibid.*

Matheſis univerſalis, &c. by Dr John Wallis in 1657 Vol. VI. Part ii. 4124 [*U*]

Commercium epiſtolicum, &c. by the ſame in 165 *ibid.* 4125 (Text), and in 1600, *ibid.* 4133 [[illegible]]

Dr Wallis advances very near to the diſcovery of Sir Iſaac Newton's method of fluxions, *ibid.* 412 under [*S*], and 4136 [*YY*]

Mechanica, ſive de motu tractatus geometricus by the ſame in 1671, *ibid.* 4129 [GG]

The rectification of the parabolic curve firſt invented by Mr Neil in 1657 and demonſtrated by Dr Wallis, *ibid.* 4126 (Text)

The hiſtory of algebra by the ſame in 1684, *ibid.* 4130 (Text) and [*KK*]

Claudii Ptolemæi opus harmonicum, &c. publiſhed by the ſame in 1680, *ibid.* 4130 [*II*]

Archimedis arenarius et dimenſio circuli by the ſame in 1676, *ibid.* 4129 [*HH*], and 4130 (Text)

Ariſtarchus Samius de magnitudine ſolis et lunæ, together with *Pappi Alexandrini libri ſecundi collectionum mathematicarum hactenus deſiderati fragmentum* by the ſame in 1682, *ibid.* 4131 (Text) and [*NN*]

The method of infinite ſeries, whoſe terms are independent of each other invented by Sir Iſaac Newton in 1664, Vol. V. 3211 (Text) and [*B*]

The binomial theorem invented by the ſame, *idem ibid.*

The interpolation of Dr Wallis's ſeries for the quadrature of the circle invented by the ſame, *idem ibid.*

Analyſis per equationes numero terminorum infinitas invented by the ſame in 1665, Vol. V. 3215 (Text)

The method of fluxions invented by the ſame in 1666, *ibid.* 3212 and 3213 (Text) and [*D*], and 3229 [*S*]

Geometry improved by *The quadrature curves,* alſo by *An enumeration of the lines of the third order,* and by ſeveral new demonſtrations in optics by the ſame in 1719, *ibid.* 3255 (Text)

A differential method invented by the ſame, publiſhed in 1711, Suppl. 34 (Text)

Arithmetica univerſalis, &c. by the ſame in 1707, Vol. V. 3235 (Text)

A treatiſe upon algebra, and *De linearum geometricarum proprietatibus generalibus* by Colin Maclaurin in 1748, *ibid.* 3049 [*W*]

A treatiſe of fluxions by the ſame in 1742, *ibid.* 3045 (Text) and [*P*]

A profeſſorſhip of geometry founded at Oxford by Sir Henry Savile in 1619, *ibid.* 3600 (Text)

A ſeries for the quadrature of the circle and the hyperbola invented by lord Brouncker in 1655, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4123 [*Q*], and 4129 [*EE*]

Mathematical principles reduced to mechanical experiments by the antient Greek *Dædalus,* ibid. 4270 [*K*]

A method of determining the *maxima et minima* of the ſame kind with that of fluxions invented by Mr Fermat in 1631, Vol. V. 3212 [*C*]

An eſſay on the uſefulneſs of mathematical learning, &c. by Dr John Arbuthnot in 1700, Suppl. 4 (Text)

An introduction to merchant's accompts by John Collins in 1652, Suppl. 33 [*A*]

The doctrine of decimal arithmetic, ſimple and compound intereſt, and annuities by the ſame in 1661, *idem ibid.*

Synopſis palmariorum matheſeos by Will. Jones in 1706, Suppl. 34 (Text)

A diſcourſe concerning the nature and certainty of Sir Iſaac Newton's method of fluxions by Benjamin Robins in 1735, Suppl. 152 (Text)

An Engliſh tranſlation of Euclid's elements with explanatory notes by Sir Cha. Scarborough in 1705, Suppl. 160 (Text)

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A boat to make more way with one hand than another veſſel fully manned invented by friar Bacon in the XIIIth century, Vol. I. 352 under [*L*]

A chariot to move without the aſſiſtance of animals invented by the ſame, *idem ibid.* And,

Improved by Dr Wilkins in his mathematical magic, &c. in 1648, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4270 [*K*]

The art of double writing invented in 1647 by Sir Will. Petty, Vol. V. 3342 [*B*]

The art of double writing invented in 1650 by Sir Chr. Wren, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4362 under [*H*]

The mercurial thermometer firſt invented by Dr Halley in 1686, which being firſt brought into uſe [illegible] by Mr Farenheit now goes by his name, Vol. IV. 2505 [*W*]

The fiſh pool invented by Sir Richard Steele in 1718, Vol. VI. Part i. 3831 [*M*]

The art of making glaſs when and where firſt invented, Vol. IV. 2684 [*D*]

A new diving bell invented by Dr Halley in 1694, *ibid.* 2515 [*PP*] And

Improved by captain Trierwood, captain of mechanics to the King of Sweden, in 1736, *idem ibid.*

A very deſtructive machine in ſea fights called *infernals* invented by Anonymous in the XVIth century, Vol. I. 678 [*B*]

Engraving in mezzo tinto invented by Prince Rupert in the time of King Charles I. Suppl. 156 (Text)

Enamelling improved by an invention of Sir Theodore Mayern in King Charles the Second's time, Suppl. 130 [*B*] marg. note (1)

The art of memory firſt invented by Dr Tho. Fuller in the XVIIth century, Vol. III. 2069 under [*S*] *a*

An inſtrument called *Scyothericum aſtronomicum* invented by Mr William Molyneux in 1686, Vol. V. 3128 [*K*]

N. B. The orrery invented and conſtructed by George Graham the celebrated watchmaker, and not by lord Orrery, as aſſerted in Vol. II. 936 [*C*]

The circular pendulum invented by Hooke in 1663, Vol. V. 2653 [*D*]

The hiſtory of printing by A. Wood in *Hiſt. et antiquit. Oxon.* b. i. p. 224, &c. Vol. II. 872 [*F*]

Printing eſteemed a branch of the royal prerogative, Vol. I. 256 under [*A*]

An account of cutting the channel for the New River at London by Sir Hugh Middleton from 1606 to 1613, Vol. V. 3090 (Text), and 3091 under [*B*], [C], [*D*], [*E*], and [*F*]

A new ſector invented by Edmund Gunter in 1624, Vol. IV. 2451 [*A*] And

Improved by S. Foſter, Vol. III. 2010 [*C*]

A ſcale or rule of proportion invented by Gunter, *ibid.* 2453 [*E*]

Short-hand firſt invented in England by Peter Bales in 1590, Vol. I. 431 [*E*]

A new one invented by Dr John Byrom in 1720, Suppl. 27 [*B*]

An hiſtorical account of the firſt invention and improvement of the art of writing, Vol. I. 434 [*G*]

A windmill to be turned by the wind blowing from any point of the compaſs invented by Dr John Wilkins in King Charles the Second's time, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4270 [*K*]

The form of a ſerpentine river invented by Dr Chr. Wren dean of Windſor in King Charles the Firſt's time, *ibid.* 4360 under [*A*]

A very ſtrong roof of his houſe at Knoyll invented and conſtructed by the ſame, *idem ibid.*

The conſtruction of a ſun dial upon which the ſhadow would recede naturally as it did in that of King Ahaz miraculouſly by Sir Chr. Wren, *ibid.* 4362 [*K*]

The roof of the Theatre at Oxford invented by the ſame in 1669, *ibid.* 4369 [*LL*]

Painting in enamel invented by John Petitot in King Charles the Firſt's time, Suppl. 139 (Text)

A catalogue of many new theories and inventions by Sir Chriſtopher Wren, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4362 under [*H*]

The air pump invented by the honourable Robert Boyle, Eſq; in 1658 and 1659, Vol. II. 908 (Text)

Muſic improved by Mr Will. Oughtred in his *Muſicæ elementa* in 1677, Vol. V. 3289 (Text)

Alſo by Dr John Wallis in 1680, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4130 [*H*]

Alſo by Dr Rob. Smith in 1759, *idem ibid.* in marg. note (*) *b*

Alſo by Mr John Harriſon in 1660, Append. 228, 229 (Text)

La nouvelle methode de dreſſer le chevaux in 1658; alſo *A new method to dreſs horſes* in 1667; and again not many years ago, both by Will. Cavendiſh duke of Newcaſtle, Vol. II. 1214 [*G*]

The neweſt, plaineſt, and ſhorteſt ſhort-hand invented by Eliſha Coles in 1674, Vol. II. 1402 (Text)

Sculptura, or the hiſtory and art of chalcography, &c. by John Evelyn, Eſq; in 1662, Vol. III. 1855 [*K*]

An idea of the perfection of painting, &c. by the ſame in 1668, *ibid.* 1861 under [*O*] *a*

A ground for etching in copper or braſs by Wenceſlaus Hollar in the XVIIth century, Vol. IV. 2626 [*A*]

Pendulum watches invented by Dr Rob. Hooke before 1674, *ibid.* 2657 [*O*]

Micographia, &c. by the ſame 1665, *ibid.* 2654 [*H*]

An introductory eſſay to the doctrine of ſounds containing ſome propoſals for the improvement of acouſtics by Dr Narciſſus Marſh in 1683, Vol. V. 3051 under [*H*]

A mechanical account of poiſons by Dr Rich. Mead in 1702, *ibid.* 3078 (Text), again in 1745, *ibid.* 3079

Several tracts relating to mechanics by Sir Will. Petty between 1667 and 1684, *ibid.* 3347 under [*N*]

New principles of gunnery by Benj. Robins in 1742, Suppl. 153 (Text) and [*C*]

The art of reſtoring ſpeech to dumb perſons by Dr John Wallis in 166[illegible], Vol. VI. Part ii. 4127 [*AA*] and [*BB*]

A method of preſerving ſnow in Italy by John Evelyn about 1647, Vol. III. 1851 under [*D*]

A ventilator and ſeveral other inventions and improvements in the art of mechanics by Dr Stephen Hales between 1745 and 1750, Suppl. 83 [*E*], [*F*], and [*G*]

The art of gunnery improved by Dr Halley in 1685, Vol. IV. 2504 (Text), and 2505 [*II*]

Engineering improved and the cuſhee piece invented by captain Rich. Leake in 1677, Vol. V. 2905 [*C*]

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Improved in *The wiſdom of the ancients* in 1610; and in *Eſſays civil and moral* in 1597, both by lord Bacon, Vol. I. 376 [*L*], and 382 (Text)

The Pantheon by Andrew Tooke in 1713, and the 10th edit. in 1736, Suppl. 173 [*B*]

The true meaning of Fate by the ancients ſhewn by Dr Henry More about 1640, Vol. V. 3169 [*C*]

A treatiſe *De origine mali* by archbiſhop King in 1702, and in Engliſh in 1732, Vol. IV. 2843 [*F*], and 2846 [*H*] and [*I*]

Notes to the ſame book by Edmund Law in 1732, *ibid.* 2848 and 2849 (Text) and [*K*]

The ideas of beauty and virtue proved to be connate to the human mind by Francis Hutcheſon in 1725, Suppl. 104 [*A*]

The fable of the bees, &c. encouraging vice ſhewn to have no good foundation by ſeveral authors between 1704 and 1740, Suppl. 124 [*A*]

Reflections upon learning in the chapter intituled Morality by Tho. Baker in 1700, Vol. VI. Part i. 3726 [*E*]

Philoſophus auto-didactus, or the life of Ebn Hai Yokdan by Edw. Pococke in 1671, and again by Simon Ockley in 1711, Vol. V. 3381 [*TT*]

Enchiridion ethicum by Dr Hen. More about 1640, *ibid.* 3173 (Text)

The true intellectual ſyſtem by Dr Ralph Cudworth in 1678, Vol. III. 1580 [*G*]

A treatiſe concerning eternal and immutable morality by the ſame, edit. 1713, *ibid.* 1581 [*F*]

A diſcourſe concerning the beauty of providence, &c. by Dr John Wilkins in 1649, Vol. VI. Part ii. 4271 (Text)

The principles and duties of natural religion by the ſame in 1675, *ibid.* 4275 (Text)

An eſſay on human underſtanding by John Locke in 1687, and ſeveral other editions with additions, Vol. V. 2999 [*R*]

The religion of nature delineated, &c. by Will. Wollaſton in 1724, the 7th edition in 1750, Vol. VI. Part ii. [*H*] and [*I*]

Morality enforced in a volume of ſermons with a preface by biſhop Joſeph Butler in 1716, and again in 1729, Suppl. 21 [*C*]

An eſſay on the nature of virtue by the ſame in 1736, and again in 1750, Suppl. 23 (Text), and 24 under [*F*]

Morality enforced in four volumes of ſermons, and in *Moral and religious aphoriſms* by Dr Benj. Whichcote in 1703, Suppl. 194 and 195 (Text), and Append. 204 [*E*]
An inſtance of vanity by Villiers the ſecond duke of Buckingham in King Charles the Second's time, Vol. VI. Part i. 4055 [*M*]
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The immateriality and natural immortality of the ſoul by the ſame in 1707, *ibid.* 1359 [*M*]
A vindication of human liberty, &c. by the ſame in 1717, *ibid.* 1363 [*W*]
Seven eſſays by Sir Tho. Pope Blount in 1692, Vol. II. 834 [*B*]
A treatiſe concerning enthuſiaſm, &c. by Dr Meric Caſaubon in 1655, *ibid.* 1194 [*C*]
Marci Antonini imperatoris de ſeipſo by the ſame in 1643; *idem ibid.*
In Hieroclis commentarium de providentia et fato by the ſame in 1655, *idem ibid.*
A treatiſe of credulity and incredulity, &c. by the ſame in 1668, *idem ibid.*
The darkneſs of atheiſm diſpelled by the light of nature by Dr Walter Charleton in 1652, *ibid.* 1288 [*B*] *a*
An edition of Epictetus's morals by the ſame in 1655, *idem ibid.*
The immortality of the human ſoul demonſtrated by reaſon's natural light by the ſame in 1657, *idem ibid.*
The natural hiſtory of the paſſions by the ſame in 1674, *ibid.* 1291 under [*E*] *a*
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Contemplations moral and divine by judge Hale in 1676 and 1677, *ibid.* 2480 [*U*]
Religio ſtoici by Sir George Mackenzie in 1663, Vol. V. 3034 (Text) and [*B*]
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A philoſophical diſcourſe concerning the natural immortality of the ſoul, &c. by John Norris in 1708, *ibid.* 3254 (Text) and [*M*]
Philoſophical principles of natural and revealed religion by Andrew Michael Ramſay in 1749, *ibid.* 3489 (Text)
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Diſcourſes on natural religion and ſocial virtue by Dr James Foſter, edit. 1753, Suppl. 25 under [*G*] *b*
Two treatiſes concerning the foundation of moral duty and religion by Mrs Catharine Cockburne, edit. 1747, Suppl. 32 (Text)
A general treatiſe of morality, &c. by Dr Richard Fiddes in 1724, Suppl. 54 [*E*]
A treatiſe *De veritate* aſſerting the ſufficiency of natural religion by Edward lord Herbert of Cherbury in 1634, Suppl. 87 (Text)
De religione gentilium by the ſame in 1645, *ibid.* 88 (Text) and [*C*]
Characteriſtics by A. A. Cooper earl of Shafteſbury in 1711, Suppl. 38 (Text)
Hiſtriomaſtix by Will. Prynne in 1632, *ibid.* 145 (Text)
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The ſcience of natural philoſophy improved by lord Bacon in his *Sylva* about 1623, Vol. I. 408 (Text)
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Phyſiologia-Epicuro-Gaſſendo Charletoniana, &c. by Dr Walter Charleton in 1654; alſo *Onomaſticon Zoicon, &c.* by the ſame in 1668, again in 1671, and again in 1677, Vol. II. 1290 [*E*]
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Obſervations on the *tomeneius* or humming bird from the Philoſ. Tranſact. No. 202. by Nehemiah Grew, *ibid.* 2404 [*G*]
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The great hiſtorical, geographical, and poetical dictionary by Edm. Bohun in 1694, *ibid.* 193 under [*C*] *b*

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A diſcourſe concerning phyſic, &c. in 1668, and *A diſcourſe ſetting forth the unhappy practice of phyſic in London* in 1669, both by the ſame, *ibid.* 2217 and 2218 [*D*]
The receptacle of the chyle, and the thoracic duct firſt diſcovered by Dr Pecket in the XVIIth century, Vol. IV. 2551 [*G*]
The practice of tying up the arteries in amputations invented by Ambroſe Parey a French ſurgeon in the XVIth century, *ibid.* 2554 [*N*]
Uſeful directions to preſerve ſeamen from the ſcurvy by Sir Rich. Hawkins in 1593, *ibid.* 2571 under [*D*]
A treatiſe of the purging ſalts at Epſom and other places by Nehemiah Grew in 1695, *ibid.* 2404 [*F*]
Galen's books reviſed and corrected and ſome pieces in them tranſlated into Latin; as alſo Hippocrates's treatiſe of medicines which was firſt diſcovered by him; alſo Celſus and Scribonius Largus corrected, all by John Kaye or Caius in Queen Elizabeth's time, *ibid.* 2798 [*M*], [*N*], [*O*]
De ephemera Britannica, or an account of the ſweating ſickneſs in England by the ſame in 1556, *ibid.* 2798 [*Q*]
An account of animal ſecretion, &c. by Dr James Keil in 1708, Vol. IV. 2809 [*B*]
Medicina ſtatica in which the calculations were firſt reduced into tables by the ſame; as alſo *An eſſay concerning the force of the heart, &c.* in 1717, *ibid.* 2810 (Text) and [*C*]
Aſtrop Wells in Northamptonſhire their medical quality diſcovered by Dr Rich. Lower in 1664, Vol. V. 3009 (Text)
Tractatus de corde, &c. by the ſame in 1669, wherein he firſt diſcovered the order of the muſcular fibres of the heart to be ſpiral like a ſnail's ſhell, beſides ſeveral other new diſcoveries, *ibid.* 3010 (Text) and [*E*]
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A mechanical account of poiſons, &c. by Dr Richard Mead in 1702, and again in 1745, Vol. V. 3078 (Text), and 3079 [*E*]
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A diſcourſe concerning peſtilential contagion and the methods to be uſed to prevent it by the ſame in 1720, the eighth edition in 1722, *ibid.* 3082 (Text) and [*I*]
De variolis et morbilis diſſertatio, or a treatiſe upon the ſmall pox and meaſles by the ſame in 1647, *ibid.* 3083 (Text) and [*M*]
De morbis Biblicis, &c. and *Precepta medica, &c.* both by the ſame a few years before his death in 1754, *ibid* 3083 (Text), and 3084 (Text) and [*N*]
Medical eſſays by a ſociety at Edinburgh in 6 vols. in the XVIIIth century, *ibid.* 3046 [*Q*]
A deſcription of the phænomena of the poet Milton's total loſs of his eye ſight by a *gutta ſerena* in 1652, *ibid.* 3114 [*H*]
De arthritide ſymptomatica et de arthritide anomala diſſertationes duæ by Dr Will. Muſgrave in 1703 and 1708, *ibid.* 3196 [*C*]
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Obſervationes medicæ circa morborum acutorum hiſtoriam et curationem by the ſame in 1676
Epiſtolæ reſponſoriæ duæ, &c. by the ſame in 1680
Diſſertatio epiſtolaris, &c. by the ſame in 1682
Tractatus de podagra et hydrope by the ſame in 1683
Schedula monitoria de novæ febris ingreſſu in 1686; theſe, with two others, were collected and printed together under the title of *Proceſſus integre in morbis fere omnibus curandis a* Thoma Sydenham *conſcripti, quibus acceſſit graphica ſymptomatum delineatio* in 1693, and again in Engliſh by Dr J. Swan in 1749, *idem ibid.*
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Many inſtances of piquant wit in *The rehearſal tranſproſed, &c.* in two parts by Andrew Marvel in 1672 and 1673, Vol. V. 3054 and 3055 [I] and [L]

To this account of the inventions and improvements that have been made in the arts and ſciences by the authors commemorated in the preceding work, it has been thought proper to ſubjoin ſuch others as have been made by means of the ſociety inſtituted in London in 1754, for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce; which may be deemed a kind of appendix to this account; for though the deſign of that ſociety was projected by Mr. Shipley, yet his deſign was firſt promoted by Dr Stephen Hales, commemorated in the ſupplement to *Biographia Britannica*, page 81, & ſeq. and by his recommendation received its firſt eſtabliſhment from two noblemen mentioned in that work, namely, the lord Romney in Vol. IV. 3052 [*E*], and lord viſcount Folkſtone in Vol. VI. Part i. 3098 (Text) (*).

"In the firſt place, the growth of madder was eſteemed an object deſerving their encouragement from the beginning of the ſociety, and for which we annually pay to the Dutch near 200,000 l. which ſum, from the ſucceſs this article has already met with, in a few years will be ſaved to the nation; they having already paid 260 l. for the planting of fifty-two acres, the produce of which proves equal in goodneſs, if not ſuperior to the Dutch. This year there are already claims come in for thirty-ſix acres.

"The premiums for this article are continued for 1765, 1766, and 1767.

"I would beg leave to obſerve, that this root is uſed in moſt branches of dying and callico printing: The herbage alſo is found to be an excellent food for horſes, either green or in hay, which, it is ſaid, foreigners never have diſcovered.

"Hemp being another article of the utmoſt conſequence to us, as a maritime power, and for which we pay annually to foreigners near 300,000 l. in ready money, that ſum being near the balance againſt us in our trade to Ruſſia, the ſociety have thought proper to encourage it for ſome years paſt in England, and have already paid in premiums, claimed the two laſt years, 340 l. beſides having the honour of pointing out to the government here, the renewal of a bounty to encourage the growth of it in the plantations, by offering a premium for the ſame in North America, where they are now very buſy on that article; many provinces having alſo taken the hint given by the ſociety, and their ſeveral governments accordingly fixed bounties themſelves; and when they have more than they conſume for their own uſe, which is expected ſoon to be the caſe, we ſhall have that very neceſſary commodity of our own, without being dependant on any other power.

"The next article I ſhall take notice of, is that of pot aſhes, for which alſo we yearly pay to foreigners a very large ſum, which is now made in the New England governments as good, or better, than any where in the world; between twenty and thirty ton of which was imported in the year 1763, and for which the ſociety gave four pounds per ton: This encouragement has in a manner ſo eſtabliſhed the manufactory there, that this laſt year their claims on the ſociety are for near one hundred tons.

"The growth of ſilk, in Georgia and Carolina, is greatly forwarded by the encouragement given by this ſociety, they having paid conſiderable ſums for ſeveral years paſt, and in each of the years 1763 and 1764 near 200 l. For this article we pay annually to Italy and Spain (excluſive of China and Turkey) about 13 or 1400,000 l.

"I would now beg leave to obſerve, that the acquiſition of either of thoſe four articles, namely, madder, hemp, pot aſhes, or raw ſilk, is worth twenty times the ſums this ſociety hath expended, to procure them; and, if taken together, and ſuppoſed to be brought to perfection in twenty years time, the ſavings to this nation would amount to above ſixty million ſterling.

"I hope the reader will not think me tedious, if I add to the foregoing, that premiums have been given for the making of verdigreaſe, which is now made at Enfield, equal to the beſt French, for which we were uſed to pay to that nation a large ſum annually. By the premiums or bounties of this ſociety, zaffre and ſmalt are made here equal to the foreign. Paper for copper-plates, marble paper, emboſſed paper with gold and ſilver, quilting in the loom, great improvements in ſtocking frames, bee hives, lucerne, burnet, white clover, dying Turkey red; and the encouragement given by their premiums to the improvement in making carpets at Warminſter and Exeter, which are brought to ſuch perfection as to need no farther encouragement; painters of landſchapes, and other artiſts, brought from obſcurity. In ſhort, every branch of the polite arts has been countenanced; mechanics have alſo received great encouragement from this ſociety, by which a very curious machine for poliſhing plate glaſs has been diſcovered, which the inventor ſaid he never had thought of if he had not ſeen ſuch a premium offered by the ſociety. The models of ſuch improvements are kept in a room for the inſpection of the public: And lately, the ſociety, by their bounty, have enabled a poor tanner to go through a proceſs of tanning leather with oak ſaw-duſt, which is found to be ſuperior to the general method now practiſed by the uſe of bark (beſides the leather being effectually tanned in two thirds of the time) which, ultimately, may prove of great advantage to the nation, by ſaving of oak ſaplings, &c.

"There are many other improvements which have been made by the premiums and bounties of this ſociety, which I will not take up the reader's time in enumerating; but it muſt be obſerved, that ſome of the advantages ariſing to the public from the patriotic views of this ſociety, are not immediately ſeen; as, from their nature, they require time to bring them to perfection. To inſtance (among others) the encouragement that has been given to the planting of oak; the neglect of which in our anceſtors we ſeverely feel at this day, and our poſterity will have reaſon to reflect with gratitude on the care we have taken to furniſh them with materials, ſo very eſſential to a maritime power (†).

"It muſt be obſerved alſo, that beſides the art of drawing, that of modelling in clay and wax have been improved by the ſame ſociety, as alſo etching and engraving, and caſting in bronze; likewiſe ſaw-mills for ſawing of planks, buff leather had from bullocks hides as good as from the hides of buffaloes imported from abroad: a manufacture of crucibles made of Engliſh materials eſtabliſhed by Mr Lieberick in Weſtminſter; the manufactory of druggets much improved; ſowing acorns for raiſing oak timber for the uſe of the navy, as alſo the raiſing of cheſnut-trees, elms, firs, and Weymouth pines: a manufactory of white enamel, in imitation of the Venetian, has been eſtabliſhed in England: laſtly, a machine for planing caſt iron (**).

(*) A conciſe account of the riſe, progreſs, and preſent ſtate of the ſociety for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, commerce, &c. edit. 1763.

(†) An account of the great benefits which have already ariſen to the public by means of the ſociety inſtituted in London for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, commerce, &c. by a member of that ſociety in 1765.

(**) A conciſe account of the riſe, progreſs, and preſent ſtate of the ſociety for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, commerce, &c. edit. 1763.

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